

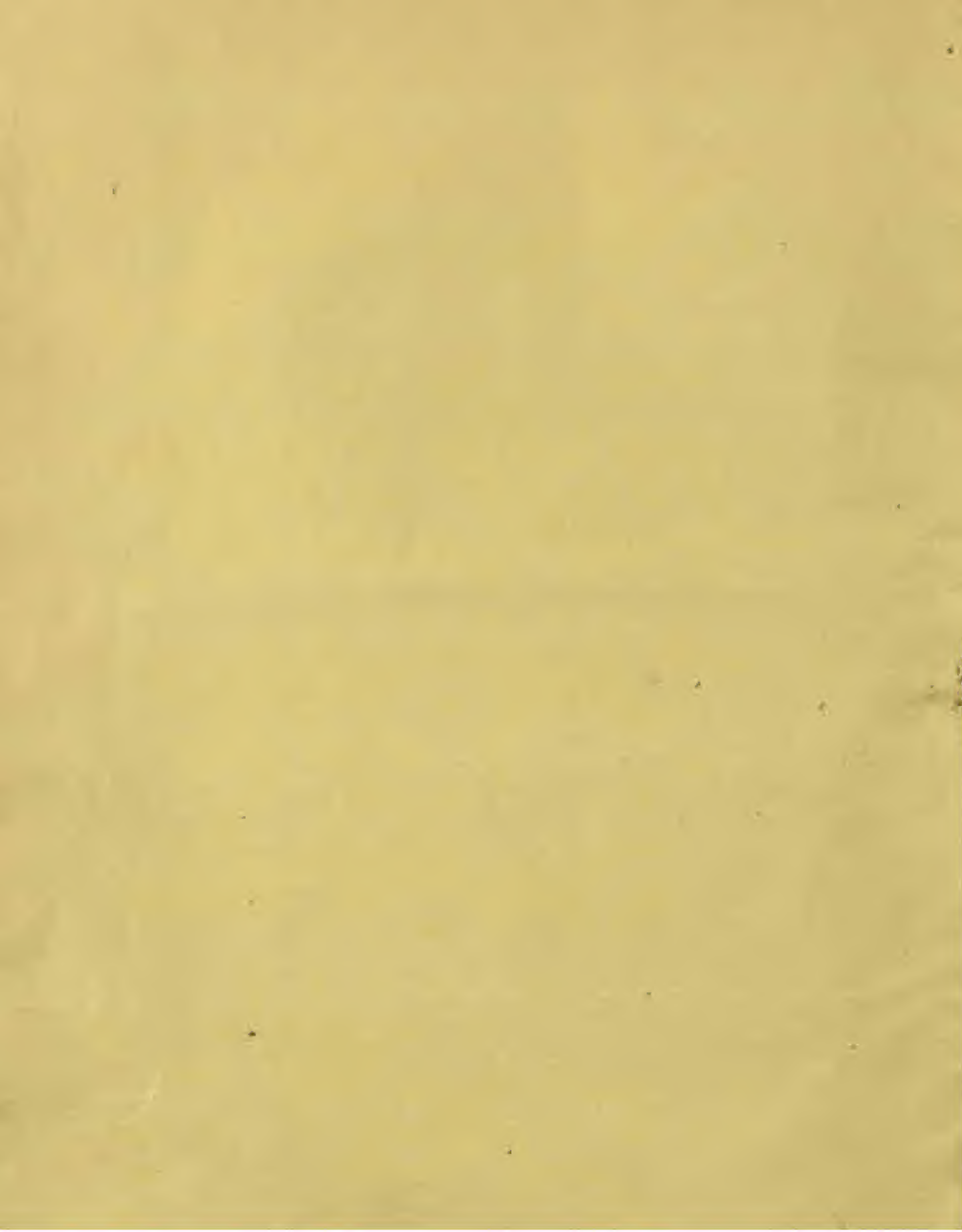
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RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

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Vol. XXIII. 1935-36.

EDITED BY

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., Ph.D.,

GOVERNMENT EPICRAPHIST FOR INDIA.



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" 42. Utmanai Lamp Inscription in Kharoshthi	to face page	282

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 2, last l.—For *Karaga* read *Sriharaga*.
- " 4, text l. 13.—For *अय* read *अयः*.
- " 7, (V. 15).—For *Brahmana* read *Brāhmaṇa*.
- " 9, l. 25.—For *niyukta* read *niyuktak*.
- " 10, l. 25.—Omit 1 in the beginning of the line.
- " 12, l. n. 2.—For n. 4 read p. 11, n. 7.
- " 12, l. n. 6.—For *अयमयः* read *अयमः*.
- " 12, l. n. 10.—For *Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi* read *Abhidhānashintāmaṇi*.
- " 12, l. n. 11.—For *अय* read *अयः*.
- " 15, text l. 17.—For *अय* read *अयः*.
- " 16, l. n. 1.—For *Vaigam* read *Waigam*.
- " 26, l. 14.—For *grukka* read *grukta*.
- " 27, l. 37.—For *-bhīm* read *Bhīma*.
- " 27, last l.—For **vāriṃ* read **vāriṃ*.
- " 37, l. 9.—For *Khema* read *Kshema*.
- " 38, l. 30.—Insert In before 'Vinaya Piṭaka'.
- " 41, para. 5, last l.—For *paṇḍaya* read *paṇḍaya*.
- " 46, l. 27.—For *Hōtri* read *Hōtri*.
- " 53, l. 26.—For 8 read 7. (N. G. M.)
- " 52, last l.—For bounded on the south by . . . and on read situated to the south of . . . and to. (N. G. M.)
- " 55, text l. 15.—For *kā-lam* read *kālam*.
- " 55, text l. 19.—For 8 read 7. (N. G. M.)
- " 59, l. 3.—For { . . . bounded on the south by . . . and on read { . . . situated to the south of . . . and to. (N. G. M.)
- " 59, l. 13.—For 8th read 7th. (N. G. M.)
- " 64, l. n. 1.—For XVIII read XVII.
- " 66, text l. 13.—For *Rapahhitoday* read *Rapahhitoday*.
- " 67, l. n. 1, l. 2.—For *Saka* read *Śaka*.
- " 71, last l. n.—For 26 read 28.
- " 75, top l.—For 398 read 308.
- " 77, l. n. 14.—For *danda* read *daṇḍa*.
- " 78, text l. 37.—For *khapdimala* read *Khapdimala*.
- " 82, l. n. 6.—For *Pōjōṇḍ* read *Paṇḍōṇḍ*.
- " 84, last l. n.—Insert the figure 8 before *See*.
- " 86, l. n. 9.—For **krīya* read **krīya*.
- " 87, text l. 44.—For *अय* read *अयः*.
- " 89, l. n. 7.—For *Rīhātprāhā* Inscription of Umāvarman read *Bṛhatprāhā* grant of Umāvarman.
- " 99, l. n. 5.—For *Sōmavāṇḍ* read *Sōmavāṇḍ*.
- " 107, l. n. 2.—For *vyāghat* read *vyāghat*; and for *kartaryā* read *kartaryam*.
- " 116, l. n. 3.—For *Pāṇhāma* read *Pāṇhāma*.

- Page 141, text l. 14.—For कुव्व read कुव्व.
 " 144, l. 11.—For Miyāru- read Miyāru-.
 " 147, l. 6.—For Mīyāra read Mīyāra.
 " 155, f. n. 6.—For Indian Historical Quarterly read Above.
 " 165, l. 28.—For lakulisa- read Lakulisa-.
 " 166, l. 26.—For Kaṇḍōruvāṭi- read Kaṇḍōruvāṭi-.
 " 168, text l. 39.—For र्वाँ read र्वाँ.
 " 174, f. n. 8.—For Rājāsūha read Rājāsūha.
 " 175, l. 4.—For veras read metres.
 " 190, l. 3.—For Chāvundarasa read Chaudarasa.
 " 190, l. 9.—For Chaṅgār read Chaṅgāra.
 " 192, last para. l. 4.—For Arjunvāḍ read Arjunavāḍa.
 " 194, l. 2.—For Bāsura read Bāsūra and for Chanjūra read Chaṅgūra.
 " 194, l. 7.—For Bāsura read Bāsūra.
 " 194, l. 9.—For Changura read Chaṅgūra.
 " 195, last l.—For Bāsura read Bāsūra.
 " 204, para. 3, l. 13.—For āśā-nadhayāḥ read āśā-nadhayāḥ.
 " 206, f. n. 4.—For Tungabhadra read Tungabhadra.
 " 214, l. n. 2.—For Aṇṇasāvi read Aṇṇasāvi and for Saṇṇasāvi read Saṇṇasāvi.
 " 216, l. 4.—For Śrīvārdhana read Śrībhavana.
 " 220, l. n. 3.—For श्री read श्री.
 " 221, l. n. 9.—For नदिक read नदिक.
 " 223, para. 5, l. 5.—For nipa read nipa.
 " 224, l. 2.—For Śrīdhara read Śrīdhara.
 " 225, l. n. 4.—Insert 223 after p. and 1 after n.
 " 226, l. 6.—For Mahāmānda- read Mahāmānda-.
 " 226, l. 11.—For Jayvijaya read Jayavijaya.
 " 227, l. 25.—For Chālukya read Chālukya.
 " 227, l. 32.—For Śikhariṇī read Śikhariṇī.
 " 229, text l. 23.—For पुराण read पुराण.
 " 242, l. 4 from below.—For p. 15 read p. 16 and delete the first inserted comma.
 " 242, f. n. 2.—For Ibid. read C. I. I. Vol. III.
 " 248, No. 40, para. 1, l. 4.—For Khambhavarat read Khambhavarī.
 " 250, f. n. 14, l. 2.—For sakala- read sakala-.
 " 252, text l. 32.—For (से) read (से).
 " 262, f. n. 8.—For Jāḍa(gaḍ)āṅga read Jāḍa(Jaḍ)āṅga.
 " 264, l. n. 1, l. 2.—For Rā aka read Rāṇka.
 " 276, text l. 2.—For नमि(न) read नमि(न).
 " 280, l. 7.—For Chandiḍiḥ read Chandiḍiḥ.
 " 280, l. 13.—For Chanja read Chanja.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XXIII.

No. 1.—PENDRABANDH PLATES OF PRATAPAMALLA: THE [KALACHURI] YEAR 903.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

These plates were first brought to my notice in February 1934 by Pandit Lochana Prasad Pandeya, Honorary Secretary, Mahābhārata Historical Society, who desired me to edit them. I requested the Curator of the Nagpur Museum to procure the plates for my examination, which he kindly did through the good offices of the Deputy Commissioner of Raipur. The plates are in the possession of Thakur Gokul Singh, Malguar of Pēndrābandh, a village (N. Lat. 21-39, E. Long. 83) in the Balāhā Bāzār taluk of the Raipur District, C. P., and it is said that they have been in his family for some generations.

They are two massive copper-plates measuring from 11½" to 12" in length and from 7½" to 8" in breadth and about 1" in thickness. The first plate weighs 155 *tolas* and the second 133 *tolas*. At the centre of the top of each plate there is a hole, ½" in diameter for a ring to connect it with the other plate. This ring, which is also of copper, is circular in shape and about 4" in diameter, with a round seal 2½" in diameter. About one-third portion of the ring was broken off when the plates reached me. The plates were not, therefore, connected by the ring, but there is no reason to doubt that the latter actually belongs to the plates. The weight of the broken ring with the seal is 16 *tolas*. The edges of the plates have been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. Still the inscription is very well preserved and there is no uncertainty about its reading. The plates are inscribed on the inner side only. There are 33 lines in all, 17 being inscribed on the first plate and the remaining 16 on the second. The average size of letters is .3" except in the last two lines where it is reduced to .2". On the seal is inscribed in the centre a crudely executed figure of Lakshmi, seated cross-legged on a lotus seat, flanked on either side by an elephant with a jar in his uplifted trunk to pour water on the head of the goddess. In the lower part of the seal there is the legend *Rāja-śrīmat-Pratāpamallādēva* in a horizontal line and below it appears a sheathed sword lying parallel to it. The characters are Nāgarī. The letters are deeply cut but not well formed. Besides the usual form of *ḥ*, there appears another in the conjunct *ḥa* and occasionally in *ḥa*; see *dh(e)kruṇḍha*, l. 9 and *maḥaḥḥata*, l. 10. In writing conjunct letters the engraver has not distinguished between *pa* and *pa* and *la* and *pa*; in some cases he has also incised *pa* for *ma*; see *taṣṭa*, l. 6, *ā-taṣṭa*, l. 12 and *Saṭṭaṣṭa*, l. 21, and *siṃhpaṭa* for *siṃhṭa*, l. 9. A final consonant is shown by a slanting stroke at the foot of the vertical only in one case, *ṣiṭ*, *ṣaṭ*, l. 32; but contrast *maḥḥaṭa* for *maḥḥaṭa*, l. 6, *maḥḥaṭa* for *maḥḥaṭa*, l. 9, etc. The sign for the superscript *r* and *maṣṭa* are, in some cases, added before the sign for medial *r*: cf. *raṭṭaṭ*, l. 19 and *maḥḥaṭa*, l. 19. The sign for *anṭaṭa* in l. 2 differs from that in l. 26. A superfluous syllable is scored off by two short vertical strokes at the top, see *ma* in l. 32. The error which was wrongly omitted after *ḥaṭaṭa* in l. 14 is written immediately below the line. In two other cases the omission is indicated by a *ḥaṭaṭa*, whose position and

form indicate whether the addenda are given at the top or at the bottom of the plate. A figure following the addendum indicates the line where the omitted syllable or word is to be supplied. Thus *śreyatāḥ* and *ga* which were omitted in ll. 11 and 14 are supplied with the figures 11 and 14 respectively at the bottom on the first plate. Similarly *as*, which was omitted in the second line on the second plate, is incised with the figure 2 at the top of the plate.

The language is Sanskrit. Except the customary salutation to Brahman in the first line and mention of the date and the place of issue in the last, the whole record is in verse. The verses of which there are twenty-nine, are all numbered except the last one. As regards orthography we may note that *v* is generally written for *b* and the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* (cf. *Pratāpamalla* and *Sūrah* in l. 1) and vice versa, e.g., in *śīd-śīma* for *śīd-śīma*, l. 16; *y* is used for *j* in *Vāṇapāya*, l. 31. The consonant following *r* is reduplicated only in a few cases; cf. *Kārttikeyaḥ*, ll. 2-3, *mārgyapāḥ*, l. 4, etc.

The object of the plates is to record a grant made by **Pratāpamalla**, a Kalachuri king of Ratanpur. After the usual salutation to Brahman in the first verse, comes the description of the genealogy of the donor. In the family of Manu, the primordial king, who was descended from the Sun, was born **Kārttikeya**. From him were descended the **Haihayas**. Their descendants became well known as Kalachuris in the Chōḍi country. In their family was born **Kōṭalla** who had eighteen very brave sons. The eldest of them became the lord of Tripuri. He made his brothers lords of *maṇḍalas*. In the family of their younger brother was born **Kallāgarāja**. The engraver has, inadvertently, omitted here one complete verse which occurs in cognate records¹ and mentions **Kamalarāja**, the son of Kallāgarāja. The present record, as it stands, makes **Ratnarāja** (I.) the son and successor of Kallāgarāja. From Ratnarāja (I.) was born **Prithvidēva** (I.), the father of **Jājalladēva** (I.). The latter's son was **Ratnadēva** (II.), of matchless valour who routed **Chōḍagaṅga** and **Gōharrāja** in battle. From Ratnadēva (II.) was born **Prithvidēva** (II.); his son was **Jagaddēva**, the father of **Ratnarāja** (III.). From the latter was born **Pratāpamalla** the donor of the present plates. From the description in the plates that, though a boy, he was a second **Bali** in strength, it seems that **Pratāpamalla** came to the throne while quite young. The only important point in the otherwise conventional description of these princes is the mention of **Gōharrāja** as an associate of **Chōḍagaṅga** in the fight with **Ratnadēva** II. I have elsewhere,² discussed in detail the bearing of this on the date of the light. Again, it is noteworthy that the present inscription has elaborated what Dr. N. P. Chakravarti had already shown from the damaged **Kharoḍī** inscription³, viz., that **Jājalladēva** II had a brother named **Jagaddēva**,⁴ the father of **Ratnadēva** III. Our inscription has omitted **Jājalladēva** II's name probably because he was a collateral.

The next four verses (15-18) give the genealogy and description of the donee and state the occasion of the grant. There was a Brahmana named **Savarṇyakara** of the **Pārśvara** *gotra* and three *pracasas*, viz., **Vasishtha**, **Rakti**, and **Pārśvara**. He had a son named **Dvīkara**, who was proficient in the **Vēdas**. From him was born **Sādhāra**⁵ who was honoured by the Kalachuris. To him **Pratāpamalla** gave a village named **Kāyathā** situated in the **Anargha-maṇḍala** on the day of the **Makara-mākrāntī**. Then follow nine benedictory and imprecatory verses of the usual type. The last verse states that **Prithrāja**, who was born in a **Gaṇḍa** family and was the light (i.e., the chief) of the **Karṇya** or Record Office, wrote on the plates with clear letters. The last line states

¹ See e.g. the **Amodā** plates of **Prithvidēva** I. above, Vol. XIX, p. 70, the **Amodā** plates of **Jājalladēva** II, *ibid.*, pp. 211-212, etc.

² Cf. the **Barhāt** plates of **Ratnadēva** II, above, Vol. XXII, pp. 1811.

³ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 160 and 162.

⁴ This king may be identical with king **Jagaddēva** glorified in v. 1301 of the *Śatapathasamhitā* (Rumley Sanskrit Series, 1898, p. 207).

⁵ See below, p. 5, footnote 1.

that the plates were issued from the victorious camp at Palasudā on Tuesday the tenth day of the bright half of Māgha in Śaṁvat 965. The *tithi* and the year are expressed in decimal figures only.

As in the case of most other records of the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur, this date must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri-Chōdi era. Till now Ratanadēva III, whose Kharoḍ inscription is dated Chōdi Śaṁvat 933, was the last known prince of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuris. The present plates give us one more name, viz., that of Pratāpamalla, in this line. As a matter of fact the name of this prince was already known from some copper coins, round or hexagonal in shape, found in the vicinity of Bālpur on the Mahānadi. Mr. Pandeya's conjecture that Pratāpamalla was a Kalachuri king¹ has been corroborated by the discovery of the present plates. It may be noted in this connection that like the seal of the present plates, these coins also bear the figure of a sword on the reverse² and can, therefore, be undoubtedly assigned to the donor of the present plates.

The date of our record appears to be irregular; for according to R. B. S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the tenth day of the bright half of Māgha in the Chōdi year 965 (taking it to be an expired year as in the case of most other dates in the Chōdi era) fell on Thursday, 23rd January, A.D. 1214 and not on Tuesday as stated in our plates.³ If we take the year to be current, the *tithi* falls on Saturday, 2nd February, A.D. 1213. The discrepancy can, however, be explained as follows.—Though the grant was made on the day of the Mahara-sankranti, the plates were actually issued a few days later as in the case of the Kōri grant⁴ of Jayabhoja III. Now the Mahara-sankranti in the expired Chōdi year 965 fell on Wednesday, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright half of Pausa (25th December, A.D. 1213). The plates were, however, actually issued after about a fortnight on the tenth *tithi* of the dark half of Māgha, which (taking the month to be *pūrṇimānta* as in the case of other Chōdi dates) fell on a Tuesday. The engraver may have, by mistake, incised *sudi* for *sudi*. The corresponding English date is, therefore, Tuesday, 7th January, A.D. 1214.

As for the geographical names mentioned in the present plates, Anarghavallī, as stated elsewhere⁵, roughly corresponds to the modern Jānjgir *taluk* of the Bilaspur District. The village named Kāyathā is still extant in the form Kaitā about 14 miles almost due west of Pēndrabandh and about 4 miles beyond the southern limit of the Jānjgir *taluk*. About Palasudā I may mention that there are several villages named Parsadi or Parsadi in the Balodā Beār *taluk*, but the village, where Pratāpamalla's camp was pitched, may be Parsadi about a mile to the north of Kaitā.

I edit the inscription from the original plates.

TEXT.

[Metres: Vv. 1, 7, 9, 11, 15-16 and 19-20 *Anuṣṭup*; vv. 2, 5 and 14, *Uppiti*; vv. 3 and 12 *Brhadhar*; v. 13 *Sādhavikrīḍita*; vv. 8 and 18 *Mālinī*; v. 10 *Sikharigā*; vv. 4, 6 and 17 *Paustulakā*; v. 29 *Indravajrā*.]

First Plate.

१ चो ब्रह्मक्षणे तमः १ निर्मु(यु)वं व्यापकं निम्ब सि(मि)वं परमकारवं(वम्) ।

भावसाहं परं ज्योतिष्मन् सद्र(ह)क्षणे तमः ॥१॥

¹ *Ind. Hist. Quest.*, Vol. III, p. 175.

² I owe this information to Mr. L. P. Pandeya who has kindly sent me some coins of this type.

³ [The date may be Wednesday, 22nd January, as on this day the tenth *tithi* commenced 1 hour 45 minutes after noon sunrise.—Ed.]

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 229-31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 163.

⁶ Expressed by the letter *ṣ* with a dot on it.

- 2 यदेतदस्यसमं(व)स्य ल्योतिः स पूषा पुरुषः पुराणः । अथास्य पुत्रो
मनुरादिराजस्तदन्वयेऽभूद्वि कार्त-
3 वीर्यः ॥२॥ तस्माच्छ्रुतिवीर्यैः सकलगुणधरा दैव्या नेकसः^१ श्री जाताः
प्रत्यर्थिपुण्योपतिकरिह-
4 रयो मान्दस्य कल्पवृक्षाः । तदंसा(शा)येदिदमे(मि) कलधुरिति च श्याति-
भीषुर्ण^२रन्द्रा जातः कोकजदेवो वृ-
5 पतिररिकुलज्जामुजा धूमकेतुः ॥३॥ षष्टादसा(शा)रिक्किरिक्भविमन्^३सिंहाः पुत्रा
व(व)भुवुरतिमो(मो)र्यप-
6 राव तस्य । तत्रासजो वृषवरस्त्रिपुरीस(म) आगो(मो)त्पास्त्रि(त्रि) च मंडल-
पतीत्य चकार वं(वं)धून(नू) ॥४॥ तेषामनू^४जसु
7 कलिगराजः प्रतापवन्दि(डि)वपितारिगजः । जातोन्वये [टु]^५ट्रिपुप्रवीरप्रियानना-
म्योरुहपाय्यणे-
8 न्दुः ॥५॥ तेनाव चंद्रवदनोमनि रत्नराजो विश्वो(मो)पकारकरुणाजितपुष्पभारः ।
येन स्ववा(वा)वृद्ध-
9 गनिर्मि(मि)तदि(वि)क्रमेण नीतं यत्त(म)सि(सि)मुधने विनिहत्य स(म)धून(नू) ॥६॥
पुण्योदेवोभवत्तस्माच्छ्रुपः सा(शा)दूल-
10 विक्रमः । नखदर्म्यणसंक्रान्तनमदुपालमंडलः ॥७॥ अथ रुचिररुचिस्त्री(स्त्री)रात्रयः
सत्कलाना-
11 मनुपहितकलकोनर्वमुत्तिः सुष्ठतः^६ [१^७] सवाल[गु]णसमूहः श्री(श्री)मतस्यास्य
सुसुखिपुत्रिव सुकृतानारधा(स्य)म जातजदेव-
12 : ॥८॥ रत्नदेवीभवत्तस्मादभूतोपमविक्रमः । यद्योडमंगमीकृष्णौ युधि चक्रे पद्ममुखौ^७
॥९॥ ततोमृदासौम-
13 चितिवलयधिक्रान्तमहिमा हिमानौवल्कानौज्यंगदपि यद्योभिर्ध्वं(ध्वं)वल्लवन(नू) ।
रणे कक्षा(व)धेपिद्विपदलनदीवाहरिसमः

^१ Read वैर्यः.

^२ The intended change of नू to वृ here is ungrammatical. See Pictal, VIII, 4, 3. Read -वृरेन्द्र.

^३ Read सिंहा.

^४ The word of नू is lengthened for the sake of meter. Many other records of the Kalachuris of Bhatnagar read *anū* which seems to be proper, since such a word is required to be connected with *कनहै*. See Sankhā plates above, Vol. XXII, p. 186, footnote 1).

^५ Other cognate plates read *ट्रि*.

^६ This word which was omitted here is supplied with the figure 11 at the bottom of the plate.

^७ The engraver had first inscribed the conjunct वृ but afterwards cancelled it and inscribed only the letter व as the top of नू.

^८ The vertical stroke of नू is not engraved.

२ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥ ११ ॥ १२ ॥ १३ ॥ १४ ॥ १५ ॥ १६ ॥ १७ ॥ १८ ॥ १९ ॥ २० ॥ २१ ॥ २२ ॥ २३ ॥ २४ ॥ २५ ॥ २६ ॥ २७ ॥ २८ ॥ २९ ॥ ३० ॥ ३१ ॥ ३२ ॥ ३३ ॥ ३४ ॥ ३५ ॥ ३६ ॥ ३७ ॥ ३८ ॥ ३९ ॥ ४० ॥ ४१ ॥ ४२ ॥ ४३ ॥ ४४ ॥ ४५ ॥ ४६ ॥ ४७ ॥ ४८ ॥ ४९ ॥ ५० ॥ ५१ ॥ ५२ ॥ ५३ ॥ ५४ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५६ ॥ ५७ ॥ ५८ ॥ ५९ ॥ ६० ॥ ६१ ॥ ६२ ॥ ६३ ॥ ६४ ॥ ६५ ॥ ६६ ॥ ६७ ॥ ६८ ॥ ६९ ॥ ७० ॥ ७१ ॥ ७२ ॥ ७३ ॥ ७४ ॥ ७५ ॥ ७६ ॥ ७७ ॥ ७८ ॥ ७९ ॥ ८० ॥ ८१ ॥ ८२ ॥ ८३ ॥ ८४ ॥ ८५ ॥ ८६ ॥ ८७ ॥ ८८ ॥ ८९ ॥ ९० ॥ ९१ ॥ ९२ ॥ ९३ ॥ ९४ ॥ ९५ ॥ ९६ ॥ ९७ ॥ ९८ ॥ ९९ ॥ १०० ॥

41

[illegible]

SEAL



ACTUAL SIZE.

From a photograph.

- 14 सुतः पृथ्वीदेवो दत्तजदत्तनस्तस्य सृपतेः¹ ॥१०॥ मचंडाखंडभूपालयुक्त्वकडुतिखंडनः²
[1^a] जगदेवोभवत्तस्यासृपः ख(ग)र्दल-
15 विज्जमः ॥११॥ तत्पुत्रविचकीर्तिः सकलकलतुरिक्कामुत्तां भूषणवीः श्रीमानुत्तुन्न-
मञ्जीनि-
16 करनिभवसो(गो)रामि(शि)मिर्चातविस्वः(खः) । आगो(सौ)दागो(सौ)मभूमोऽजयपरि-
दप्रोटदोःकांडकीला-
17 निर्हृतासं(गो)पवैरिचितिपतिनिवहो भूपती³ रत्नराजः ॥१२॥ पुत्रस्तस्य यसो(शो)-
त्वि(त्वि)लो-

Second Plate.

- 18 ललहरोनिर्हृतदिरमंडलो मूर्त्त्या निर्जितमन्त्रधः समभवतयो(च्छी)मयतापो सृपः ।
भूपालात्तवसो(गो)पणे
19 सुनिरसो आपालचूडामणिर्दनि वंदितने⁴ द्विजे गुणिमये नित्यं हि चिन्तामणिः
॥१३॥ मत्वा मत्वा महर्तो म-
20 श्रीतः(गः) प्रतापमञ्जी जगदेकमलः । पृथ्वीमपृथ्वीमकरोकराभ्यां व(व)लिन
वा(वा)लोपि व(व)निर्दितीयः ॥१४॥
21 वसिष्ठस(गो)क्तिपासस(ग)र इति प्रवरचयः । सुवर्णररनामाभूदोत्रे पासस(ग)रे
द्विजः ॥१५॥ दिवाकरश(स)मो लोके
22 तेनाजनि दिवाकरः । येनाज्ञानतमो नष्टो⁵ वैदतत्व(त्त)विदा भुवि ॥१६॥ तस्याद-
जायत गुणो गुणिनां गणे-
23 पु दानं ददन्तु कृपयार्थिजने(ने) वदान्यः । मूर्त्त्या मनोभवसमो महिलामनन्तु
साधार इत्यमवनीत-
24 लसुपमिजः ॥१७॥ अस्त्रिजजनवरिष्टो(डो) धर्मकौर्त्तिप्रतिष्टो(डो) जनितजनविशु(श)-
दित्वा(म्बा)यनिष्ठा(णा)तनु(तु)दिः । सकलगु-
25 णसमूहः सत्वसाधारनामा कलतुरिक्तुलभाभ्यो श्रीभवत्तस्य पुत्रः ॥१८॥ तस्यै
प्रतापमज्ञेन कायठा-

¹ The engraver first incised पु and then corrected it into पु .

² The vowel of पु was first incised as long and then shortened.

³ The escape after पु which was omitted at first is incised below the line.

⁴ The syllable पु which was omitted here is incised with the figure 14 at the bottom of the plate. There are superfluous marks of पु on both पु and पु .

⁵ The curve of the medial पु here is not clearly formed.

⁶ The syllable पु which was omitted here is incised with the figure 2 at the top.

⁷ The same requires the form पु here.

- 26 अतर्जमंडले । चासी मकरसंक्रांती दत्तः^१ ब्रह्मपूर्वकः ॥१८॥ सं(ग्रं)खं^२ मद्रासनं
च(ह)वं गजाखं(यं) वरवाहनं(वम्) । भूमिदानग्र(स्य) वि-
27 श्राद्धाणि फलं स्वर्गः सुरंदर ॥२०॥ व(व)भूमिर्जमुषा दत्ता राजभिः सगरा-
दिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य ।^३
28 तदा फलस(म्) ॥२१॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिष्ठेत्ता(त्ता)ति यस्य भूमिं पश्यच्छति ।
उभो तौ पुण्यकर्माभौ त्रिवर्तौ स्वर्गमा-
29 मिनो ॥२२॥ पूर्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यज्ञादथ सुरंदर । महीं महीभृतां
से(त्रे)ष्ट दानाच्छ्रेयो हि धातनं(नम्) ॥२३॥
30 स्रदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरद(त) वसुंधरां(गम्) । स वि(हा)यां कृमिर्भूत्वा
पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥२४॥ तडागानां स्रष्ट्रे(स्त्रे)ण
31 वाह(व)पेयस(श)तित च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिजतां न ह(य)ध्यति ॥२५॥
षट्पर्वसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।
32 आच्छेत्ता ज्ञातुमत्ता(त्ता) च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥२६॥ इष्टवर्त(त्तं) कृतं चैव
यत्किंचिदमीमंभितं(तम्) । अवीगुलिन सीमावाः^४
33 हरणेन प्रमत्त(श्रा)ति ॥२७॥ यवाष्प पतितं स(प्र)क सैलविं(वि)दुर्विभर्षति ।
एवं भूमिजतं दानं सद्ये सद्ये प्रगेहति ॥२८॥
34 गौडान्वदीयं प्रतिराजमा(जा)मा विद्यासु(म्बु)धिः सी(यौ)कराप्रदीपः । स्वच्छा-
स(ग)यः सर्वजनप्रसिद्धस्तां(स्तां) तिष्ठति प्रकटैस्तु यज्ञैः ॥२९॥^५
35 संवत्(त्)८६॥ द^६ एतस्यद्राक्षमावातिदि(तवि)जयकटके ॥ माघसुदि १० मंगलदिने ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om! Obedience to Brahman!

(Verse 1) Obedience to that reality, Brahman, which is attributeless, all-pervasive, eternal and auspicious, the ultimate cause (of the universe) and supreme light, conceivable by the mind.

(V. 2) This foremost luminary of the firmament that is the Sun, the primeval Being. Then was (born) his son, Manu, the first of kings. In his dynasty was (born) Kāravīrya on the earth.

(V. 3) From him who surpassed the fame of Indra, were born on the earth many Hailayas, endowed with all merits, who were lions to the elephants in the form of hostile kings and wish-

^१ The engraver first inscribed *ग्र* and then corrected it into *ग्रं*.

^२ *ग्र* which was first inscribed is corrected into *ग्रं*.

^३ This clause is superfluous.

^४ There is a syllable *सै* after *ह* but the engraver has indicated by two vertical strokes set it that the syllable was inserted by mistake and is to be omitted.

^५ Read *सीमावाः*.

^६ This syllable is superfluous. In the present case, it can hardly be taken as the Sanskrit *प्रति* affix. [The portion in this line beginning with *पुलस्त्य* and ending with the *सुप्त* after *सैल* should perhaps have come at the beginning. It may be that the engraver finding out his mistake used this sign to indicate that this portion is not connected with the date.—Ed.]

falling trees to the suppliant. The kings, who were (*born*) in their family, became famous as Kaleshurs in the Chōḍi country. (*In their family*) was born king Kōkalladēva, who was a comet to the kings of the families of his enemies.¹

(V. 4) To him were born eighteen, very valorous sons, (*who were*) born in breaking open the temples of elephants in the form of his enemies. The eldest of them was the lord of Tripuri, and he made his brothers the lords of *mandalas* by his aid.

(V. 5) In (*that*) family was born their younger brother, Kalirāgarāja, who exterminated the hostile kings by the fire of his valour, and who was the full-moon to the day-letuses in the form of the faces of the beloveds of the mighty warriors of (*his*) wicked enemies.

(V. 6) He begat the moon-faced Ratnarāja, who had acquired a mass of religious merit by showing compassion to and conferring obligation on the (*whole*) world (*and*) who, destroying his enemies by the valour of both his arms, spread his fame in the three worlds.

(V. 7) From him was born king Prithvidēva whose prowess was like that of a tiger (*and*) in the mirrors of whose nails was reflected a host of princes who bowed to him.

(V. 8) Then that glorious king's son was Jājalladēva who was like the moon, without any spots, who was of radiant complexion and majesty, was the repository of good arts (as the moon contains the *kālās*), was endowed with an unblemished form, was virtuous (as the moon has a well-rounded form), who possessed all the qualities and who was an abode of all merits.

(V. 9) From him was born Ratnadēva of incomparable valour, who, in battle, vanquished Chōḍaganga and Gōkaruṇa (*lit.* made them turn their faces away).

(V. 10) Then was born to that king a son named Prithvidēva, whose power extended to the bounds of the circle of the earth, who whitened the world with his lovely glory, like a mass of snow, who devoted himself to the extermination of his wrathful foes in battle, as a lion does (*in the case of*) infuriated elephants and who was a destroyer of demons (*i.e.*, wicked people).

(V. 11) From him was born king Jagaddēva, who possessed the prowess of a tiger and who destroyed the itch of fighting of all powerful kings.

(V. 12) His son was the glorious king Ratnarāja, of wonderful fame, who was the excellent ornament of all Kaleshuri kings; who filled the universe with the mass of his fame, resembling a heap of blooming jasmine flowers, who destroyed all the hosts of hostile kings by the play of his massive arms, which were the measure of the circle of the earth to the (*extreme*) boundaries.

(V. 13) Then was born his son, the glorious king Pratāpa, who has cleared the circle of quarters with the rolling waves of the ocean of his fame, who has surpassed Cupid by his form, who is the sage (*Aśvame*) in drying up the ocean in the form of (*hostile*) kings, (*who is*) the crest-jewel of kings and who is always the philosopher's stone to the poor, the panegyrist, the Brāhmanas and the meritorious.

(V. 14) Pratāpamalla, of great intellect, who is the lord of the earth, (*and*) the pre-eminent warrior of the world, and who, though a boy, is a second Bālī in strength and has made, by his arms, this wide earth (*look*) small.

(V. 15) There was a Brahmana named Suvaryakāra in the Pārāvara-gṛāma, with three pre-ceptor—*etc.*, Vasiṣṭha, Śakti and Pārāvara.

(V. 16) He begat Dvākara, who was like the sun in this world, who knowing the essence of the Yāgas, dispelled the darkness of ignorance on the earth.

(V. 17) From him was born a meritorious (*son*), who has become well-known by the name of Śāṭhāra, who, is (*reckoned as*) the (*most*) meritorious among multitudes of meritorious persons (*and as*) beneficent among those who make gifts out of compassion (*and*) who in form appears like the mind-born (Cupid) to the minds of ladies.

¹ *I.e.*, he caused their destruction.

(V. 18) Who was his (i.e., Divākura's) son, the foremost among all people, who is famed for religious merit, who has caused the purification of the people, whose intellect is proficient in Nyāya (logic), who, being possessed of the whole multitude of merits, is truly called Sādhāra and who is honoured by the Kalachuri family.

(V. 19) To him Pratāpamalla gave, with a solemn declaration, on the Makara-sukrānti, a village named Kāyathā (situated) in Amrigha-suryaśala.

(Here follow nine benedictory and imprecatory verses.)

This ocean of learning named Pratīkṣa of the Gauda family, the light (i.e., chief) of śrī-karaga (Record Office), who entertains pure thoughts and is famous among all people has written (on this) copper (charter) with clear letters.

At the yjūsticous camp pitched at Palasaḍā, on Tuesday the tenth of the bright half of Māgha in the year 965.

NO. 2.—ANJANAVATI PLATES OF GOVINDA III; SAKA YEAR 722.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., AND L. R. KULKARNI, M.A., NAGPUR.

The copper-plates, which are edited here for the first time, were found in May 1935, in the possession of Mr. Narayan Tukaram Pande of Anjanavati or Ahjati, a village (lat. 20° 55' N., Long. 78° 0' W.) in the Chandur Taluq, about 22 miles almost due east of Amraoti, in Berār. We obtained them for editing from Mr. N. R. Paranjpe of Nīchagāon through the good offices of Dr. K. B. Redgewar of Nagpur. The plates when first found, were covered with verdigris in some places but they have since been cleaned by the Government Epigraphist who has also kindly supplied us with ink-impressions.

They are three copper-plates each measuring 10·3" in length, from 6·5" to 6·9" in breadth and about ½" in thickness. The middle plate is slightly thicker than the others. Their ends are raised to serve as rims for the protection of the inscription. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only and the second on both the sides. At the centre of the proper right side, about ⅔ from the end, each plate has a circular hole about ⅞" in diameter for the ring which has connected it with other plates of the set. The ends of this ring, which is about ⅞" in thickness and 3·1" in diameter, were soldered into the socket of a seal. The latter is circular, 1·6" in diameter, and contains on a countersunk surface a representation of Garuḍa, sitting cross-legged on a lotus and facing full front. The seal does not contain any legend. The ring was not cut when the plates came to our hands. The weight of the plates together with the ring and the seal is 228½ tolas.

The plates are fairly well preserved. Some letters here and there are damaged by verdigris, but in almost all cases they can either be read from the traces left on the plates or easily supplied from other records of the Hāshtrakūṭas, with which the present plates have a considerable portion in common. The names of the donors and localities are difficult of deciphering due to the careless manner in which the record is incised. The repetition of the names of most of the donors in ll. 55-58 where their gōtras as well as the shares assigned to each are recorded, has, however, helped us in the correct decipherment of some doubtful letters. There are 58 lines in all, of which fourteen are inscribed on the first plate, thirteen and fifteen on the first and second sides respectively of the second plate, and the remaining sixteen on the third plate. The last line

¹ This verse *pramāṇa* seems to describe a person named Satyaśādhara, who was a son of Sādhāra mentioned in the preceding verse. But, in that case, Satyaśādhara would be a queer name, though the title 'Indrakūṭapala' Sādhāra' of Aravindabhāraya Pulakēśin may be cited in support of it. I think the poet shows in this verse how the name Sādhāra was truly significant. He was so called because he was the support (śādhara) of all virtues. There are thus two verses in praise of Sādhāra. An analogous instance is furnished by the Nidhanapur plates of Bhāskara-varma. See verses 17-18 (above, Vol. XII, p. 74) and footnote 11 (ibid., p. 77). (But cf. names like Vijaya-śādhara and Samati-śādhara in the Arīḥṇā inscription of the Paramāra Maṇḍanaśekhara (above, Vol. XIV, p. 260). On this analogy Sādhāra and Satya-śādhara of the present inscription may be the names of the father and the son respectively.—Ed.)

which is incised in the right hand corner of the third plate for want of space, is only 3' in length. The letters are deeply, though somewhat carelessly, cut. They do not, however, show through on the reverse. Their average size is about 3' except in the last four lines where it is reduced to 2'. Several letters have identical or closely similar forms, so that in many cases it is difficult to say which of them is meant; see, for example, *ṣ*, *ṣ* and *ṣh* in *-vādhāḥ*, l. 11, and *śama*, l. 35 and compare *ṣ* in *adāira-*, ll. 19-20, and *gāṭṭhāra-*, l. 47 with *m* in *-agamed-*, l. 19. Similarly, *p* and *y* are exactly alike in *Parumadhāpāraka*, l. 28 and *yadhā*, l. 31; so also, *ḥ* and *kh* in *ku-ṣi*, l. 18, and *khāṭṭa*, l. 5. Again, the looped form of *a* stands for *ā* in *a-ḥṛa-vāhanigama-*, l. 9, *dhāya*, l. 18, *-dhyanāra-*, l. 41, etc.; for *ḥ* in *-dhāyāra-*, ll. 18-19; and also for the subscript *ḥ* and the superscript *ḥ* in *daḥḍa-*, l. 10 and *-dāyāra*, l. 19 respectively. The vertical stroke of *ḥ* is not incised in some cases, e.g., in *khmāpāḥ*, l. 5, *khāṭa-*, l. 11, *Kuimāḥa*, l. 56, *Nārouka* and *Chāḥḥāḥḥamurāḥa*, l. 57 and probably also in *Kukhāḥḥa-ḥa*, l. 55. The engraver has again inadvertently omitted some words and syllables in a few places, e.g., **rāḥḥa-* in l. 2, *dhāra* in l. 25, *-krah* in l. 24, etc., and has wrongly repeated *dhāpāḥ* in l. 2, *dāḥḥa* in l. 4, *-dhāyāpāḥ* *sa-parāḥḥaḥ* in l. 39, etc. The words [*nadi*] *Marjāta*] (l. 37) and the letter *sa* in *Vāḥḥaḥ* (l. 57) which were at first omitted are engraved immediately below. In one case the engraver has corrected his mistake by scoring out a wrong stroke; see *Māyāpāraka-* in l. 37 where the curve for medial *u* of *ju* is cancelled.

The characters are Nāgarī as in the Paṭṭhaṇ plates of Govinda III. As regards individual letters we may note the following peculiarities:—Besides the regular form of initial *ā* in *āḥḥa-*, l. 1, another in which the letter is laid on its side occurs in *ā-chaḥḥa-*, l. 40. The medial *ā* is generally marked by downward vertical stroke, but in conjunction with *y*, *t*, and *ḥ* it rises upwards, occasionally ending in a curve, cf. *-pāḥḥa-vāḥḥaḥ*, l. 11, *-dhāḥḥa-* and *Māḥḥa-*, l. 28. The medial *u* is generally shown either with a serif as in *Damāḥḥa-*, l. 7, or with a curve open on the left as in *chatur-*, l. 8, but also occasionally with a loop as in *krāḥḥa-vāḥḥa-*, l. 15, *vijukha-*, l. 31, *vāḥḥa*, l. 52 and with a curve turned downwards in cases where the vertical stroke already ends in a serif as in *rachā-*, l. 17 and *dhāra-*, l. 22. Besides the usual form of the medial *ā* as in *dhāpāḥ*, l. 2, *dhāḥḥa*, l. 6, etc., there are two others seen in *-rāpāḥ*, l. 19, and *-grāḥḥa-*, l. 31. Several letters have more than one form; see for example, *j* in *Rāḥḥaḥḥa-*, l. 16 and *vāḥḥa*, l. 3; *p* in *prāḥḥaḥḥa*, ll. 13-14 and *vāḥḥaḥḥa*, l. 14; *ā* in *dhāḥḥa*, l. 7 and *a-ḥḥa-vāḥḥaḥḥa*, l. 9; *i* in *Vāḥḥa-* and *dhāḥḥa* both in l. 20 and *rachā-vāḥḥa*, l. 5; *r* in *ḥa*, l. 1, *Vāḥḥa*, l. 8 and *vāḥḥa*, l. 18; *ḥ* in *Chāḥḥaḥḥa*, ll. 34-35 and *Vāḥḥa*, l. 32; and finally the subscript *ḥ* in *Pāḥḥa*, l. 8, *Māḥḥaḥḥa*, l. 42 and *daḥḥa*, l. 19. *N* is generally shown with a loop and *r* without it, but the opposite forms also occur sporadically; see *n* in *-dhāḥḥa*, l. 37, *-dhāḥḥa*, l. 41, *Vāḥḥaḥḥa*, l. 57, etc., and the superscript *ḥ* in *-dhāḥḥa*, l. 19. *H* occasionally shows a tail as in *dhāḥḥa*, l. 22 and *r* a loop on the left as in *rachā*, l. 5, *-prāḥḥaḥḥa*, l. 15; when the latter forms a member of the ligatures *rya* and *rya* it is placed horizontally as in *vāḥḥa*, l. 42 and *parāḥḥa*, l. 40. The conjunct *rā* is marked by a curled curve turned to the left as in *dhāḥḥa* and *Pāḥḥaḥḥa* in l. 23. The final form of *t*, which occurs in ll. 7, 12, 49, and 50, is shown with an encircling curve.

The language is Sanskrit. Some of the names of the donors and *pāṭras*, however, are in Prākṛit, e.g., *Chāḥḥaḥḥa* for *Shāḥḥaḥḥa*, *Kramāḥḥa*, for *Kramāḥḥa*, etc. The first twenty-seven lines which form the eulogistic part are in verse. Then comes the formal part of the grant in prose, which is followed by four benedictory and imprecatory verses of the usual type. The last four lines are again in prose, and record the name of the writer and the *dātā* of the record as well as the *pāṭras* and shares of some of the donors. As regards orthography attention may be drawn to the following:—(1) The consonant following *r* and that before *y* are occasionally doubled;

eg., *Dantidurga*, l. 7 and *pālā-dantidūrga*, l. 29. (2) A *clausum* is only rarely used for *anaclosis*, eg., *atāra*, l. 10; *patāla*, l. 56, etc. (3) *ṛ* is used for *ṣ* throughout, cf. *śala* for *śala*, l. 8; *śāḍha* for *śāḍha*, l. 11, etc. (4) *ḥ* is wrongly inserted for *r* in *Kaṇḍa-āḍha*, l. 6, *triṣṭuppa*, l. 36, etc. (5) *Anaclosis* is wrongly changed to *a* in *śaṇa-piṭha*, l. 5 and *śaṇa-āḍha*, l. 31, etc. (6) The palatal *ṣ* and the lingual *ś* are wrongly inserted for the dental *s* in *śaṇa-āḍha*, l. 42 and *Chāḍha-āḍha*, l. 57 respectively.

Besides these, there are several mistakes due to the carelessness of the writer or the scribe, e.g., the use of the unspirant *t* for the spirant *th* in *atāra*, l. 43, the omission of *śaṇa* before *s* in *śaṇa-āḍha*, l. 47, the use of *anaclosis* to denote length in *śaṇa-āḍha*, l. 54 and *śaṇa-āḍha*, l. 55. In the formal part of the grant there are some wrong *śāḍha*, e.g., *patāla-piṭha-āḍha*, l. 40; *patāla-piṭha*, l. 42, etc.

The plates were issued by the Hāshtrakāṭa king Gōvinda III from his victorious capital at Mayurakhaṇḍi on the occasion of a *śaṇa-paṇḍa*¹ gift at the time of a solar eclipse in the expired Śaka year seven hundred and twenty-two. The date cannot be verified for want of the necessary details. There was only one solar eclipse in the expired Śaka year 722, viz., that which occurred on the New Moon day of the month of Īśāḍha, the corresponding Christian date being Thursday, 23rd June, A.D. 800. This date falls in the reign of Gōvinda III, who ruled from circa A.D. 794 to A.D. 814.

Like the earlier Pāṭhaṇ plates² the present inscription incorporates many old verses descriptive of the ancestors of Gōvinda III, which are known from the older records of Dantidurga, Krishna I and Dhruva. The eulogistic part of the present plates is, however, shorter than that of the Pāṭhaṇ plates as eleven verses, viz., 3, 4, 10, 12, 17, 20-22, 25-27, which occur in the latter are not included here.

The genealogy of Gōvinda III is given here as in his other plates, commencing from Gōvinda I, viz., Gōvinda (I); his son Rakka (I); his son Indra (II); his son Dantidurga, who defeated the innumerable forces of the Karmāṭas which were clever in defeating the lord of Kāḍha, the King of Kāḍha, the Chola, the Pāṇḍya, the illustrious Haraha and Vajraśaḍha who attained the position of *Śaṇa-āḍha* *Paṇḍa* by easily defeating Vallabha; (his uncle) Krishna-Śaḍha-āḍha-āḍha, the son of Rakka I, who defeated Kāḍha and assumed the title *Śaṇa-āḍha* and *Paṇḍa*; his son, Gōvinda (II); his younger brother Dhruva; his son Gōvinda (III), who was crowned king by his father in supersession of his other sons. Gōvinda III is here said to have assumed the *śāḍha* of *Prakāḍha*, *Prakāḍha* and *Śaḍha*. There is nothing new in the eulogistic verses, which, as stated above, are copied from earlier records. As in the Pāṭhaṇ plates there is here no reference to any of Gōvinda's campaigns in the north or the south.

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village *Arjāṇavarṇa* on the occasion of a solar eclipse to the following thirteen Brahmins:—(1) Rudraṇa Dāḍha, son of Gōvinda-āḍha of Vāḍha-āḍha, who was a religious student of the Rīgveda, and a resident of Vāḍha; (2) Durgappa of Karmāṭa-āḍha who was a resident of Tāḍha; (3) Dēvadatta of Hāḍha-āḍha; (4) Nārāyaṇa of Kotimāḍha (Kotimāḍha) āḍha; (5) Madhappa;

¹ Gōvinda III seems to have weighed himself against gold before making the gift: cf. The Cambay Plates of Gōvinda IV, B. 46-47 and 50-52, above, Vol. VII, p. 48. A similar expression *śaṇa-paṇḍa* still occurs in the Śaḍha plates of Dantidurga which there was inclined to take as an eulogistic expression (see *Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 191), but the expression probably qualifies the word *śaṇa* which seems to have been omitted inadvertently.

² Above, Vol. III, p. 102.

³ The plates of nos. 2, 4, 6, 8, and 10-12, which were at first omitted, are supplied in B. 53-57.

⁴ This name appears wrongly as *Sāḍha* in l. 50.

(6) Vāṇṇa of Hāridra-gōṭra; (7) Aiyam¹ of Māggala-gōṭra; (8) Gaṇṭiyamma of Bhāradvaja-gōṭra; (9) Lavraiya; (10) Kasamma² of Kāśyapa-gōṭra; (11) Chhatṭakumara of Vājasaṃyā-gōṭra³; (12) Nāraka of Sigali (Bāgali)-gōṭra and (13) Vādi. The revenue of the village was divided into eighteen (equal) shares of which the Dikēluta Rudappa was given five, Dēvadata two and the remaining eleven one each. The donated village was situated in the *maḥāya* (district) of Aśhalapara and was bounded on the east by the village Raṅgachūḥyī and the river Marī, on the south by the village Gāhaśūtrā, on the west by the village Sallamāla and the Joll Timra, and on the north by the village Kūrē and Vatapura. The charter was written by Kṛṣṇaka, the minister in charge of peace and war, and the son of the military officer Śāmaṇa tri-Gaṇṭa, by the order of the Emperor (Govinda III), and with the consent of the Great Queen (Mahādēvī). The *dātaka* was the illustrious Chāḥkīrāja.

The present plates do not add anything to our knowledge of Govinda III's reign, but the mention of Chāḥkīrāja as the *dātaka* of the present grant is interesting. He evidently occupied a high position at Govinda's court and is probably identical with the illustrious Chāḥkīrāja, the lord (*adhirāja*) of the entire Gaṅga-maṇḍala, who made a request to Govinda III to grant a village to the Jaina ascetic Arbakīrti to avert the adverse influence of Saturn from his sister's son Vinulāditya as recorded in the Kaṭṭala plates of the reign of Govinda III⁴. The circumstances which led to the elevation of Chāḥkīrāja, who was at first an officer at the court of Govinda III, to the position of the ruler of the entire Gaṅga province can now be clearly stated. The Gaṅga king was one of those princes who had come to the help of Govinda II, when his brother Dhruva rebelled against him. He was imprisoned by the latter who placed his son Stamḥa in charge of the conquered Gaṅga province. The Gaṅga prince was released by Govinda III after his accession, probably to create a rival to his brother who had become hostile to him⁵. He ungratefully joined Stamḥa but was speedily defeated along with the latter. Though Govinda III magnanimously pardoned Stamḥa as implied in the Sanjān plates⁶, he is not likely to have re-constituted him as a ruler of the whole of the Gaṅga province. He must have placed some trusted officer of his, like Chāḥkīrāja, in charge of some portion of the Gaṅga-maṇḍala to serve as a check on his brother. Later on, when the whole Gaṅga country was annexed consequent on a second revolt or, perhaps, the death of Stamḥa, Chāḥkīrāja must have been put in charge of the entire Gaṅga province as stated in the Kaṭṭala plates. If the above reasoning is correct, Stamḥa's revolt and defeat must be placed between A.D. 800, the date of the present grant and A.D. 805, the date of the Nēari plates, in which the defeat of the Gaṅga king is mentioned for the first time⁷.

¹ This name is written as *Aya[n]* in l. 56.

² The name appears as *Kasamma* in l. 56.

³ The name of the *gōṭra* is here wrongly mentioned as *gōṭra*.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 232.

⁵ *Atelier*—*The Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, pp. 61 f.

⁶ Above, Vol. XVIII, pl. 244, verso 18.

⁷ In this connection attention may be drawn to the following note of Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao:—

Though it is known from *Amṛtagaṇṭha* that Govinda III put down the rebellion headed by his elder brother Stamḥa, it is nowhere stated that Govinda pardoned him. But from the Maṇḍa plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, XI, 41) of A.D. 802 and the Badamaṇḍa plates (*Mem. Arch. Report*, 1927, p. 112) of A.D. 808 both issued by Kṛṣṇachādita (i.e., Stamḥa), we learn that he was a subordinate of Govinda. The former of these records states that Kṛṣṇachādita made the grant specified in it with the permission of his younger brother while in the latter he acknowledges the sovereignty of Govinda. There is no reason to suppose that he was placed in charge of only a portion of the Gaṅga-maṇḍala, since the two grants referred to above were issued respectively from Maṇḍa-pura (Maṇḍa in Mysore State) and Talavānapura (Talukā in Mysore), the two important capitals of the

While editing the Kadaba plates Dr. Lüders has enumerated in detail the several circumstances which, in his opinion, create a suspicion about the genuineness of those plates¹. The occurrence of Chālikirāja's name in the present plates², though it cannot decide the question, may still be adduced as a point in favour of the genuineness of the Kadaba grant.

As for the places mentioned in the present plates, Mayūrakhaṇḍī where the King's victorious capital was situated is mentioned as the place of issue in four other published records, viz.—Vani-Diḍgori³, Rādhapur⁴, Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhaka Maṇḍala⁵ and Kadaba⁶ plates. In the first three of these the word '*vijayaśākhāṇḍāra*' does not occur. Our plates⁷, however, have it in common with the Kadaba plates. Dr. Bühler first identified Mayūrakhaṇḍī with Markhaṇḍī, a hill fort in the Sātmālā or Ajanta range, close to Saptaśringī and north of Vani in the Nāsik District and this identification has, since then, been accepted without question. As Mayūrakhaṇḍī has been mentioned as a place of royal residence in as many as five records⁸, it could not have been only a temporary site of the royal camp. Besides in the present plates the charter is said to have been written with the consent of the Great Queen (*Mahādēvī*), who was, thus, probably present at Mayūrakhaṇḍī at the time of the solar eclipse. The place may, therefore, have been the Rāshtrakūṭa capital in the time of Gōvinda III. No other place has been mentioned as the capital in any of his plates. We may, again, note in this connection that *śākhāṇḍāra* is used in Sanskrit in the sense of a royal capital⁹ also and the word *vijaya* (victorious) is not unknown as a prefix of its name¹⁰. As for Bühler's observation that Mayūrakhaṇḍī does not seem to have been Gōvinda III's capital, 'though it may have been an occasional place of residence' because 'Indian princes do not usually govern their dominions from lonely forts', we may point out that the difficulty pointed out

Gaṅga-maṇḍala. Further, neither in the record under publication, which contains the earliest mention of Chālikirāja, nor in another set of Maṇḍa plates issued by Gōvinda in Śaka 722 (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 85), is he called *Gaṅga-maṇḍal-chālikirāja*, which epithet is applied to him for the first time in the Kailāsa plates of A.D. 812. It is therefore likely that he was appointed to govern the Gaṅga-maṇḍala only after the death of Kṛṣṇa, which must have taken place subsequent to the date of his Rājasekhara plates, viz., A.D. 808, and probably after A.D. 810, the date of the second set of Maṇḍa plates which does not style him 'the ruler of Gaṅga-maṇḍala'. So, the mention of Chālikirāja—without even an official designation or title—in the Aljamavati plates must help us in fixing the date of Kṛṣṇa's revolt or defeat. All that can be said is that Saṅkha must have submitted to Gōvinda before A.D. 802, the date of the first set of Maṇḍa plates where also we find the earliest mention of the defeat and re-imprisonment of the Gaṅga king—and not in the Nāśa plates of A.D. 808 as stated by Prof. Mirashi.—Ed.]

¹ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 353 f.

² [Chālikirāja's name is found also in the Maṇḍa plates of A.D. 810; see n. 4 above.—Ed.]

³ *सप्तश्रिंगीकनवासिनेन सदा*, etc. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 150.

⁴ *सप्तश्रिंगीकनवासिनेन सदा*, etc. Above, Vol. VI, p. 248.

⁵ *सप्तश्रिंगीकनवासिनेन सदा*, etc. *Khata, Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. III, pp. 271. (pub. by E. I. R. Maṇḍala, Poona).

⁶ *सप्तश्रिंगीकनवासिनेन सप्तश्रिंगीकनवासिनेन सप्तश्रिंगीकनवासिनेन*, etc.

⁷ *सदा* *सप्तश्रिंगीकनवासिनेन सप्तश्रिंगीकनवासिनेन* below p. 17.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 64. The expression '*vijayaśākhāṇḍāra*' occurs also in two more sets of Gōvinda III's plates recently found in Berār, which record donations of villages in Berār.

⁹ See the above foot-note.

¹⁰ The word is used in the sense of capital in the *Mahābhārata*, *Adiparvan*, Adhyāya 185, verse 6. (Bombay Pressman) and Bāṇa's *Harsha-Charita*, p. 152 (Nirṇaya Sāgar ed.). Cf. Hemachandra's *Aśāṅkha Chintāmaṇi* (ed. by N. C. Bhattacharya) p. 25. Note also in this connection the expression *सप्तश्रिंगीकनवासिनेन सप्तश्रिंगीकनवासिनेन* which occurs in many plates of the Gujara-Pratihāra. Mahādēv was the capital of the Pratihāra. Cf. The Cambay Plates of Gōvinda IV, v. 19 (above, Vol. VII, p. 33).

¹¹ Cf. *विजयश्रिंगपुरा* in the *Sūrat Plates of Vraṇḍasena*.

by Bühler is of his own creation. For we need not identify Mayākrakhaṇḍī with Markhaṇḍ, the hillfort in the Nāsiḥ District, where no early remains of any kind are found. There is a village called Markaṇḍī on the bank of the Waingāṅgā, 56 miles south-east of Chāndā in the Central Provinces. It contains some twenty elaborately carved temples which have been described and enthusiastically praised by Cunningham¹ whose opinion Bloch² has endorsed. As Cunningham says, it was once a large place, but frequent inundations have driven most of the people away. The principal temple is called after Mārkaṇḍēya Rishi; there is another, named after his brother Mūrkaṇḍ Rishi. Both of these are dedicated to Śiva and assigned to the 10th or 11th century A.D. by Cunningham. There is another temple called Daśāvatāra dedicated to Viṣṇu to which Cunningham assigned a period two or three centuries earlier. There are, besides, inscriptions on square monolith pillars which, on palaeographic grounds, can be referred to the 6th or 7th century A.D. It is clear, therefore, that Markaṇḍī was a flourishing place in the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and may have been the ancient Mayākrakhaṇḍī mentioned as a place of royal residence in several grants of Govinda III. In later times, when its ancient name was forgotten, it seems to have been conjecturally connected with Mārkaṇḍēya Rishi. Arjjanavati the donated village still retains its name practically unchanged. Achalapura, which gave its name to the district in which the above village was situated is identical with modern Ellichpur in Burā³. Most of the boundary villages can also be definitely identified in the vicinity of Añjanavati. Thus, Gāhaśōdvā is Gahvā, 1½ miles to the south; the village Sallaśmāla is now represented by two villages—Sālūra, 3½ miles to the west and Amlā which lies about 5 miles to the south-west; Kurā is undoubtedly modern Kurhā, 3 miles to the north-west and Vaṭapura is Vajur about a mile east of Kurhā. Raṅgalachhya cannot be identified. Tīmisa may have been the ancient name of the hills west of Añjanavati and Marī that of a nālā flowing near by, which have no particular names now. Vēyaghama and Talēvāṭaka where the donors resided are now represented by Waigāon 3 miles south and Talgaon about 10 miles south by west of Añjanavati.

TEXT.⁴

[Metres: Vv. 1, 18 and 20 *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 15 and 16 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 5 *Gitā*; vv. 8-10 and 17 *Āryā*; vv. 12 and 13 *Śrāgdhārā*; v. 14 *Upajātī*; v. 19 *Indravajrā*; v. 21 *Paśyatiṣṭhā*.]

First Plate.

- 1 चो¹ [1²] स वोव्यादेधना [ध]म यवामिकमलं कतं [1³] हरव यव
 का[न्ते]दुक्ततया कमलंक[तं] ॥[1⁴] चामीदि[द्वि]प-
 2 तिमिरमुद्यतमंडलायो [ध्व]स्त्रिययवमिमुखो रणयर्वीरेषु [1⁵] भूपः भूपः⁶ यचि[रि]वा-
 म्ना⁷दिमन्तवी.

¹ Cunningham, *A. & E.*, Vol. IX, pp. 142 ff.

² *PRAS. E. C.*, for 1007-1008.

³ This name is a corrupt form of Achalapura which is derived from Achalapura by metathesis. Hāma-chandra has actually cited the present name to illustrate metathesis (*Achalapurī cāndā*) in his *Prākṛit Grammar* (*Śālikā-Himachal*, VIII. 2, 118). Achalapura is mentioned as the place of issue in the Tivarāṭh plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Nannarāja, Śālikā 593 (above, Vol. XI, pp. 776 ff.).

⁴ From the original plates and ink-impressions.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ This word is superfluous.

⁷ Read चवि after यचि.

⁸ Read चविता. The Añjan plates of Yuvarāja Govinda II read भूययमाकद्वान.

- 3 तिर्गोविंदराज इति राजसु राजसिंहः ॥२*॥ तस्यामजो जगति विद्युतदीपः¹
 औत्तिरा[र्त्ता]त्तिहारिन्नरिवि-
- 4 क्षमधाम[व]क्षम[ारे] [१*] [भू]पस्तुविष्टपटपा[नु]जतिः क्षतत्रः श्रीक²कराज इति
 गोवमखिवं(वे)[भूवं] ॥३*॥ त-
- 5 स्य म[मिभ]कारटकुतदानदन्तिदन्तप्रहारचिरोजिह्विताम्³ पीठः [१*] छापः क्षितौ
 क्षपित[ग]चुरभू-
- 6 तनूजः सदाइकूटकनकाटु⁴ रिविंदराजः ॥४*॥ तस्योपाश्रितमङ्गमः⁵ तमयस्तुदधि-
- 7 वल[यम]गलित्वाः [१*] भोक्ता सुवः यतकृतमहय⁶ श्रीदन्तिदुर्गराजोभूत् ॥५*॥
 काक्षीयक(वे)वल-
- 8 नराधिपचौल⁷पापद्यचौदपयचटविभेदविधानदत्तं [१*] काष्ण्णटकं व(व)क्षम[न]ना-
- 9 मजियमन्वेर्भुत्तैः किवदिरपि यः सहसा जिगाय ॥६*॥ चभूविभंगमयक्षित-
- 10 निशातयक्षमन्वा⁸नामप्रतिहताक्षमपेतयत्नं [१*] यो वक्षमं सपदि दक्षव(व)लेन
 जित्वा
- 11 रावाधिराजपरमेस्वरतामसाप ॥७*॥ तस्मि⁹ द्विवं प्रयाति वक्षभरजे क्षतमजा-
 वा(वा)धः [१*]
- 12 श्रीककराजसूनुंक्षोपतिः क्षणराजोभूत् ॥८*॥ यभतुंशतुंगतुरगमहदरेषु-
- 13 ई(ई)रहरपिजिरणं [१*] श्रीमेपि नभो भिखिलं पाट्टालावते क्षटं ॥९*॥
 दीनानाघप्रण-
- 14 यिषु ययेष्टचेष्टं ममीहितमजसं [१*] तत्क्षणमकालवर्षो यदति मन्वोर्त्तिनि-
 र्व्यपणं¹⁰ ॥१०*॥

Second Plate, First Side.

- 15 राक्षसमात्मभुजजालव(व)लावले[पमा]जौ विजित्य निशितासिलताप्रहारैः [१*]
 [पा]लि-

¹ The Alia plates read दीनकीर्ति.

² This word is superfluous.

³ Read लिखित.

⁴ This name generally appears as here. The Palihay plates, however, give श्रीक²कराज इति.

⁵ Read लिखितामपीठ.

⁶ Read क्षमकादि-

⁷ The Alia plates read एकराज and the Telugu plates of Krishnapur (above, Vol. XIII, pp. 279 ff.) एकराज.

⁸ Read एकरा श्रीदन्तिदुर्ग.

⁹ Read श्रीक as in the Palihay and many other plates.

¹⁰ The Alia and Telugu plates read एकात्मविजिताह.

¹¹ Read लिखित.

¹² The Alia and Telugu plates read मन्वोर्त्तिनिर्व्यपणे.

- 16 ध्वजावलिमुभयमविरैव यो च राजाधिपराजपरमेश्वरतां ततान् ॥[११^a] श्री-
[धादु]त्थातख-
17 इपस्तवचिचयैर्भाषमानं समतादाजावुद्भुतवैरिप्रकटगजवटाटीपसंचोभ-
18 दत्ते [१^a] गौर्ये त्वजा(का)रिवर्मीं भयचकितवपुः कापि दृष्टेव^a मद्यो दर्पा-
कातारिवकचयक-
19 रसगमयाख दोहंष्टरुपं ॥[१२^a] येन मे(ये)तातपन्नप्रहतरविक्रान्तातपापल्लोन्-
जग्मे [ना]-
20 सौरभूलोधपलितगिरिमा वल्लभाख्या(ख्यः) सदाजी [१^a] स योगोविंदराजी जित-
जगदहि[तस्मै]-
21 श्वैधव्यहेतुस्त्रासो[त्^a] सुनुरकाचगरणदलितारातिमत्तेभकुंभः ॥[१३^a] तस्यानु-
22 जचोभुवराजनामा महागुभावी जिततपताप^a[१^a] प्रसाधितागेषनरेन्द्रच[क्रः^a]
क्रमेण
23 व^a या(वा)लार्जवपुर्व(वै)भूष ॥[१४^a] तस्माप्यभुद्भुतभारभृतौ समर्थः पार्थोपमः
पृथु[सोमा]-
24 नगुणो गुणश्रः [१^a] दुर्व्यावैरिवनितातुलतापहेतुमोविंदराज इति सुनुरिप्रता-
25 पः ॥[१५^a] यच्च प्रमुचतुर^aददारकीर्त्तरासेदिवाकिरूपमस्य पितुः सकाशात्-
(त् । स)त्स्वप्यने-
26 कतनयेषु गुणातिरेकान्मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तवृषसमस्तमाय राज्यं ॥[१६^a] तेनैदमति-
27 लवियुचंचलमवलोक्य जीवितमभारं [१^a] चिन्तिदानपरमपुण्यः प्रवर्त्तितो

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 28 व(व)कादायोय ॥[१७^a] स च परमभहारकमहाराजाविराज[प]रमेश्वरधीमहागतवै-
29 देवपादानुज्जातपरमभहारकमहाराजाधिपराजपरमेश्वरपृथ्वीवल्लभप्रभूतव-
30 र्धनोवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशलो ॥ कर्त्तानिव यवासंर(व)ध्यमानकान्नादृपतिविषय[प]-
तिषाम-
31 कूटामुक्तकनियुक्ताधिकारिकमहत्तरादीं समाप्तापयत्वास्तु वः संविदितं यथा भया
भातापि-

^a Read इति.

^a Read 'स'.

^a The Palihar plates read महागुभावीपदतपताप.

^a This syllable is redundant.

^a Read -सुनुरकाचदर- as in the Palihar plates.

^a Read महातरादीन्.

- 32 श्रीराक्षतपैत्रिकामुषिकमुष्णयमोभिद्वये [वे]यचन'वास्तव्य' यमिदमगोत्रम(व)हृच-
मम(व)-
- 33 अचान्मिचकमोवैजमहपुचसइणदीचत । तथा तलेवाटकवास्तव्यदुर्भीषकमइत । गो-
34 त' । इचदत' । नारायण । मंगण' । वीण' । ऐवति' । मंतियन् ।
लव्वे[व्य] । कसमण । इठि-
- 35 कुमर । नारीक । वादि । एवमाद्यटादशसंख्याभागविभक्तस्य' म[हा]वसुस
[व(व)लि]-
- 36 चरुवैजदेवान्मिचोवातिविपचमहायचक्रा(कि)योसर्प'णाय' श्रीमदवलपुरवि[षया]न्तमोत-
- 37 'शंनु(च)णयंळभिधानो ग्रामः यत्वाघाटनानि पूर्वतो रंगलक्षि ग्रामः [नदी]
सरि[च] द[चिणतः] [गो]इसो
- 38 [वा]'ग्रामः पचि[म]तः सन्नैमाजग्रामस्तिमिष्ठगिरिच उत्तरतः कुरेपा[मः] वट-
[पु]रं च एवम-
- 39 व [चतु]राघाटनोपलक्षितः सोदंगः 'सपरिकरः सधान्यहिरण्यदेय[ः]' सोदंगः'
सपरिकर-
- 40 सप्तसूराजकीयानामहस्तप्रवेपणीयो" चाचन्द्रार्काण्यवक्षितिमस्तिवै(व)तसमकालीन[ः]"
पुत्रपोत्तान्-
- 41 यक्रमोपभोष्योभ्यन्तरसिद्धा शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरये(म)तिषु म(च)तसु हाविश-
त्वधिषेष्टु मयूर-

¹ The first letter of this place-name can also be read as *वे* or *वै* and the third letter is damaged by rust; but the reading given above appears probable, as it corresponds to Yalman in the vicinity of Añjanavati.

² Read कसमणाय । It may be noted in this connection that the enumeration of the plates in II. 35. 37 starts with ईचदत. The poem of *राय* must, therefore, have been mentioned before. Besides, the number of the Brahmin donors was only thirteen. So *पञ्च* cannot be taken as a name. (*Kramas* probably stands for *Śrī Kramas* and not *Kramaditya* as suggested by Prof. Minshū. *Kramaditya* as a place name does not find place in the *Gōra-Purāṇa-sūtra-lakṣaṇa*. It may be that the poem of Durgappa who was a *śaśvatī*, was omitted through inadvertence.—Ed.)

³ With the first letter of this, compare *वे* in *महासुभावे* in I. 32. The name occurs again in I. 34 where the first letter is clearly *वे*.

⁴ That the first letter of this name is *सु* is clear from the form [सु]इदने which occurs in I. 35.

⁵ [Or probably *Lachchajya*.—Ed.]

⁶ This expression should properly qualify *ग्राम* in I. 37. Read therefore, *विश्व*.

⁷ The consonant on *च* is clear on the original plate. The engraver first inserted the medial *र* of *च* and then cancelled it. Read 'मोमस्त्वयनियामे'. (The fourth letter here looks more like *प* than *न*.—Ed.)

⁸ This syllable can also be read as *हृ*, but the reading given above is probable, since the name corresponds to *Gahri* near Añjanavati.

⁹ This word appears as here in the Panchaj plate also. Read *सोपरिकर*, as in many other plates.

¹⁰ This and the next word are necessarily repeated here.

¹¹ Read *इचदतये* *चाचन्द्र*.

iii.

[illegible]

iii

44 44
46 46
48 48
50 50
52 52
54 54
56 56
58 58



42 [ख]र्णीसमाधासितविजयस्कन्धागरावस्थितेन¹ सूर्यप्रहणे तुलापुण्यप्रदानप[र्व]स्थि²दक्षा-
तिसर्गे-

Third Plate.

43 ण प्रतिपादितो महाजनस्य [1*] यतोऽबोचितया त्र(त्र)ह्यदापस्ति(स्थि)[स्वा]
क्षयतः क[पि]यतः भुंजतो भोजयतः

44 प्रतिदिशतो³र्वा न केनचिद्गामिधे प्रवर्तितव्यं [1*] तयागामिभद्रपतिभिरभ्य-
र्ष्यैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं

45 भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युज्जीलान्धनित्यैर्गव्याणि तृ[णा]मलन्नजलवि(वि)दुर(च)वलं
च जीवितमाकल⁴

46 य खदायनिर्विकेपोयमद्याद्योतुमंतव्यः रा(पा)लवितव्यश्च । यथाज्ञानतिमिरपट-
लावृत-

47 मतिराहिं(चिं)द्यादाहिं(चिं)द्यमानं वानुमा(मी)देत न पंचभिस्त्रिंशत्पातकैस्तोप-
पातकैश्च संयुक्तः⁵ स्यादित्यु⁶

48 कं च त(भ)गवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिं धर्म(पं)सहस्राणि सूर्ये
तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] चाच्छेत्ता चा-

49 तुमंताच्च⁷ तान्धेव नरके वसेत् ॥[१८*] चम्पेरपञ्च(त्वं) प्रप्र(य)मं सुवर्णं
भूर्ध्वैर्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च ग(गा)-

50 वः [1*] लोकत्रयं ते[न] भवेद्दि दत्त(त्त) यः काश्चन गां च मर्षी च दद्यात्
॥[१८*] व(व)हुर्मिर्जसुधा

51 भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभ(भिः) [1*] यश्च यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
फलं⁸ ॥[२०*] इति

52 कमलदलान्मुविन्दुलोको⁹ विद्यम(म)नुचिंत्य मनुचजीवितं च [1*] मज्जकमिदमप्राण-

53 तं च वु(वु)द्वा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विज्ञोष्याः ॥[२१०*] लिखितं
चेतश्चया धर(मि)यराश्रया

54 श्रीमह(हा)देव्यानुमतेन श्रीवाकिरजदूतकं सामन्तश्रीमोतव(व)लाधिकतस्तुना मघाणा-

¹ Read विजयस्कन्धागरावस्थितेन.

² The writer first wrote परेण and then thought of joining the last syllable with the initial of of दक्ष.

Read दक्षेणदक्ष-

³ Read प्रतिदिशतो वा.

⁴ Read तदिति ।

⁵ Read *कुमला च.

⁶ Read दक्षानुविन्दुलोको.

- 55 शिवविद्याधिष्ठतथोक्तु[कै]केनेति । देवदत्तस्य चांहा/रिद्रगोचं । मोकलगो[चं]
[च]इत्यनेः [i] [मं]-
- 56 तियन्मस्य मं(भा)रवाजगा(गो)चं । नारणस्य^१ कुतिमादगोचं । दोषणस्य चारिद्रं
गोचं । कसमनस्य का[इ]य-
- 57 गोचं । नारोकस्य^२ मीगुलि [i*] कठिकुमरस्य^३ वाजमने^४गोच(च) [i*] दोचितस्य
भागाः पंर(च) देवदत्तस्य [चौ भागौ]
- 58 मेघा एकादय [i*] एवमष्टादय भा[गाः i*]

No. 3.—ARANG PLATES OF MAHASUDEVARAJA.

By PANDIT L. P. PANDEYA.

The charter which is edited below consists of three copper-plates and was first brought to light by me in March, 1929. I published a short notice of it in the English paper "The Hira-vada" of Nagpur in its issue of April 11, 1929¹. The plates² were in the possession of a cultivator named Bhagirathi Sonkar of Arang in the Raipur District of the C. P. Nothing definite is known about the provenance of the grant except that it had been lying in the house of the owner for over fifty years—since the time of his father.

Arang has all the appearance of having once been a large and important city. Here and there are many fine old tanks with numerous remains of temples and sculptures, both Jain and Brahmanical. The only temple that is now standing is of Jain origin. It is popularly known as Bhandidewal from the fact that it contains three colossal naked Jain figures. The temple is richly carved and adorned with a profusion of sculptured statues on the outside, many of which are highly indecent. To the west of the town on the bank of a tank there is a small temple dedicated to Mahāmīyā. A description of this temple and also that of the other antiquarian remains at Arang has been given by Cunningham³. Besides the present set, two other sets of copper-plates were discovered at the place in addition to a fragmentary Brāhmi inscription.⁴

The plates are held together by a ring the ends of which are secured in a circular seal about 3½" in diameter. The seal is identical with that described by Fleet in *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 196. Its upper part shows the representation of a standing Lakshmi facing full front; on each side of her

¹ The vertical stroke of the superscript of अ is not marked.

² Read नारायणस्य.

³ This name is evidently identical with नारीक in l. 35 above, though here the medial stroke of न is not marked.

⁴ Read कठिकुमरस्य. The vertical stroke of क in कु is not marked.

⁵ Read वाजमनेन.

⁶ These letters are damaged by rust, but traces of the first and the last can be marked on the plate.

⁷ Traces of २ are visible on the plate.

⁸ Hiralal also has noticed it in his *List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.), p. 106-A.

⁹ Since writing this the plates have been acquired by the Central Museum, Nagpur, where they are now deposited.

¹⁰ Cunningham, *A. & B.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 20 ff.; see also *Raipur District Gazetteer*, pp. 227 ff.

¹¹ See above, Vol. IX, pp. 342 ff.; *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 191 ff. and Hiralal, *List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.), pp. 94, 103 and 110.

an elephant is standing on a water-lily, with its trunk raised above her head. In the proper right corner there is a figure of an expanded water-lily and in the proper left that of a conch (*śaṅkha*). Below is the legend in two lines. The rims of the plates are not inscribed. The plates measure 6·4" in length and 3·2" in breadth. The weight of the plates is 48½ *śolas* and that of the seal 45 *śolas*. The letters show through on the back of the plates, especially in the case of the last plate which was too thin and was, therefore, cut while incising the second and third letters of l. 21. The engraver has, therefore, left 1" of the breadth on the back of the last plate unincised. The first plate contains five lines of writing on its second side and the second plate has the same number of lines on its first side. The second side of the second plate and the first side of the third contain each six lines of writing, while the second side of the third plate has only four lines.

The characters belong to the box-headed type in which the inscriptions of the *Vikīṭakas* and the *Rājim* and *Balakā* plates of *Mahāya Tivavarāja*, are written.* The sign of the *syndhāśīpa* occurs in ll. 3, 8 and 17, and that of the *jīrāśāśīpa* in l. 21. The numerical symbols for 8, 9 and 20 occur in l. 26. The language is Sanskrit and, excepting the five benedictory and imprecatory verses at the close, the whole record is in prose.

As regards orthography, attention may be drawn to the use of *ṛ* for *ri* in *tridāśapattī*, l. 9; of *ā* for *anuvāra* in *adhyarddhāśāra*, l. 10 and of *ya* for *jā* in *śamukh-āyapā*, ll. 25-26. In *bhavānti*, l. 21, the *anuvāra* is wrongly retained after its change to the nasal of the class to which the following letter belongs.

The engraver was *Dr̥ṣṇantiga*, who also engraved the *Kharīyār* Plates of *Mahā-Sudēvarāja* and the *Raipur* Plates of the same king, both of which records were issued from *Sarabhapura*.

The record is dated in the 5th regnal year[†] of the donor *Mahā-Sudēvarāja* on the 29th day of *Vaiśākha*. The place of issue was *Sarabhapura*, which town or city has not yet been definitely identified. *Sambalpur* town in Orissa, *Śirpur* (old *Śrīpura*) the ancient capital of *Mahākōśala* on the bank of the *Mahānadi*, in the *Raipur* District, *Sarabhavarman* in the *Godāvari* District, *Sarapark* or *Sarabpur* in the *Gangpur* Feudatory State in the E. S. A. and *Sarabā*, a village near *Sheorinarayan* town in the *Bilāspur* District have been suggested by different scholars as the probable site of the ancient *Sarabhapura*. These suggestions have been made on the similarity of names only. No authentic evidence has yet been found to confirm the identification. But this seems certain that the dynasty held sway, at least over a part of *Mahākōśala*—present *Ohhattingach* Division in C. P.—where about seven charters of this family have been discovered. They belong to three different kings:—viz., *Mahā-Sudēvarāja*, *Mahā-Jayarāja* and *Mahā-Pravarāja*.

Mahā-Pravarāja's charter was issued from *Śrīpura*, which is no other than the capital town of *Mahākōśala* referred to in the *Rājim* and the *Balakā* Plates of *Mahāya Tivavarāja* who is styled as the supreme lord of *Kōśala* (*Kōśalādhipati*). The other charters were issued from *Sarabhapura*. Whether *Sarabhapura* was also the capital of *Prasannamātra* and of his son *Mānamātra* is not known. No copper charters of either have yet been brought to light.

A silver coin of *Śrī-Prasannamātra*, the grandfather of *Mahā-Sudēvarāja* and *Mahā-Pravarāja* and the father of *Mahā-Jayarāja*, with the legend inscribed in beautiful box-headed characters was recovered from the bed of the *Māna* or *Māmā* river near *Salhepall*, a village lying in the

* C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 291 ff. and above, Vol. VII, pp. 106 ff.

† [See below p. 22 n. 4.—Ed.]

* This river is a tributary of the *Mahānadi*—the great river of *Mahākōśala*—otherwise known as *Chitrakūtā*.

Rajgarh Feudatory State, E. S. A. and is in the possession of the Mahākōśala Historical Society at Dajpur in the Bilaspur District.

No materials are available to ascertain whether the town or city of Śarabhapura was situated on the Mahānadi and whether it was ever the royal capital of the lords of Kōśala. Not a single charter out of the seven sets of plates of this family known to us, mentions its donor as 'the lord of Kōśala'. Nor does any set describe the village granted to be situated in the Kōśala kingdom. The only reference to the name 'Śarabha' is found in the Kani Posthumous Stone Pillar Inscription of Nāgarāja, dated in the Gupta year 191 (A. D. 510-511), in which he is stated to be the daughter's son of one Śarabharāja.

The present charter records the royal confirmation of the grant of a village named *Śivliṅga-ka* situated in the *Tōsardā-śāhā*, by the *Pratāpa* Bhōgilla. The particulars of the donors and their shares in the village are as follows:—

- | | |
|---|-------------------|
| (1) Xajnavāmin of Kātyāyana-gotra, a student of the Mādhyamīma-śāhā of the white Yajurveda, one share and a half. | |
| (2) Kuntakavāmin of Bhāradvāja-gotra | |
| (3) Yajñavalkya of Ārśya-gotra, a student of the Kātya-śāhā of the white Yajurveda. | } one share each. |
| (4) Viśākhavāmin of Kātyāyana-gotra | |
| (5) Gāyatravāmin of Kuntaka-gotra, a student of the Mādhyamīma-śāhā | } ½ share each. |
| (6) Dīnādhara-vāmin, name as above | |
| (7) Dīnāsvāmin, same as above | |
| (8) Pāṇḍita-vāmin of Bhāradvāja-gotra | |
| (9) Dīnādhara-vāmin of Bhāradvāja-gotra | |

Of the geographical names *Tōsardā* may be the *Tōsarā* village in the Patnā State, E. S. A. Prof. V. V. Mirashi identifies *Tōsardā* with *Tusā* near Dumarpalli about 30 miles to the south-east of Araṅg. *Śivliṅgaka* is not traceable near about Araṅg and Sirpur (old Śrīpur).

I edit the inscription from the original plates.¹

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 श्री स्वस्ति [१*] गरभपुरादिबुभोपनतमामन्तमकुटचूडामणिप्रभाप्र-
- 2 मेकासुधौतपादमुगली विपुविज्जामिनोमीमनोहरणहेतु-
- 3 र्वसुवसुधामोप्रद-५ परमभागवतो मातापितृपादानुध्यात-
- 4 ण्योमहासुदेवराजः तौमदु(इ)भुकीयमिविनिहचे प्रतिवामि-
- 5 कुटुम्बिनसमाज्ञापयति ।² विदितमस्तु वो यथायं ग्राम-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 6 स्मृ(स्मि)दशपतिमदनमुखप्रतिष्ठा[क*]रो यावद्विशमिताराकिरणपति-

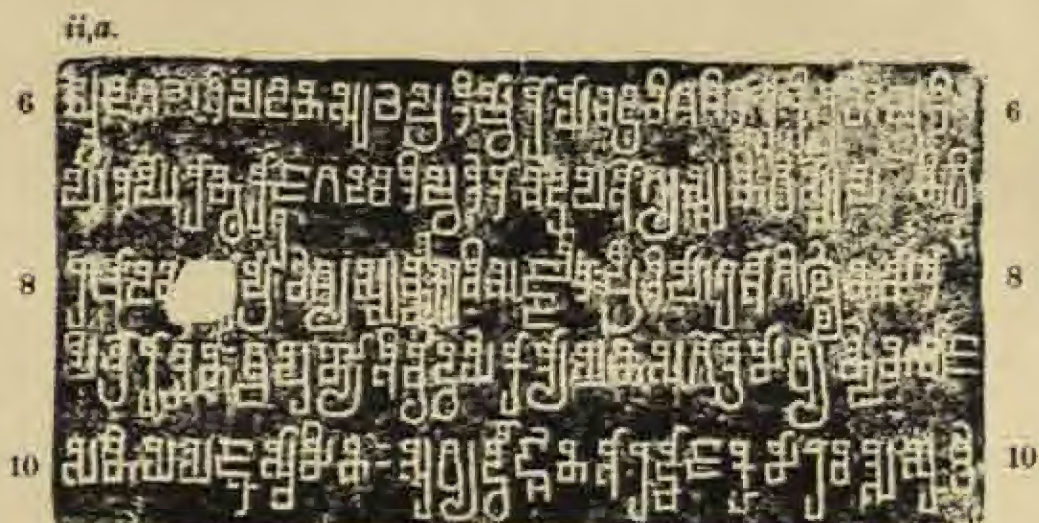
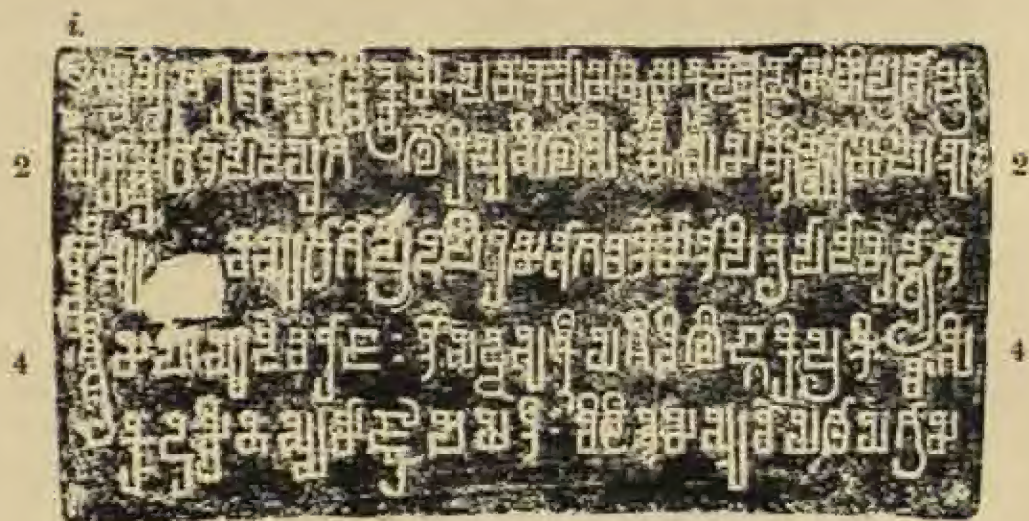
¹ Impressions of this inscription were also kindly supplied to me by Mr. M. A. Sahoor of the Nagpur Museum, through Prof. V. V. Mirashi of the Nagpur University. I am indebted to Prof. Mirashi for very valuable suggestions towards the correct reading and interpretation of certain portions in the text.

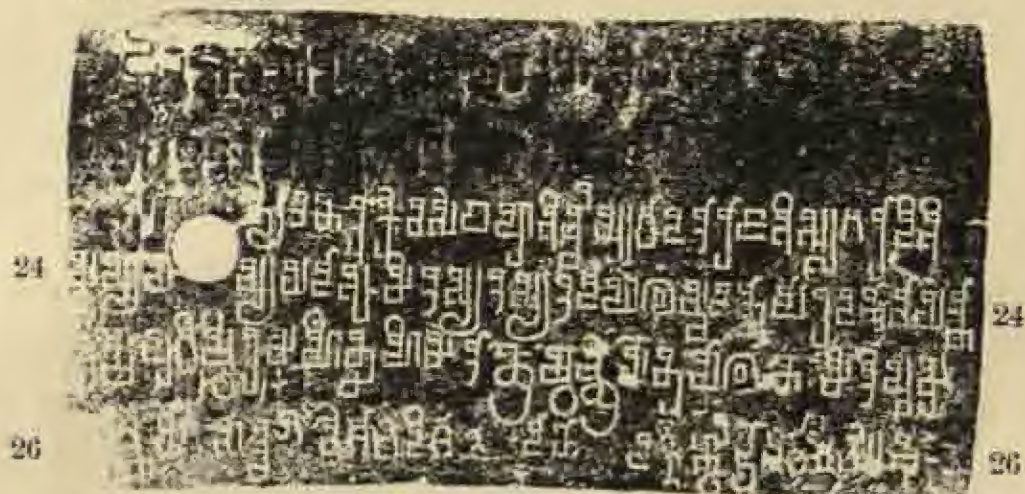
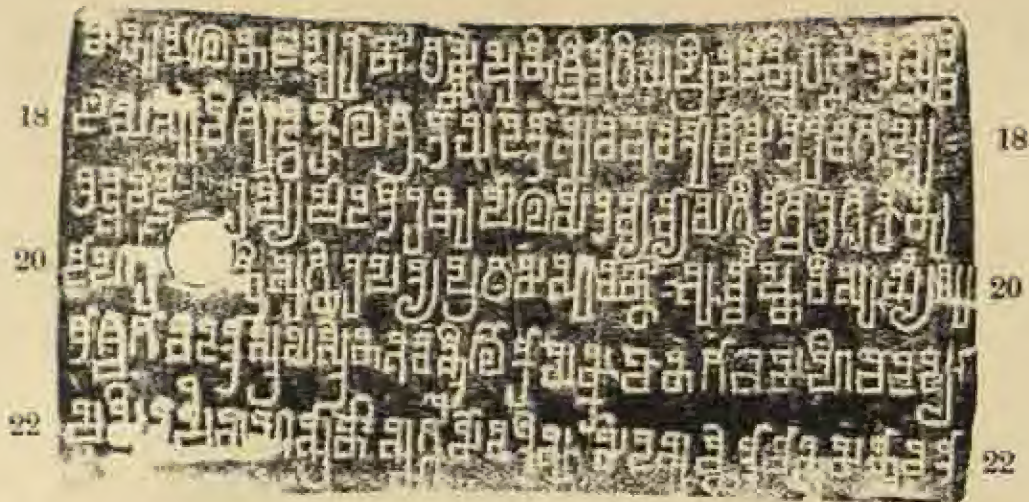
² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The engraver had begun to make *va* after *pa*, but later on corrected it into *pa*.

⁴ The subscript *v* appears like the sign of medial *vi*.

⁵ This mark of punctuation is shown by two dots.





Seal

From a photograph.

Actual size.



- 7 हतधोरान्धका[रं]¹ जगदवतिष्ठते तावदुपभोग्यस्वनिधिमोपतिधि-
 8 रचाटभट²पावेख्यस्वकारविसृजित³>प्रतिहारभोगिनेन माता-
 9 शिबोराम्नच पुष्पाभिहृत्ये कात्यायनमगोचमाध्यन्दिनवाज-
 10 सनेययज्ञस्वामिनः(ने) शब्दज्ञेन⁴ भारवाजकुमारवत्तया(वका)ये-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 11 यकास्तुत्रागसनेययज्ञस्वामिनः(नौ) प्रत्यज्ञेन⁵ कात्यायनविशा[ख]-
 12 स्वामिक्रीमिकम(मा)ध्यन्दिनगोतस्वामि एवं दामोदरस्वामि दामस्वामि
 13 भारवाजपश्चात्तिस्वामि दीक्षितायनीका[न्]⁶ प्रत्यज्ञेन⁷ ताम्ना(स्व)यास-
 14 नेनातिसृष्टो भूत्वास्वाभिरनुमोदितः⁸ [१*] ते युयनेवमुपलभ्येषा-
 15 साज्ञाचरणविधेया भूत्वा यद्योचितं भोगभाममुपनयन्तधुषं
 16 प्रतिवन्ध्य [१*] भविष्यतश्च भूमिपाननुदगयति [१*] दानादिगिट⁹

Third Plate : First Side.

- 17 मनुपालनत्र(ञ) पुराणा धर्मेषु निश्चितधिये<प्रवदन्ति धर्म(मोम) ॥(१)
 तस्मादि(दि)-
 18 जाय सुविद्यवकुलश्रुताय दत्तां भुवं भवतु वो मतिरेव गोप[न्]¹⁰ ॥¹⁰
 19 तद्वद्विरप्येषा दत्ति(त्ति)रनुपालयितव्या [१*] ध्यासगोता(ता)याच लोकां-
 20 दाह्वरन्ति [१*] अग्नेरपत्य(त्वं) प्रथमं सुवर्णं ॥¹¹ भूर्जेष्वी सुर्वसु-
 21 ताच गावः[१*] दत्ताश्वयस्तेन भवं(व)न्ति लोका यद्वाहनं गां च मही-
 (र्ही) च दद्यात् [१*]¹²

¹ The letter *ra* which was first omitted is written below *ja* of joined with a *halanta* sign and the *assessive* meant for *ra* is placed on *ba*.

² The cross on *ch* shows that a syllable was omitted.

³ *Te* is written below the line.

⁴ The *ra* is superfluous.

⁵ Read *चन्द्रादि*.

⁶ Read *गोतनेन*.

⁷ Read *प्रत्यज्ञेन*.

⁸ The medial *i* sign which was first suppressed above *ba* by mistake has been cancelled.

⁹ There are two small horizontal strokes here.

¹⁰ Metre : *Paustashloka*.

¹¹ The sign of punctuation here is superfluous.

¹² Metre : *Paustashloka*.

22 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः ।*] आच्छेत्ता वासुमं(म)न्ता च ता-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

23 न्नेव नरके वसे[त् ॥*] वहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता(त्ता) राजमिहगरादिभिः ।*

24 यस्व यस्व यदा भूमित(स्त)स्व तस्व तदा फलं(लम्) [॥*] स्वदन्ता(त्ता)
परदन्ता(त्ता) वा यज्ञा-

25 द्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर ।*] महीश्वहिमताच्छ्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिति ।*] स्वसु-

26 साम्म(त्त)या संज(वत्) ८* वैशाख दि २० ८ उक्ती(त्ती)स्व द्रोण[सिंवे]न ॥

The Seal.

1 प्रस[त्राण]वसन्त[त]मा[न]मावेन्दुजयनः ।*

2 श्रीमन् [श्री]मन् ।*

NO. 1.—A NOTE ON THE PANCHAVARA COMMITTEE.

By K. V. SUBRAMANYA Aiyer, B.A., COIMBATORE.

One of the principal duties of the village assemblies, of whatever description they may be, *sabha*, *ūr* or *nagara*, was to secure to the king the taxes or incomes due by the village as a whole. These incomes seem to have been once for all determined and entered in the accounts of the State, the *nāṭa* and the village. The various assemblies mentioned above are given a latitude of free action in the general management of the lands in the village, but are made primarily responsible for the realisation and payment to the State of the incomes due to it. Subject to this responsibility, they seem to have been empowered to dispose of lands according to circumstances, viz., to compound taxes on lands given away as *devādānas*, *brahmadāyas*, *paṭṭichekuvudus*, *śālābhāgas*, etc.; to afford facilities for making the waste lands arable; to authorise the opening of channels, tanks and the like for improving farms; and to regulate the supply of water both for drinking and for cultivation purposes. Besides this responsibility, their chief function appears to have been the management of endowments made to temples and charitable institutions in the villages under their jurisdiction; the well-being of the subjects; local administration of justice, etc., for which they seem to have been vested with necessary powers. For carrying out these varying duties, the members of village assemblies appear to have formed themselves into different committees.

* *Metre* : *śaṣṭiśloka*.

* The syllables *द्वय* which were omitted here have been inserted below the line with a *kikāṇḍa* sign.

* Read "पञ्चवारा" *ūr*.

* [I am inclined to read this symbol as 7.—Ed.]

* *Metre* : *śaṣṭiśloka*. Read the latter half of the verse as *Śrīmat-Subrahmaṇya Aiyer Jayati Śaṣṭiśloka* following the other plates of this ruler.

In this wise, we sold (the land) as a tax-free *dēvadāna* to the god Rājādhirāja-*viṣṇu*. Causing the deduction of all kinds of dues such as *siddhāgama*, *pañcharātram* and *śilvāri* required (to be paid) to the *śr* and the tank, we sold and gave the land to (the god) Tiruttuṭṭiāvaramuṇḍaiyār to be enjoyed as a tax-free *dēvadāna*. We shall not (let) this land for cultivation or receive any kind of dues thereon. We, the village (assembly), of Kijdaṅḍi at the Munnaijūdānallūr, having sold the land in this wise, and having received from *paṇḍiāvaradēvar* the sale amount and tax amount, made this village and the tank a tax-free *dēvadāna*; drew up the sale deed and gave it to Rājādhirāja-*viṣṇu*-*paṇḍiāvaradēvar* set up in (the temple of) Tiruttuṭṭiāvaram.

NOTE.—The above extract is from an inscription of the time of the Chōla king Rājādhirāja I., dated in the 28th year of his reign (-A.D. 1000), found at Kijdaṅḍi in the South Arcot District. The inscription registers a sale of land—together with the right to three-fourths of the tanks irrigating it (this is found in the unextracted portion of the inscription)—to the temple of Tiruttuṭṭiāvaramuṇḍaiyār at the place, by the *śr* assembly. In this, the assembly, after acknowledging receipt of the price of the land sold and the amount for making it tax-free, states that it had caused the taxes due on the land to be deducted (from the accounts) and conveyed it to the temple to be enjoyed as a tax-free *dēvadāna*, the *śr* assembly meeting the taxes due on the land and the tank. Here also, as in the second extract *pañcharātram* is mentioned among the taxes due from lands, e.g., *siddhāgama*, *śilvāri* and *perumari*.

EXTRACT IV.¹

L. 4 *iraṇḍu tirunandīvilak-erippaḍaykku pañchavāra-kkālōḍ-ekku(ari*) nāṭiyāl tūgaḷ*

5 *paḍin-aru-nāṭi ari āṭakku neyyum kōyilukkā koṇḍu-ṭeggu. . .*

TRANSLATION.

For burning the two perpetual lamps, sixteen *nāṭi*, (one) *uri*, and one *āṭalā* of ghee, as measured by the measure equal in capacity to the *pañcharātrakkāl*, shall be taken monthly to the temple.

NOTE.—The above extract is dated in the 14th year (-A.D. 983-4) of the reign of the Chōla king Parakāśavarman Uttama-Chōla and states that the quantity of ghee given to the temple must be measured by the *nāṭi* equal in capacity to the measure called *pañcharātrakkāl*. Incidentally this inscription helps us to understand that *pañcharātra* is a payment in kind and that for measuring it a special measure was employed which derived its name *pañcharātrakkāl* from the use which it was put to. From one of the Takkōlam inscriptions of Parāntaka I,² we get the information that the capacity of a *pañcharātra* measure (*marakkāl*) was 7 *nāṭi* and 1 *uri* as measured by the *śūjātēari-nāṭi*. Thus the *pañcharātra-marakkāl* was less than the ordinary *marakkāl* only by 1 *uri*.

EXTRACT V.³

L. 37 *Paṇa-dēvadāgamāṇa Pūṇḍuṇi nilam paṇḍiā-vēliyiṇāl muṇ-dēvarakku nikkī irukka-kkadava pañcharātram nel-*

28 *lu aṇuṇḍu-kkalamum Muṇṭṭipakkōḷi nilam nāṭ-vēliyiṇāl dēvarakku nikkī irukka-kkadava pañcharātra-nell-i-*

¹ S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 144.

² No. 261 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921.

³ S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 101.

29 raṇṇu-khalamum i-dēvarkkēy-iruppadāga-kkuḍi nīkki irayūyāga yāṇḍ-ārāva-
du-mudal variyil-iṇṇu-kkuḍutt-aruppi.

30 ru [*]

TRANSLATION.

In order that the six hundred *halem* of paddy of *pañchāśāram* which previously had to be set apart and paid to the *dēva* (king) from the twelve *vili* of land of the old *dēvādāsa* village of Pūḍuḍi and the two hundred *halem* of paddy of *pañchāśāram* which had to be set apart and paid to the *dēva* (king) from the four *vili* of land of Muṇḍiṭṭaikkudī, shall (*hereafter*) be paid to this god (temple), the ryots removed and the lands made tax-free and entered as such in the accounts and given over with effect from the sixth year (*of the king's reign*).

NOTE.—This extract is from an inscription from Kōyēriṇḍajapuram in the Tanjore District, dated in the 7th year of the reign of Parakkaṇavarman and relates to grants of lands in the two villages Pūḍuḍi and Muṇḍiṭṭaikkudī to the temple at the village. From it, it is seen that this item of *pañchāśāram* was paid in paddy and to the king *before* the assignment of the lands in the two villages was made to the temple. The phrase *dēvarkkē nīkki irayūyāga-kkuḍu* qualifying *pañchāśāram* occurring twice in the extract makes this sense clear, and precludes us from taking the word *dēva* in this phrase to mean the temple or god. The effect of the grant of the lands was that the stated incomes in paddy which till then used to be paid to the king were transferred to the temple. This extract further lets us know the rate at which this tax of *pañchāśāram* was paid. Since 600 *halem* was the *pañchāśāra* for 12 *vili* and 200 *halem* for 4 *vili*, it works out at 50 *halem* per *vili*. The extracts IV and V thus make it quite plain that *pañchāśāra* was a tax or fee paid to the king, in kind, on the lands of a village, at 50 *halem* per *vili*.

To judge from the rate, it may be said that *pañchāśāra* was not an insignificant item in the revenue of the king but was the chief one. The word *nīgam* in the compound *pañchāśāram* would even suggest that it may be the (*king's*) share, rent or assessment on land. And the particle *pañcha* can have nothing to do with *pañcā* or *pañcha* meaning 'cotton' or with *pañcham* meaning 'famine'.

We shall now give one more extract with translation to show what the ordinary rate of assessment on lands was and how and when it was realised. It will furnish the ratio of *pañchāśāra* to the entire assessment.

EXTRACT VI.¹

L. 29 iṇṇu-irukkuṁ-iḍattu irubattu-

21 [u]ṇṇi-a]ḷiyāga Sāndara-Pāṇḍiyāṁ-kōlāi nīlam-a]andu payir pā[*]tu vīḷainda nīlat-
tukku [a]ntarkāyānu[m] viṇṇi-y]ḷgamum taruvadāga qechchum kārīyavarāchchiyum² veyy-
pāṇṇamum pañchuppi sanduvikkiragappāṇṇam ma[*]ruṁ a[p]p[*]ya[k]pā[*]ḷarum utpaḍa
kārukku mātāi

22 kāṇ kātum mudal Vira-Pāṇḍiyāṇḍi nelli mukkalamum tūḷi vīraichchu vīḷainda
nīlattukku iṇṇavarāiṇṇi [o]ḷuṇ-pāḍiyum a [*]ra]ḷagu [u]ḷappuḷi-truḷgu vīḷainda nīlattukku
mātāi tīra[ma]ḷ-irupḍum [pa]ṇḍam-iṇṇa[*]ḷa[*]yū]māga iṇṇ-iḍu-mudal [ruppa-

¹ S. I. L., Vol. V, No. 448, pp. 173-4.

² Read kārīyētrāchchiyum.

It is not unlikely that *vāṇyāśāṭha* in these inscriptions is an equivalent of *vāṇyasa* and that *paṇḍitaśāṭha* has the same significance as *paṇḍitaśāṭhaśāṭha* of the Uṭtarasāṭhūr records. The Siyaddūṭi inscription¹ uses the word *vāṇa-pramukha* in which one may easily recognise the Tamil *vāṇa-pparamakkal*. From the reference in the Maanlipatan plates, it may be gathered that the choice of a person to serve on the *Paṇḍitaśāṭha* committee was done by the *Mukhāṇas* by which term are perhaps meant the great men of the village assembly and that the selection was considered a great honour.

NO. 2.—KOLHAPUR COPPER-PLATES OF GANDARADITYADEVA. SAKA 1048.

By A. N. UPADHYE, M.A., KOLHAPUR.

The present copper-plates were discovered in course of the operations of levelling the Khāsāḍg grounds, Kolhāpur. They were put in a nice stone-case with a slipping lid and buried some six to seven feet below the surface. The plates with the stone-case are now kept in the Rajaram College Museum, Kolhāpur. I am very thankful to the Principal, Rajaram College, for his kindness in placing these plates at my disposal for their study.

The plates consist of three copper sheets each measuring 11 inches in length and about 7½ inches in breadth. They are strung together with a ring of 3 inches in diameter to which is fixed a square rod (3½ by 2½ inches) bearing in relief a well and prominently carved figure of Gaṇeśa holding a cobra in his left hand. On the prominent border line of the surface there are the marks of the moon and the sun. The plates are tolerably thick, at least 1/10 of an inch, and the inside edges are slightly raised to protect the writing. The first side of the first plate is blank. On the second side of the last plate there is a line-drawing of a cow with a flag and a sword in front, and the sun and the moon in the corners above.

The plates are preserved in a good condition, due to being enclosed in the heavy stone-case. The characters are Dēvanāgarī, and they are deeply incised. A few letters are worn out, but the reading can be easily guessed. The record is composed partly in prose and partly in verse, the language being Sanskrit. As to orthography almost all the conjuncts with *r* have their other consonant duplicated, e.g., *ṛṛṇi* (l. 7), *ḍhṛṇama*, *vṛṇa* (l. 12), *vṛṇṇa* (l. 18), *vṛṇṇita* (l. 25), etc. Sometimes the consonants have been doubled wrongly, e.g., *ṛṇṇṇi* (l. 9), *paṇḍitaśāṭha* (l. 10), *śāṭha* (l. 13), *vṛṇṇa* (l. 13), *pratiṇṇṇa* (l. 31), *adhiṇṇṇa* (l. 27), etc. Almost uniformly *ṣ* is represented by *ṣ* in these plates. Though the language is Sanskrit, it shows a good deal of Kannaḍa influence. Perhaps the grant was drafted on a Kannaḍa model. The text contains a few Kannaḍa words too, viz., *maruṇṇa*, *vṛṇṇa*, *ṇṇṇa* (l. 18), *ṇṇṇa* (l. 19), *ṇṇṇa* (l. 22), *ṇṇṇa* (l. 30) and *ṇṇṇa* (ll. 32, 38). *Vṛṇṇa* is decidedly an imitation of Kannaḍa *ṇṇṇa* which occurs in the same context in various Kannaḍa grants. The meaning of *ṇṇṇa* or *ṇṇṇa*, etc. (ll. 34, 38) is not clear; even the scribe, in fact, does not appear to be sure about its sound, as he is not uniform in its spelling.

¹ *Ārya*, Vol. I, pp. 1732.

The genealogy of the Śilāhāra dynasty given in these plates is as shown below :—



It agrees with the usual genealogy of the Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur¹ with the differences: (i) that here we have no mention of Ballala, a brother between Bhājāśa and Gaṇḍarāditya; and (ii) that Gāhala (I), in these plates, is shown as the elder brother of Gāhaka which information we have got here for the first time. In other Śilāhāra plates² we are only told that Gāhaka and Gāhala were the sons of Jata, but in the present record Gāhala is definitely mentioned as an *agraja* which cannot mean anything but an elder brother.³ Gāhala is called *ra* here, and in the plates published by Bhagvanlal Indraji we also get: *śaś-śāśal Gāhala rāḥa nṛpaḥ śaś-śaśal-śaśal-śaśal*. But it is very difficult to say in the light of the available materials whether Gāhala ruled the country any time, for it appears to have been usual to call all the royal brothers as *rājā*, etc. Possibly Gāhala died early and without any issue. That might explain why Gāhaka is so prominently mentioned; and after him Gāhala is mentioned casually, though he was the elder brother.

As to the contents of the plates, the grant opens with a few verses giving the genealogy of Gaṇḍarādityadeva of the Kolhāpur branch of the Śilāhāra dynasty. Then we have a long list of the titles of this ruler. Gaṇḍarāditya, in response to the request of his minister Maniṣepayya, is stated to have granted lands at Kōṁṇijavāḍa which is in the *khampaga* (something like our modern Taluk) of Kojavalli in the district of Mīrāṇḍi, for the repairs of the temple of Kṛṣṇāditya at Prākṇapuri in Kolhāpur and for the maintenance of eight Brahmins whose names and *gṛhas* are given. The grant was made in the Saka year 1048 when Gaṇḍarādityadeva was in his camp at Vallavāḍa-grāma. The grant concludes with the usual verses of curse on those who may violate the conditions of the grant.

A few words may be added regarding the localities mentioned in these records. The Śilāhāras are called *Taṅgarapuramādīśvāra*, and about the identification of the city of Taṅra

¹ See J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII, p. 4; Bhambhani, *Collected Works*, Vol. III, p. 175.

² See Khare, *Sources of the National History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 23.

³ [The word *agraja* here has probably to be taken in the sense of 'the first born son' (i.e., Gāhaka was the eldest son of Jata). The Śilāhāra grant of Mīrāśīpa dated Saka 980 published in the *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India* (pp. 102 E.) states clearly that Gāhala was the younger brother of Gāhaka. The Kasli plates of Bhājāśa (i.e., *Rep. of the Bhāgaśāśa Samādāna Kṛtsnā* for Saka 1835, pp. 122 ff.), which also contain the verse under discussion give the reading *śāśal* in place of *agraja*. Thus we find in the plates under publication the same order of descent of the brothers, viz., Gāhaka, Gāhala, Kirtiraśa and Chandraśīpa as in other Śilāhāra charters.—N. L. D.]

much has been written. Fleet's identification of Tagara with Tār is now generally accepted. I might, however, refer here to two latest papers on the subject. Prof. K. G. Kumbhakar proposes that Tagara should be identified with Tārka.¹ But it is difficult to derive the term Tārka from Tagara; and moreover, the place is nowhere called Tārka-yapura from which he has tried to derive it. Recently Prof. Hirahar has pointed out² that a Vidyādharā dynasty is associated with Tār, twelve miles to the north of Dhārāvā or modern Osmanabad in the Nizam's Dominions. He indicated the possibility that Nila and Mahānila, two Vidyādharā princes from Himālaya, were the ancestors of Śīlāhāra, and they migrated to Tār for some political reasons. Thus Prof. Hirahar confirms, on the authority of *Karmasāgah-chūri* and other literary sources, the opinion of Fleet that Tagara should be identified with Tār near Osmanabad. Vallavāḍa is to be identified with Vajayavāḍa also called Vajarāḍa, the site of the present Rādhānagarī about 27 miles to the south-west of Kolhāpur. Kolhāpura is the present Kolhāpur; and Brahmapuri is, even to this day, a local name of a part of Kolhāpur adjoining the bank of the river Paśchagaṅgā. Mirāḍī is to be identified with Miraj, and Kōḍavalli with Kōḍol about seven miles to the east of Kolhāpur. Kōmājavāḍa is not identified, but it might have been a small village near about Kōḍavalli.

The date, Śaṁvāra, Āshāḍha śukla Chaturthī, Śaka 1045 of the plates, as kindly worked out for me by Principal R. N. Apte, corresponds with Saturday, 26th June 1126 A.D., which was a day of Karka-saṁkrānti.

TEXT.

[Metres: vv. 1-3, 5, 9, 10 *Anuṣṭup*; vv. 4, 6, 8 *Sāradāślokaśrī*; v. 7 *Upajit*.]

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti śri [1*] Jayaty-śrībhāgīnī Viśvānār-vārahān kṣhōbhīt-ārayaṁ [1*] dakṣiṇ-śūna
(śūna)te-dakṣiṇ-āgre-vīrānta³-bhuvānān
- 2 vāpū [1] [1*] Āśā-vidyādharāḥ pūrvān nānū⁴ Jīmūtavāhanā [1*] par-ārthān jīvitān
yān Gaurāḍāyā
- 3 nivēditān [1] 2 [1*] Śūlāhār-ākhyā-vandho-yān Tagarāsvara-bhūbhāgīnī [1*] tad-vandh
Jatigō nāma jā-
- 4 tō bhūbhāgīnī-śrībhāgīnī [1] 3 [1*] Svasti śri-Jatiga-kṣhīṭā-tānyō Nāyīmā-nāmā nri-
pāḥ putras-tasya cā Chāndrarāt-pūtho-yān-tasy-āpī ānūh kīlā [1*] nānū⁴ Jatigō
- 5 jagaj-jana-nutāḥ śrīmānā-cā tūp(n)-nānū⁴ Gōmkallō bhuvī bhāmī-pāla-ti-
- 7 lakṣa-tasy-āpy-ābhūd-ugrajā⁵ [1] 4 [1*] Gōhālśō-śa tad-bhrātā Kīrttirājō-nojō-
- 8 oya cā [1*] Chāndrāditya-tata-tasya chakrō rājyān-akamṭakāḥ [1] 5 [1*] Śrīmād-Gōm-
kāl-bhū-
- 9 mi-pāla-tanayā śri-Mārasaikhō nripas-tat-ānūr-ānripa-maali(h)-lālita-ps-
- 10 da-śi-Gōhāl-ākhyō nripāḥ [1*] tad-bhrātā bhuvī Bhōjadōva-nripatir-var-lāha-paśchāchā
(chā).

¹ See *Karmasāgah* *Śāṅgā-parīkṣā-pāṭha*, October, 1934.

² See Introduction to his edition of *Karmasāgah-chūri*, pp. 41 ff., and his article in the *Annals of the B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 4 ff.

³ In these plates very often *anuvāra* is used in place of *parāvāra*.

⁴ Read *nānū*.

⁵ [See note 2 on p. 73 Ed.]

2 ॥ सितोऽङ्गनाविष्टवपुःशायकान्तितापवद्विह्वलपुङ्गवविश्रान्तः
 २ वपुःसौम्यद्विदावपुःपूर्वतन्मासीत्तवादनः पञ्चवर्जितेतेतगउदम
 ४ निवदितोऽङ्गनादायखवंशोत्ततगापञ्चसुसुतातद्वेशेऽङ्गनामना
 ४ तोत्तुद्विष्यमणिः॥ ससिखीङ्गतिगङ्गितीशतनयोनादिस्मनामान
 ६ पःपुत्रस्यसुदपाद्युष्टस्यस्यस्यपिसनः॥ किलसंज्ञातेऽङ्गना
 ६ तगङ्गननतेऽङ्गीमां सतंनं दनोमो कलोत्तुविजिपातति
 ८ लकस्यमापातदयङ्गः॥ गदलेरावतद्वाताकोत्तुपङ्गना
 ८ सत्तचंद्रादित्यसतस्यस्यचकेपाङ्गामकंटेकांश्वीमदगांकलस
 १० मायात्तनदः॥ श्रीमायसिंदोनृषस्यस्यनृषोमोहितानितप
 १० दंश्वीमदलाखोत्तपः॥ तद्वातात्तुद्विष्योऽङ्गनापतिविजिपा
 १२ ननस्यवेपाङ्गामस्यदितपष्टदशालंकशस्यविजिपात्तुद्विष्य
 १२ स्यवपुः॥ दित्यादयवपुः॥ तद्विष्योऽङ्गनापतिविजिपात्तुद्विष्य

iii.

१४ श्रीमद्विष्योऽङ्गनापतिविजिपात्तुद्विष्योऽङ्गनापतिविजिपात्तुद्विष्य
 १४ विष्योऽङ्गनापतिविजिपात्तुद्विष्योऽङ्गनापतिविजिपात्तुद्विष्य
 १६ नृषोमोहितानितपष्टदशालंकशस्यविजिपात्तुद्विष्य
 १६ तद्वातात्तुद्विष्योऽङ्गनापतिविजिपात्तुद्विष्य
 १८ तद्वातात्तुद्विष्योऽङ्गनापतिविजिपात्तुद्विष्य
 १८ तद्वातात्तुद्विष्योऽङ्गनापतिविजिपात्तुद्विष्य
 २० तद्वातात्तुद्विष्योऽङ्गनापतिविजिपात्तुद्विष्य
 २० तद्वातात्तुद्विष्योऽङ्गनापतिविजिपात्तुद्विष्य
 २२ तद्वातात्तुद्विष्योऽङ्गनापतिविजिपात्तुद्विष्य
 २२ तद्वातात्तुद्विष्योऽङ्गनापतिविजिपात्तुद्विष्य
 २४ तद्वातात्तुद्विष्योऽङ्गनापतिविजिपात्तुद्विष्य

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11. *naṇaī-dhokrē rājyam-akhaṇḍitam pīṭha-yasā laṅkāda'-tulliyath(ṭyath) kila / [6]** Tasya-
 ānūjñ dha-
12. *śma-dhagō dhārīṭyām dadhān varagān-akhiṇḍa(tā)m-eva-dharomō [7] dhary-āgra-dhuryō*
 Dharaṇō dharaṇōṣṭh-

Second Plate: First Side.

- 13 *śrī Gaṇḍarāditya* śrī prasiddhah | [17] [*] Dīn-ānātha-daridra-duḥkḥi-vikallā(la)-vyākūrṇa-
nānā-
- 14 *vidha-pāṇi-triṣa-pariṣaṇa* pratidinam guṇi-śiṣya-dīnā yah | [1] yah kṛiṣṭa-śjina-dhā-
- 15 *na-bhūmy-ubhayatōmukhy-ādī-dāna-predah* āśvad-V(l)rahma-mati-praviṣa-hṛdayō bhū-
dōva-ka-
- 16 *lpa-drumah* || [8] [*] Svasti [!*] Samadhiṣṭa-paṭchamukhāśv(b)da-Mahāmamḍalāyama-
Tagara-pura-
- 17 *var-ādhisvaruḥ* śrī-Śilāhira-narōndrō Jimūtarāhan-ānvaya-prasūta-suvarga-Ḷa-
- 18 *raḍa-dhvaṣṭo* maharāṣṭra-sarppa ayyama-śiṣā(l)lā śipū-mamḍalika-bhāiravō vidvāṭṭa-
guṇa-baṣṭhira-
- 19 *śiṣva-śiṣyō* rūpa-Nārāyaṇaḥ Śaivāra-siddhāśiddhi=ḡṇi-ārga-lanḡhaṇaḥ Kali-yuga-
Vikramā-
- 20 *ditay* śrī-Mahābhikṣam-lav(b)da-vara-prasād-ādī-mama-m-śjāvali-viśjita-
- 21 *śrīma-Mahāmamḍalā* || 17 || varō *Gaṇḍarāditya*-dōvō darṣṭa-nigraṣṭa-śiṣṭa-pratipāḷla(la)-
- 22 *na-purneśvaram* śva-dharmāṣṭa-āika-cchāhatram-upabhamāṣṇō *Vallavāṣa-grām* vīḡ-
śmura-
- 23 *tyā(ityā)* mukha-paṣṭāṭhā-vimōḷṭha-viṣaya-śjyāz(ḡyam) chiraṇ karvaṇ-viśjātō [!*] Tai-pā-
- 24 *da-padm-ōpaṇi-mahāpradhānēna* Kaditāmātya-Maḷlapatyvāna mahā-ūrtōḥ

Second Plate : Second Side

- 25 śrī-Kōṭṭāpurā V(B)/rahma-nirmita-V(B)/rahmapuryāś śrī-Khōjāditya-dēvasya(aya) ūrga-
prāśā-
26 da-mamūdhā(dīha)raya-purasseraś Trikūja-prāśāśh viacrumāya tatra V(B)/rahma-
Vialgā pra-
27 tish(hāya) tatra dharmma-chukreshayā vijāpita-śrī-Gaṇḍatāditya-dēvas-tāś-edhīgammaya
(māyā)
28 Śaka-varāhēshv sahaś-Śparyy-aśtāśchātvarīṇaśi gatāyāśh vartimāna-Paṇḍilava-
śāśvata-
29 r-āśtargat-Āhāḍha-śukla-chaturthāyām Śanivāśē dakṣiṇāyama-satkrāntau Mīrinji-dā-
śā-
30 targata-Kōṭṭarāśi-khampā-ānvaritini Kōṭṭinijavāda-grāmē tatraya-Nārgā-
31 vundā-Rājaya-Senayābhayām Nārgāvundā-āmyabhūtam Kūṇḍi-dandēna tavarita-
32 sa-drayam māyaym chaturvīṇaśi-baśta-vistarāśh magilam-aśhja-bhāga-śāśa-āmyach
cha-krośā-śāśa

* Apparently there is a scribal error. I propose the reading *Louisa*.

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- 33 grāma-bhūmī-madhya tēn-aiva dattajñā chaturvīṇī nivaritānāni nishipya ahaṇ-nivaritānām
mānyam kṛtvā ta-
34 v-gṛastī-śilābhāṇī¹ mālavyam kutruvam cha kṛtvā chaturvīṇī-hastam vistarām nivāṇam
aryad-śaṭśatvārīṇīśadh(d)-dhama-
35 anam nivāṇam śh-śty-śvām dvāpata-hasta-vistarām magilam ch-śty-śtat-sarva-
Nāgaruṇḍam āmyam kṛtvā tan-mā-
36 dhyo V(B)rahmapuryāṇi 4-1-Khāṇīradōya-sannidham dvādaśānām v(b)rāhmaṇānām
ardha-vāhy-ōdanāna ādhuky-śh-sāpāna ghṛi-

Third Plate.

- 37 tēn tākṛṣṇa chaturvīṇī ākāśa-cha bhūjanāya tāmūlāya cha tēn-aiva dattajñā mānyam
nivaritāna-drayam
38 mālavam cha kuruvam cha magila-madhyā chaturvīṇī-hasta-vistarām nivāṇam cha
śhita-bhūga-tāja-
39 āmyam śh-śty-śtat | Tathā tat-sarva-dharmma-prachintakāḥ Gantama-gōtrā Gāṅgīdhara-
chaturvīṇī-bhāṭṭ-ōpādhya-
40 yāḥ Bhāradvāja-gōtrā Gōrīṇḍa(nḍa)-kramavidāḥ Atri-gōtrā Bhāskara-Chaturvīṇīnāḥ
Jīmūtaganya-
41 Vaisya-gōtrā Nārāyaṇa-bhāṭṭāḥ Bhāradvāja-gōtrā Mīdhavaḥ Kāyapa-gōtrā Vāmanaḥ Dhac-
anja-
42 yā(ya)-gōtrā Viśvā-bhāṭṭāḥ Bhāradvāja-gōtrā Vāmanaḥ Śvams-śhṭan v(b)rāhmaṇāḥ
tābhyam pratyākāḥ
43 tēn-aiva dattajñā vappaka-śata-chaturvīṇīnām magila-madhyā pratyākāḥ śhaṭḥ(d)-dhasta-
vistarām niva-
44 anam cha tathā tat-Trikūja-prāsādasya khanda-śphuṭa-jīṣṇ-ōddhārāya tēn-aiva dattajñā
vappaka-śata-chatu-
45 śhyam śvam-śtat-sarvam pāda-prakāśana-dhārā-pūrvvakam sarva-namasyam sarva-
vā(bā)dhā-parihāram sarv-āya vidu-
46 dham rājakīyānām-anugāhī-prākāśyām 4-chadut-ārkkam dattavān | Śtat-sarva-dha-
rmmma-gōptān V(B)rahmapuri-
47 mahājanāḥ | Va(Ba)kubhīr-vvasaulhā dattā rājabhūḥ Sagar-ādibhūḥ [1*] yasya yasya yadā
bhūmī-tasya tasya tadā phalam | [1 9 1*] Śva-da-
48 tām para-dattādi vā yā harīta vasmadhārāḥ | śhaṭṭir-vvaraha²-śakaraṇi viśṭhāyāt
jāyate krimiḥ || [10 1*] Maṇḍalāt mā(ma)hā-ārī (b)1*

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Welfare ! Prosperity !

(Verse 1) Victorious is that Viśvā's manifested form of a boar which has agitated the ocean and which has the earth resting on the tip of its uplifted right tusk.

(Verses 2-8) Formerly there was a Vidyādharma, Jīmūtavāhana by name, who, for the sake of others, offered his life to Garuḍa. This family, called Śilāhārā, (is) of kings (who were) the lords

¹ Read *pratyakāśa*.

² Read *śhaṭṭir-vvaraha*.

of Tagara; in that family was born a crest-jewel of kings *Jatiga* by name. Welfare! The prosperous lord of earth *Jatiga* had a son, king *Nayimma* by name; his son was *Chandrārāt* of great fame; to him in turn was born a son, *Jatiga* by name, who was praised by the people of the world; and his prosperous son was *Gōṃkalla* who was a muffron-mark, (or the forehead) of all the kings on the earth. His elder brother¹ was king († *śā*) *Gūhala*; his younger brother was *Kirtirāja*, and next to him was *Chandrāditya* who made his kingdom free from all the troubles. That prosperous lord of the earth, *Gōṃkalla*, had a son, viz., king *Mārasinhha*; his son was king *Gūhala* by name whose feet were fanned by the crowns of kings; his brother was king *Bhōjadēva* who was a lion to the elephants in the form of enemies on the earth, and who is reported (*kāla*) to have consolidated his kingdom with wide fame like that of the king of *Lakkā* (†²). His younger brother is the famous *Gandarāditya* who is a protector of *Dharma* on the earth, who has maintained all the *Varyas* in their respective duties, who is a courageous and foremost leader, and who is a *Kubera* of treasures. Day to day he is engrossed in sheltering by anonymous gifts the various living beings that are distressed, helpless, poor, miserable, maimed and wandering; he bestows, in both the ways,³ eminent gifts such as the skin of the black-antelope, cows and lands; his mind is skilled in reflecting on the eternal *Brahman*; and he is a wish-fulfilling tree to the *Brahmins*.

(Ll. 16-25). Welfare! The prosperous *Mahāśaṃpālādēva* *Gandarādityadēva*—who is honoured by all the royal titles such as: one who has obtained *paṭṭanamahāśābha*, a *Mahāśaṃpālādēva*, the overlord of *Tagara*, the heat of towns, the prosperous *Śiṭhāra* *Minarch*, one born in the lineage of *Jīmūtarāhana*, one who has the banner of golden *Garoḍa*, one whose shelter is sought by the serpent,⁴ a lion to his father,⁵ a *Bhairava* to the inimical *Morvāḍins*, a lion to the elephants (in the form) of antagonists, the son of the archers,⁶ *Nārāyaṇa* in handsomeness, one who achieved success (even) on Saturdays, one who seized the mountain forts, a *Vikramāditya* of the *Kali* age, and one who received the favours of the boon from *Śrī-Mahālakṣmī*—is carrying on for a long time his victorious reign enjoying the sole mastery of the kingdom by carrying out his

¹ [See p. 26 n. 3, above.—Ed.]

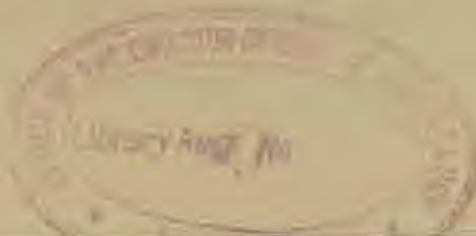
² The reading *prathama* *lakṣaṇa* is decidedly defective, and the metre too is spoiled. I have taken it as *Lakkā*.

³ *Udāharaṇa* refers to gifts given in two ways, namely, openly and anonymously. [Dr. Chhatopadhyay correctly points out that *udāharaṇādika* has been used here in the sense of a parchment roll, a gift of which is highly eulogised in the *Śaṅkha*. Cf. *Haimdnt, Chaturvargachintāmaṇi, Dīpāṅkara, prakaraṇa 7*.—Ed.]

⁴ The correct reading should be *morvāḍin-aryya*. The nasal here is due to that deceptive *śāpa* (called *śāpa*) used in Old-Kannada script which has two values, when it is fat with space inside it means that the next consonant is duplicated, when small it is an *anuvāsa*. *Morvāḍin* is a Kannada word, a further corruption from *morva* or *morva* *paṭṭa* or *śāpa* from the root *morva* or *morva* *paṭṭa* 'to seek shelter'. It is a title of the *Śiṭhāra*, because they are *Garoḍa-Chakras*, the serpent being always at the mercy of *Garoḍa*. [Mr. N. Lalithasūryan has suggested that it would be better to interpret the expression as a 'serpent to the hostile army' taking *morvāḍin* to mean 'a hostile army'—in which sense it is widely used in Modern Kannada literature—then to consider both the component parts of the word as corruptions (i.e., of *morva* and *paṭṭa*). *Morvāḍin-aryya* corresponds to *śāpa* *paṭṭa* *śāpa* which is found among the *śāpas* of the chief *Mūrti* of the *Śiṭhāra* family which, like the *Śiṭhāra*, claimed to belong to *Jīmūtarāhaṇa-śavaya* and *Khaṭhara* (i.e., *Vajrāṅkara*-*varṇa* (see Ep. Car., Vol. VI, Cm. 94).—Ed.]

⁵ *Apāra* *śāpa*: again a Kannada word 'a son/like son) of his father', meaning a pet and favourite son of his father. This reminds us of the Kannada phrase 'śāpa-śāpa', meaning, 'leave, my tiger', generally addressed by the father to his son.

⁶ *Harva* is a Kannada word meaning 'those that put (an arrow to the bow)', 'those that shoot arrows'; that is, the *archers*.



duties (*śradhāśraddha*), by punishing the wicked and protecting the good, and spending his time mostly in happy talks in his standing camp¹ at Vallavāḍa-grāma.

(Ll. 23-39) Kaṭṭimātya Maillapayya, the² *Mahāpradhāna* dependent on his (i.e., of Gaṇḍarādityadēva) lotus-like feet, after repairing the dilapidated temple of Śrī-Kṣṇādityadēva, situated in Brahmapuri, created by Brahman in the great holy place of Śrī-Kāṣṭhāpura, built a *Trikūṭa-prāsāda*, installed there (the images of) Brahmā and Viṣṇu, and with a desire to do some religious act requested Gaṇḍarādityadēva who understood it (i.e., his desire). And when the Śaka years one thousand and forty-eight had elapsed, in the Parābhava year, on the fourth day of the bright half of the month of Āṣṭhīṣṭha, on Saturday, on the Dakṣiṇāyana-śukrānti, he bought, by paying the cost, from Rājaya and Sēnaya of the Nārgāvayya³ family in the village of Kāṣṇījarāḍa in the *Maṇḍapaga* of Kōḍavallu in the province of Mīrāṇḍi two *nivartanas* of non-taxable land (*mānya*) that had the rights of Nārgāvayyas, measured by the Kāṇḍi pole, and a plot for a house twenty-four cubits in extent with the eight rights, etc.; then he added thereto from the land in the village, four *nivartanas* measured by the same pole, and thus made six *nivartanas* of land free from tax, etc.⁴⁵ [constructed] a house 24 cubits in extent and another 48 cubits in extent: thus in all 72 cubits in extent. All these had the rights of the Nārgāvayyas. In Brahmapuri, in the presence of (the god) Śrī-Kṣṇādityadēva, he gave two *nivartanas* of land measured by the same pole with a house 24 cubits in extent along with eight rights, etc., to twelve Brahmins for their food with rice of white grains, with broth made of *āḍṇāṇḍi* and other pulses, with ghee, butter-milk and four vegetables and for *tāmbāla*.

(Ll. 39-44) Then there are these eight Brahmins all of them intent on religious practices: Gaṅgādhara-Chaturvēdi-Bhṛṅgāpādhyāya of Gaṇṭama-gotra, Gōvinda-kramayid of Bhāradvāja-gotra, Bhāskara-Chaturvēdi of Atri-gotra, Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa of Jāmadagnya-Vatsa-gotra, Mādhyana of Bhāradvāja-gotra, Vāmana of Kātyāya-gotra, Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭa of Dharmāyana-gotra and Vāmana of Bhāradvāja-gotra.⁶ To each of them were granted 400 *vappakas*⁷ measured by the same pole and to each a house six cubits in extent. Similarly for the repairs of the broken parts, etc., of the *Trikūṭa-prāsāda* 400 *vappakas*⁸ were given by the same measure.

(Ll. 44-47) This *śreya-namaṇya* (grant) which is free from all obstacles, which is faultless with regard to its income and which is not to be touched by finger (even) by the royal officers, is made to last as long as the sun and the moon after a libation of water and a washing of the feet. The *Mahājñanas*⁹ of Brahmapuri shall protect all these religious gifts.

(Verses 9-10) [These are two of the well-known imprecatory verses.]

(L. 48) Auspicious glory.¹⁰

¹ *Vidhaurṅga* is probably to be taken as meaning 'following the custom of a ridge (i.e., camp)'. It reminds us of a similar expression in Kannada grants *hiṣṇa* meaning 'in the camp'.

² *Nārgāvayyas* are those who are now known as Nāḍagandās, a Kannada word meaning 'headman of the country'.

³ *Mānya* means a site for a house.

⁴ The meaning of *nivartana*, etc., is not clear. The same phrase is spelt differently in Ll. 34 and 35.

⁵ It should be noted that some names are in singular and some in plural.

⁶ *Vappaka* is a measure.

⁷ *Mahājñanas* were members of a particular assembly probably something like our Panchas.

⁸ My thanks are due to my colleague Prof. K. G. Sundarar who helped me in translating certain technical terms in the plates.

No. 6.—HIDDA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 28.

By Dr. STEEN KONOW, Oslo.

The credit for bringing this record to light belongs to Professor F. W. Thomas. In a paper contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1915, pp. 91 ff., he draws attention to some remarks by Maason about a Kharoshthi inscription he had found as 'Tape No. 13 of Hidda' on an earthen jar, and which he had copied. A lithographed reproduction is found opposite p. 262 of the *Ariana Antiqua*.

Professor Thomas further tells us that, in going through Maason's papers in the India Office Library, he found 'a number of attempts at decipherment of one or two Kharoshthi inscriptions', and one of them proved to be the very record reproduced in the old publication. There were several attempts, and Professor Thomas reproduced the most careful one and published his reading of the inscription, which was subsequently, with some alterations, reproduced in my edition of the record in the *Corpus*, pp. 157 ff.

The copy published by Professor Thomas is far from being satisfactory, but the way in which he was able to rearrange the sequence of the letters and bring out the meaning is highly to be admired. But now new material has come to hand, which makes it possible to read the legend with greater certainty.

In a letter of the 13th December 1935, Dr. E. H. Johnston writes: 'In the course of cataloguing the Maason papers in the India Office Library, I have come across a number of copies of the inscription on the Hiddah jar..... Most date from after Maason's return to England early in 1842 and have no special value..... Three however are on blue paper; one seems to be a new working copy, written out for an attempted transliteration. The others are on two strips of paper, which Maason pasted on to another sheet of paper after his return to England.'

Fuller particulars about these last-mentioned copies were given in another letter from Dr. Johnston of the 18th January 1936: 'The copies are on two strips of blue foolscap, measuring 55 by 315 millimetres and 98 by 313 millimetres, respectively. I regard them as Maason's originals for various reasons. That he looked on them as particularly important is shown by the fact that he has cut them out of the particular sheets on which they were and pasted them on to another sheet; this must have been done after his return to England, as the kind of paper on to which they have been pasted shows. Maason used this blue foolscap almost exclusively in 1834 and many of his original sketches of the Topes of Hiddah and Chahurbagh are on similar paper, having been done that year (1834) at the time of excavation. The writing is done with a broader pen than he was in the habit of using. There are at least a dozen copies of this inscription among his papers, most of them made after he had left Afghanistan, and in every case except this the copy was evidently made in order to put between the lines an attempt at transliteration. No room has been left for such writing on these strips, though you will notice some remains of such an attempt at the bottom. I imagine the first strip was left incomplete after writing the first line because of the disfigurement by blots.'

With the kind permission of Dr. Randle, the Librarian of the India Office, excellent photographs of these strips have been prepared, and I have been authorized to make use of them for an eventual new edition of the record.

There cannot be any doubt that Dr. Johnston is right in considering these strips as Maason's original draft. And we can also see that the incomplete strip is the first one. It has partly been corrected in the second. And we shall find several certain indications which show that the copies reproduced in the *Ariana Antiqua* and in Professor Thomas' plate have been made from our strips.

The arrangement of the letters is the same as in the published plates, and it is clear that the two lines of the inscription run all round the jar, and that Masson failed to see where the record begins. Professor Thomas' ingenious restoration of the sequence is absolutely certain, and I shall follow it in my ensuing remarks, using the abbreviations **A** for the *Asiatica Antiqua* plate, **B** for the copy published by Professor Thomas, **I** for the first strip and **II** for the second.

The first word is correctly given as *caṣibastaroc* in I. In II the *auṣastara* hook is more rounded, and Masson has added an *e-saṣṭā* above *auṣā*, probably because the top of the *akṣara* was blurred. This wrong *e-stroke* is then found both in A, which here faithfully reproduces II, and in B, which represents a combination of I and II.

The ensuing *ṣṭauriṣṭiṣi* 29 4 4 do not call for any remark. We can only see that Masson first misread the *vi*, but corrected it in II.

Then follows *saṣṭā* with a bottom stroke crossed by a horizontal, bent downwards at both ends and surmounted by a curved upright, below *sa* in I, while these additions have been omitted in II, evidently as the result of closer inspection so that we must certainly read *saṣṭā*. The bottom strokes return, however, in B, where they are the same as in I, and in A, where there is only a long horizontal.

Then comes *Apalar* in I. In II the *pe* and the final *s* have been slightly modified. In A *pe* has been misread as *pi*, and *la*, which is a little misshapen in I, has been unaltered. In B the two different forms of *s* have been entered, that of II in the line, that of I, slightly misshapen, above.

The ensuing *saṣṭhā* is quite clear; but it is hardly probable that *sa* with the vertical to the right had a different sound from the ordinary *sa*. The word itself is, as we know, Iranian, cf. Av. *saṣ-* 'to appear', Khotani Saka *saṣ-* 'appeared'. Between the letters *sa* and *ṣṭhā* there is in II a long vertical stroke. It is impossible to tell why Masson has inserted it.

The *hi* of the following *doṣāhi* is misdrawn in II, the bottom having been continued into the preceding *sa*, causing a break in the left bar of the latter. Both forms are reproduced in B.

The *i* of the ensuing *ṣṭā* (not *ṣṭā* as read by Professor Thomas) has an angular top in I, and this form recurs in A, and also in B, where, however, the rounded form of II is added above the line; *sa* is misshapen in A, and in B a second form has been added above the line, we cannot say from which source.

In the word *pratiṣṭhāpita* we can clearly follow the process of deterioration. I is quite clear, though the upright of *ṣṭhā* is separated from the cross-bar. In II the horizontal of *pr* protrudes slightly to the left of the vertical, and the bottom of the final *ta* has been lengthened, and a short vertical has been added, so that the *akṣara* looks almost like *re*. The results can be seen in the apparent *pr*, the disjointed *ṣṭhā* and the misshapen *ta* of A, and in the similar *pr* and the splitting up of *ṣṭhā* into three *akṣaras* in B.

In the word read as [*ra*] *raṣṭhāpita* by Professor Thomas, we can now see that the apparent hook which he took to be a mutilated *ṣṭ* is a clear *ra*. The preceding *sa* shows a short horizontal stroke protruding to the left just above the bottom in I, so that we could think of reading *ra*. But it is absent in II, and as the same *raṣṭā* recurs in I. 2, the reading seems to be certain. *Raṣṭā* can hardly be anything else than the name of a person, probably the Indian name, which already occurs in the *Rajadā*.

The *akṣara* following after *raṣṭā* looks like *raṣṭā*, but can also be a shortened curvilinear *raṣṭā*. Then comes an evidently misdrawn letter in I, while II has an unmistakable *ra*. A and B give both forms, one above the other, and here again clearly show their dependence on I and II. With the ensuing *sa* we thus get *raṣṭhāpita* or *raṣṭhāpita*. If it were possible to assume a

doubtful *tanya* besides *taniya* 'own', which we read on a Tor Dharsi potsherd¹, we might think of connecting *ramataniyami* with the following *thabami* 'in the Stūpa belonging to Rāma', but we have no reason for supposing the existence of such a variant, *taniya* itself being doubtful and probably only the final portion of *alanīya*. The word *tada*, Skt. *arāya* 'wood, grove', on the other hand, occurs in connection with *thoba* on the Kurman casket.

'The Rāma wood' is then the name of the place where the stūpa was situated, and most probably the real name. Cf. passages such as *Takhasīlas angare—utarare—prache des—Kahema namu—ara* . . . *karare* [pre*] *thabami* 'in the town of Takhasīlā,—to the north,—the eastern quarter,—Khemā by name,—here he establishes a reliq' (Taxila copper-plate, with the enumerating idiom which we know so well from Marī(hā); *the prodigiously thinpanta dhatus dhammaric Takhasīlā* [la*] *jaṇane* *des(dhā)marapadame* 'these relics of the Lord were established in the Buddha relic-stūpa of Takhasīlā, in his own Bodhimatya-chapel' (Taxila silver scroll); *Chhadātilas mirra prastareti gahakabami* 'in Chhadātilā he establishes a relic in the house-stūpa'; *Vagaramariya(ravikarama)(i) the(ba)mi(r) dhag(r)anda Sakyamayo* *agira paristamari* 'in the Vagaramariya vāhā, in a stūpa, he (sc. Vagaramariya) establishes a relic of the Lord Sākyamuni' (Wardak casket), etc. The last-mentioned passage shows that such a name can be derived from the name of a living person.

In my edition of the Kulawān record I have shown that the list of Yakshas in the *Mahāmāyūrī* contains details which may be of interest in connection with Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions, but that the forms of the names used in the *Māyūrī* must sometimes be checked by the help of the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the work. I believe that such is also the case with reference to our record.

In the *Mahāmāyūrī* l. 83 we read '*Laṅkāsurā ca Kapilyām Mārīci Rāmakakshayām*' 'the lord of Laṅkā (i.e., Rāvaṇa, is the Yaksha) in Kapilā, Mārīci in Rāmakakshā.'

Now the arrangement of the various localities in the *Mahāmāyūrī* is roughly geographical, and we are probably justified in assuming that Rāmakakshā should be looked for in Afghanistan. Professor Helmer Smith has drawn my attention to the fact that the irregular form *-kakshayām* for *-kakshayām* may point to some corruption. Of the Chinese versions one has *lo-mo-K'i-to*, i.e., *Rāmakhātā*, which is just as unaccountable in the rhythm as *Rāmakakshayām*. Yi-tsing gives *o-to-mo-lia* 'the forest of Rāma', and the Tibetan translation *lga-baḥ tshes tshā* 'the wood of the pleasant one'. From these renderings we learn that the literal meaning of the name was 'Rāma wood', and from the fact that Mārīci and not Rāma is mentioned as the Yaksha of the place, we must necessarily draw the inference that the Rāma wood was not considered to be a grove dedicated to a Yaksha or other supernatural being called Rāma, but as a place founded or owned by a person of the name Rāma.

As indicated above, the Rāma-grove was most probably situated in Afghanistan, and I think that we are justified in assuming that it was the very same 'Rāma-grove' which is mentioned in our record. Since the inscription in l. 2 contains wishes for the welfare of Rāma, he was probably at that time the owner of the wood, and we may draw the inference from the *Mahāmāyūrī* that his name stuck to the place also in later times, after his death.

The Hidda inscription would then be the oldest record in which this 'Rāma-grove' is mentioned. It is, besides, written in prose, and we have every reason for assuming that it contains the genuine form of the name. The author of the *Mahāmāyūrī*, who, according to Professor

¹ O. I. J., Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 174.

² Kharōṣṭhī inscription, Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, pp. 251 ff.

³ Cf. the late Sylvain Lévi's important paper, J. A., XI, ii, 1915, pp. 14 ff.

Piṭaka IV, 34, ll. 2 ff. we read about the Āśvaka monks that they were engaged in *sarukammā* (*sarukammā kurovāṇā*), and that they cut down trees or had trees cut down. But one of the monks, who was felling a tree, was warned by its dēvatā not to destroy her dwelling in order to make one for himself, and the Buddha speaks about the offence in connection with the destruction of life which was inevitable when a tree was cut.

A *sarukammika* may reside for a prolonged period at one place. In *Vinaya Piṭaka* II, 15, ll. 29 ff. we read about the venerable Sudhamma, who stayed with the householder Chitta as his *sarukammika*, and in *Jāṇaka* IV, 310, ll. 13 f. about residence as *sarukammika* in a great Vihāra in Kajaṅgalā (*āśvika kṛta mahāvihāre, sarukammiko kṛta Kajaṅgalāgare*), and the commentary here speaks of a dilapidated Vihāra (*jyāpavihāro*), i.e., one in need of repairs.

It is evident from the above quotations that the *sarukammā* was of different kinds, from the building of a Vihāra down to various sorts of repairs. *Manerolhapāṇṇī* I, 31, l. 15 speaks of a *sarukammika* in connection with Upasatha halls, almshouses, etc. (*uposathāgāra-bhōjanasālāṇā*), and such work was formerly considered as a good means of banishing distracting thoughts (*perāyākaṇṇapāṇḍitaṇaṃ pava-sarukammānaṃ karevāṇaṃ pi vitikkāmaṃ pucchānānaṃ, Pappalāha-sūdanī* II, 91, l. 18). And in *Vinaya Piṭaka* II, 172 we hear of several minor kind of *sarukammā* such as heaping up clay or earth, replastering a wall, making a door or a socket for a bolt, white-washing, etc.

A *sarukammika* is consequently in most cases a monk, acting on behalf of the Saṅgha in supervising new buildings, repairs, etc., and such was evidently the case with Saṅghamitta. What he had to superintend may have been the erection of the Stūpa, or some repairs, or even only the putting down of the relic.

For the second line the new material consists of one copy only, viz. II. As seen by Professor Thomas, we must evidently begin with the sixth akṣara from the end.

The first word is certainly *adāva*, though the *a*-stroke of *da* is curved and joined to the upright in such a way that Mueson in A and B has introduced a small loop.

The next word was correctly read as *kaṭṭakammulena* by Professor Thomas, who pointed out that the *u* of *ka* and the final *na* are missing. The new copy shows definitely that I was wrong in assuming that the ensuing *u* was misdevised for *na*. After *ka* follows in II what looks like a second *ka*, corrected to *na*; and then a cancelled letter which looks as an unsuccessful attempt at writing a *la*. In A both these letters are clumsily imitated, one above the other, while B seems to combine them into one misshapen akṣara. What looks like *ka* corrected to *na* might be the *na* we miss after *ka*, in which case we would have to infer that it had been misplaced in the original. It is, however, more probable that Mueson has forgotten to cancel it properly. The dot before the ensuing *la* is, as Dr. Johnston informs me, not in ink, but the remains of a drop of moisture.

Then follows, as read by Professor Thomas, *stashe dharmanā*, where the final *na* is misshapen in A.

The next akṣaras were read *loṭika rija* by Professor Thomas, while I suggested to read *abhiḥvati*. The new copy clearly shows that the first akṣara was *la*. A comparatively long sloping line descends towards the left from the underside of the hook of *la*, which itself is continued on to the vertical. It might be taken to be the *a*-stroke, which, however, protrudes from the vertical in other inscriptions. It is therefore possible that it is of the same kind as the superfluous and meaningless stroke between *na* and *ma* in *saṅkhe* II, l. 1. It is considerably shortened in B and it has led to a distorted sign in A. The next akṣara is certainly *ḍhi*, as stated by Professor Thomas, and the new copy clearly shows that it is followed by *dharmanā*.

almost like *rāo*, and in B slightly differing forms have been added above the *oa* of this word. In A, moreover, the *lha* of *sambhāra*, has been slightly distorted.

The whole sentence is a blessing of the same kind as the final clause of the Taxila silver scroll. We may only be in doubt whether *śarīra* should be connected with the preceding *eto*, in which case we might think of construing *gē*jha dharmagām* with *nirvāṇasambhāra* and taking *bhārata* as a further explanation of *syā*, i.e., *syāti* 'to the nirvāṇa equipment of which *dharma*s for all beings this your *śarīra* might serve'. Such an explanation seems, however, to be rather hard, and it is more in accordance with the usual formula to translate: 'out of which *dharma*s this may result: let the *śarīra* be for the nirvāṇa equipment of all beings', or, more probably, 'of which *dharma*s this your *śarīra* may consist (or, be the cause). Let it be for the nirvāṇa equipment of all beings'.

As already indicated the next word is clearly *raṃsa*, and the suspicious form *rajaṇ* instead of *raṇo* 'of the king' disappears from the dialect. The form *rajaṇ* in the Niya inscriptions corresponds to Skt. *rājanya*.

Then comes a difficult *akshara*, which Professor Thomas describes as an 'unintelligible form, which seems to contain a y.' He read the ensuing letters as *griprachaya* and added: 'We have a sufficiency of parallels to prove that the idea intended is that conveyed by the word *agrapratyāyika*, and we are free to choose between two suppositions: either there has been a misreading of *agraprachukta* (confusion of *ya* and *ia* being easy), or the inscription had employed a synonym, possibly *agraprachāya-agrapratyāyika*, in which the second member had the (rare) sense of "tribute," "share"'.¹

As long as we did not know Masson's original copy, we were justified in assuming that his reproductions were not quite reliable. Now we cannot do so any more, and we must assume that the 'unintelligible' letter, which has become quite disfigured in A and B, is a fairly reliable copy of what Masson saw on the jar. So far as I can see, it is possible to read it as *no*, the *akshara* being turned backwards in a similar way as the *de* of *edena*, but it is more probable that we have to do with a misshapen *a*. Then follows *griprachaya*. The *p* of *pra* shows the same protrusion, only more pronounced, as in *pratiśhapta* I. 1. The same is the case in A, and also in B, where we find two slightly varying attempts at rendering the *akshara*. The bottom of *che* is curved like the bottom of *dāo*, but it does not seem possible to read *cham*. *Prachaya* may represent Skt. *pratyaya* as well as *pratyāya*. The latter word is, so far as I know, only found in lexicographical works as one of the meanings of *kara*, e.g., in Hémachandra's *Amṛtāśaṅkara* 405 *karaḥ pratyāya-tuṇḍayālā rāṇḍaṇa varahōpāl pāṇau* 'kara means toll, trunk, ray, hail, hand.' We have no right to assume that it could mean 'share'. Moreover, it is *a priori* unlikely that *prachaya* in a Buddhist inscription is anything else than the well-known *pratyaya*. Pāli *pacchaya*.

If the reading *a* is correct, we thus have *raṃsaṇa agri prachaya*, where *agri-agrā*. It is hardly allowed to connect this *agri* with the ensuing *prachaya* into a compound. There cannot, however, in my opinion, be much doubt that Professor Thomas was right in supposing that what is meant is to invoke a blessing on Rāma as the person who is to receive the principal share of the *puṇya* connected with the establishment of the relic, just as we read in the Wardak vase inscription *mahiya oḍa Vag(r)amare(r)as(r)a agrabhag(r)apac(r)iyasidhaḥ dhamma* 'may it be for the sharing in the principal lot for myself Vagramateya,' where the person there singled out is the owner of the Vihāra, which fact makes me inclined to think that Rāma in our inscription occupied a similar position, i.e., that he was the donor or owner of the Stūpa and not an eponymous Yaksha.

If I am right about the purport of the sentence, (*agri* means 'or it is' in future, the locative of *agru* 'first, principal,' and means about the same thing as *ayagrayashila*. With regard to *prachaya*, if it is not miswritten for *prachata*, i.e., *prachanta-pratipanta*, we may doubt whether it is to be taken as a nominative or as an ablative, but the former seems to me to be the proper explanation.

I cannot finish these lines without paying my tribute to Professor Thomas for the sagacity and ingenuity with which he has succeeded in solving almost all the problems connected with the Hidda record at the hand of the inferior reproductions at his disposal. And I should also like to give expression to my admiration of Mason's achievement. Without apparently understanding a single word he has left us a reliable and extremely careful copy, which gives an almost perfect reproduction of the original.

With some confidence I then give the following text and translation.

TEXT.

I. 1 *ambhasthara aharisatthi 20 4 4 mass Apalae easthethi datathi 10 (sa) kshenadamsi prati-*
sthapira satira Ramasubham; thubam; Samghamitrana gavarakarnasat-etc.).

II 2 *ndana k(a)shamle[ue*] veecha dharmata labhi bhavima yio*]sha dharmapath eta*
va syati (syati) satira sarvasatvana nirvassasbhatar bhavatu Ramasa agri prachaya.

TRANSLATION.

In the twenty-eighth—25—year, in the month Appellais, after ten—10—had appeared, in this instant was established a rule in the Rima grove, in the Stupa by Samghamitra the superintendent of work. Through this root of bliss, might we become recipients of these dharmas, of which *dharmas* this year rule may be. Let it lead to nirvāsa equipment for all beings and be the support in future (or, the cause for the foremost share) for Rima.

№ 7.—THREE MAUKHARI INSCRIPTIONS ON YUPAS: KRITA YEAR 295.

By PROF. A. S. ALTMAN, BRESLAU HINDU UNIVERSITY.

The three Maukhari inscriptions, that are being published here for the first time, were discovered by me at Bagva in Kotah State in Rajputāna on the 1st of March 1886 in the course of a tour of archaeological exploration organised by the State Historian, Dr. Mathurajal, at the instance of the Kotah government. Bagva is a large village, about 5 miles south-west of Antah, a railway station on the Kotah-Bina line of the G. I. P. Railway. The stupa pillars, on which the inscriptions are engraved were at the time of their discovery situated outside the village, about half a mile to its east, at a locality known as Thumh-Torsu¹ which is obviously a vernacular form of the Sanskrit expression *Namha-Torsu*. This name was probably given to the locality, about 1,700 years ago, when two stone structures, partially resembling an arch, were raised there by the erection of four vertical posts by the Maukhari rulers, then ruling over the territory. At the time of their discovery only three of these pillars were to be seen, one inclined at an angle of about 80°, and the other two lying flat on the ground. One of the latter pillars had to be raised before impressions of its inscription could be taken, as it had fallen with the inscribed side downwards. The remains of the fourth pillar could be found at a distance of about two furlongs, where a

¹ The Kotah government is taking steps to remove these pillars to Kotah.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः

and began to encourage the construction of stone *yūpas* as a triumphant and enduring testimony to the revival of the old Vedic religion. *Yūpa* is a veritable thunderbolt, says the *Āiturēya-Bṛāhmaṇa*.¹ Hindu champions of the revival of the Vedic religion were obviously as proud of their commemorative stone *yūpas* as Indra was of his thunderbolt.

Detailed instructions have been given in the Vedic literature about the shape and size of the sacrificial post. The height was rigidly fixed only in the case of the *Vājapēya* sacrifice, where the post had to be made 17 cubits high; in the case of other sacrifices it could vary from five to fifteen cubits.² After the leaves and branches of the stem were cut off, it was to be given an octagonal shape, for that was the shape of the thunderbolt of Indra, and *yūpa* is a thunderbolt.³ The stem was not to be straight, it was to be curved both at the top and the centre, the concavity in either case facing the same side.⁴ It was never to be made tapering at the top, for such a post was supposed to hasten the death of the sacrificer.⁵ At a distance of two to eight inches from the top of the post was to be slipped in a ring or *kaṭaka*, technically known as *chushkila*, which also had naturally to be octagonal in shape.⁶ *Yūpa* resembled in its external appearance a *Bṛahmachārin*; so it had a girdle at its centre and a triple *upavīta* across it. It was to be covered by a number of cloths.⁷

These detailed instructions about the nature of the *yūpas* do not seem to have been known to the sculptors responsible for the construction of the stone *yūpas* of King Mālavārman of Borneo; for they are roughly dressed stones of irregular shape.⁸ In India, however, the Hindu revivalist tried to conform to the requirements of the sacred texts as far as possible. Thus none of the complete and undamaged *yūpas* discovered so far is pointed at the end. They all bend at the top. The *yūpas* on the *Āśvamedha* coins of Samudragupta show a bend at the middle also; the omission of this feature in the case of stone *yūpas*—for we do not find it on a single *yūpa* so far discovered—is probably to be attributed to a greater regard being paid to artistic beauty than to the injunctions of the sacred texts. A stone pillar showing a bend in the middle and at the top would be hardly graceful. The portion above the ground of the three *yūpas* at Badvā is octagonal; the underground shaft of two of them is, however, square. The shafts of the *yūpas* discovered at Isapur and Bijayagadh⁹ are, however, square at the bottom and octagonal above. This departure from the requirements as laid down in the sacred texts also seems to be due to architectural considerations. A pillar square at the bottom and octagonal above was probably regarded as more graceful than one octagonal throughout. The

¹ II, 4.

² *Kātyāyana-Srautasūtra*, VI, 5. The cubit is to be the nubb of the *Yajamāna*. The *Satapatha-Bṛāhmaṇa*, however, allows any height for the *yūpa*; see III, 6, 4, 26.

³ *Āiturēya-Bṛāhmaṇa*, II, 1. The *Satapatha-Bṛāhmaṇa* connects the eight sides of the shaft of the post to the eight syllables of each line of the *Gāyatri* metre (V, 2, 1, 6). This is a fanciful reason.

⁴ The *Satapatha-Bṛāhmaṇa* requires it to be बाण उपविष्टावृत्तौ मजे and not अपनतो मजे, XI, 7, 4, 3; the *Kātyāyana-Srautasūtra* lays down that it should be सजावृत्तमम्, VI, 1.

⁵ Cf. *Satapatha-Bṛāhmaṇa*, XI, 7, 4, 3: अथ ह्यस्य, . इत्थं इमां वदति स ह्यपीमी नाम । इमाहं पुनं कुर्वते मयं इत्युच्यते श्रीकर्मणि ।

⁶ *Kātyāyana-Srautasūtra*, VI, 1, 23. Some authorities permitted a *chushkila* made of wheaten dough. See *Satapatha-Bṛāhmaṇa*, V, 2, 1, 6.

⁷ *Satapatha-Bṛāhmaṇa*, III, 7, 1, 21. For the resemblance between the sacrificial post and a *Bṛahmachārin*, see *Rigveda*, III, 4, 4 & 5.

⁸ Vogel. *The Yūpa inscriptions of King Mālavārman from Kocot*, p. 202. (As Dr. B. C. Chhabra has pointed out, they might not have been intended to represent sacrificial posts; see *J. A. S. B. Letters*, Vol. I (1935), p. 43—Ed.)

⁹ *Annual Report, A. S. I.*, 1910-11, pp. 405. Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 252.

architect responsible for the yūpa at Nāndāś seems to have paid scanty regard to the sacred texts; for he has fashioned a pillar entirely circular.¹ None of the pillars at Baḍvā has a girdle at the middle; we can, however, see it clearly on the yūpas of the *Aśvamedha* coins of Samudragupta² and on one of the two Isāpur pillars. Our yūpas, like all the rest discovered so far, do not show any upavita.³ Nor do they show any cloths carved round them. Probably it was felt that it would not be easy to show this detail in stone, and so the architects in all cases discovered so far, have omitted it. Cloths fluttering like banners at the ends of the yūpas on the coins of Samudragupta seem to be the ends of the cloths with which the yūpa was to be covered. The yūpas on these coins have pedestals; no traces of these were discovered near the yūpas at Baḍvā. Sacred texts do not recommend them.

The total height of two of our yūpas is 13' 3" and that of the third 15' 8"; the length of the shaft underground is about 4' in each case. Each of them has a square *chakṣhā* about eight inches from the top, as laid down in the sacred texts. The portion above the *chakṣhā* bends inwards, as is the case with all the other sacrificial pillars discovered so far.

The inscriptions on these yūpas have been written not in horizontal lines, as is the case with the Isāpur pillar, but in one long vertical line, reading from the top to the bottom, and about 8 feet in length.⁴ The inscription on the yūpa of Balasindhya, however, is written in two such vertical lines on two different facets of the octagonal pillar owing to some natural defect in the stone in the first facet. Each of these lines is 4 feet and 8 inches long. The height of the normal letters is about 1·8", of letters with verticals like *ka*, *ga*, etc., about 4", of conjunct letters like *ka*, *ga*, etc., 4½" and of conjuncts with medial vowels like *ka* about 6". The letters on the yūpa of Balasindhya are slightly bigger and broader, and seem to have been engraved by a different mason, copying a manuscript written in a different duct. The Characters bear a general resemblance to those of the third century A. D. in general, and to those on the Nāndāś yūpa in particular, engraved 13 years earlier.⁵ We do not see here any precursors of the Eastern variety forms of the Gupta alphabet. Medial *ā* and *ī* strokes are still indicated by horizontal lines (except in some rare cases like *de* in *Sāmedha* in inscription B) usually attached at the top. In *me* of *Māhārāja* the vowel sign is attached in the middle. *Ya* has developed a loop in its left limb, and when the last member of a conjunct, it shows all possible varieties of form. Sometimes it is archaic,—tripartite and with a curved back (cf. *ya* in *śaktaya* in the first line of the record of Balasindhya; in this same inscription, however, is to be seen the relatively later bipartite form in *śaktaya*). Normally, however, this letter shows a loop on the left. In inscription C, there is the stop *m* at the end; it is denoted by the normal form of the letter *ma*, but smaller in size and written below the line as is usually found in the writing of this period.

Numerical Symbols for 100, 90 and 5 occur in each of the three records. The signs for 90 and 5 are the usual ones for the period, but the additional stroke attached to the symbol for hundred in order to convert it into 200 is rather unusual. Instead of a short horizontal stroke being attached to the vertical, in each of the three inscriptions we find the horizontal stroke first taken upwards and then led right across the top of the symbol to more than half its breadth. That this modified symbol stands for two hundred is rendered absolutely certain by its being identical in form with the symbol used in the Nāndāś yūpa inscription. In the latter record the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 53.

² Allan, *The Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, Pl. V, Nos. 9-14.

³ Possibly the garlands round the top of the Yūpas discovered at Isāpur may have been intended as substitutes for the upavita.

⁴ The inscription on the Bijayagadh pillar is also vertical and written in the same manner.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 53.

date is also expressed in words and the import of the numerical symbol engraved there is thus absolutely certain. As will be presently shown, the year 295 of the record has to be referred to the Vikrama era. The earliest known inscription of this era is that on the Kīlādī gūpa, which is dated in the year 282.¹ This record, however, has not yet been properly edited.

The Language of the record may be described as imperfect Sanskrit. *Kīlādī* at the beginning of the inscription seems to be a mistake for *Śrīpati*. Among other mistakes may be pointed out *Paṇḍara* for *Paṇḍita*, *paṇḍa* for *paṇḍita* and *iri* for *iri*. The reading *daśakṛpā* is absolutely certain on the gūpa of Balasimha; it seems to be a mistake for *daśakṛpā*. In the inscriptions on the gūpas of Sōmadēva and Balavardhana *śāhara* has been *spelt as śāharaṇa*. Usually no *mantri* rules have been observed, the solitary exception being *Hāhara-Bala-patraya* in the inscription on the pillar of Balasimha.

Each record commemorates the performance of a *Trivēda* sacrifice. The *Paṇḍara-Samhitā* gives a detailed description of the origin and nature of this sacrifice.² We are told that *Prōṣpati* invented it for *Vasus*, *Indras* and *Ādityas* and won thereby the three worlds. The *Śākhāyano-Smṛtosūtra* declares that by the merit of this sacrifice, the sacrificer can win for himself whatever is threefold (*trivēda*) in affairs both mundane and spiritual.³ This sacrifice is an amalgam of *Agnihōtrī*, *Ukthya* and *Atirātra* sacrifices, performed on the first, second and third days respectively.⁴ Its full name is *Garga-Trivēda*; it was called *Ati-Trivēda* if a horse was immolated on the second day.⁵ The wording of the concluding portion of each record, *Trivēda-samhitāya daśakṛpāya* (ed.) *paṇḍita śāharaṇa* appears to be suggested by that of the concluding sentence of the description of this sacrifice in the *Paṇḍara-Samhitā* (VII, 16) where we read,

तदेतन्नवसाधनं सहस्रं श्लोचियः सहस्रं दक्षिणा सहस्रसंनिताः स्रग्धो द्यौकः ।

The *Manḍhārī* sacrificer gave precisely the same amount of *daśakṛpā* as prescribed by the sacred texts. As a matter of fact, *Trivēda* sacrifice has been described in one place as *Sahasra-daśakṛpā-Trivēda*.⁶ Out of these 1,000 cows, 333 were to be given every day in groups of ten; the three that remained every day, along with the thousandth cow, which was required to be variegated in colour, were to be given to the *Hāra* on the last day of the sacrifice.

The fragmentary gūpa, discovered at Nagari, records the performance of a *Vājapēya* sacrifice by at least three brothers.⁷ The three sacrifices at *Badvā*, though brothers, seem to be different commemorative gūpas. Their number was four, but the name of the fourth sacrificer has perished along with his commemorative gūpa, of which only a fragment could be discovered and recovered.

The names of the brothers, whose memory has been preserved by their commemorative pillars, are *Balavardhana*, *Sōmadēva* and *Balasimha*. They are described as the sons of *Mākhārī Mahāsenāpati Bala*.⁸ The term *Mākhārī* is a more variant for *Manḍhārī* and thus our record, which is dated in the year 295 of the Vikrama era, is the earliest dated *Manḍhārī* record to be so far published. The *Manḍhārī* family of *Bala* is undoubtedly earlier than the house of *Yajñavarmaṇ* ruling in *Bihar*, as the former was ruling in *Rājputana* in the first half of the 3rd century A. D. and *Yajñavarmaṇ* cannot be placed earlier than the fourth

¹ *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, Vol. XIX, Appendix, p. 1, No. 1.

² VII, 16.

³ XVI, 24.

⁴ *Paṇḍara-Samhitā*, VII, 12.

⁵ *Śākhāyano-Smṛtosūtra*, XXI, 21.

⁶ *Saṃpatti* Pr., XIII, 4, 2, 1.

⁷ *Memoria*, A. 5, 7., Vol. IV, p. 120.

⁸ (See p. 53 n. 3 below.—Ed.)

century A. D. The seal discovered by General Cunningham in Gaya district bearing the legend *Mahākṣama* in Aśoka Brāhmī is still the earliest Maukhari document, but it bears no personal name.¹

The term Maukhari connotes that the family was founded by a progenitor named Maikhara;² if he was a real historical personage, we have now to place him earlier than the third century A. D. Whether the Maukhari families of Bihār, Kanaur and Bagdā were all descended from him, we do not know. No evidence is available at present to establish any family connection between these three houses. The common-sounding names of the members of the Bihār and Kanaur Maukhari families, along with the epithet *śakamukhādityak* given to one of the members of the former family,³ make it clear that they were Kshatriyas by caste. Three of the heir names of the members of the new Maukhari family, Bala, Balavardhana and Balasinha, confirm the same conclusion. It is also interesting to note that all these Maukhari rulers are seen to be zealous patrons of the Vedic sacrifices.⁴

None of the Maukhari chiefs mentioned in these records were known to us so far.⁵ Bala, the head of the family, is designated as *Mahāśatrapa*. It is, however, not easy to determine the precise political status denoted by this title. *Satrapa*, the title by which Ptolemy, the founder of the Śunga dynasty, was known even to posterity, is a humbler title than the one given to Bala in our records. Bala, therefore, may well have been more than a mere general. In contemporary Andhra⁶ and Harikela records,⁷ however, this title seems to denote a feudal chief of considerable importance, ruling over a fairly big district.⁸ It would appear that the Maukhari Over-marshal-in-chief Bala was very probably enjoying a similar status. He does not seem to have been an independent ruler.

If he was not independent, whose feudatory was he? This question cannot be confidently answered at present. At the time of our record, i.e., in A. D. 239, the Kushānas were too weak to exercise any paramount control over southern Bījpatāna, even if we suppose that the accession of Kanishka took place in c. 120 A. D. From the very brief and imperfect summary of the Nāndīś yūpa inscription published so far,⁹ it would appear that in A. D. 226, i.e., 13 years earlier than the time of our record, the rule of the Western Kshatrapas extended up to Nāndīś, which is about 70 miles nearly due west of Bagdā.¹⁰ It is therefore not improbable that the imperial overlord of

¹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Introduction, p. 14. It may be pointed out that the facsimile of this important seal has never been published and that its present whereabouts are unknown.

² See Kalyāṇ on the *Pāṇinīya Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini IV, 1, 73. Our record does not connect the Maukhari with Aśvapati, the Maṇḍra king, as does the Harikela record. The Maṇḍras were originally in the Punjab, and if the statement of the Harikela inscription is true, it is likely, as my colleague Dr. H. S. Tripathi has suggested, that like the Māhīyas and Yaudhīyas the Maukhari also may have had their home in the Punjab, from where they may have gradually migrated south-eastwards. If so, this movement must have begun very early; for we find the Maukhari in Bihār in the first century B. C. It is, however, possible that the connection with Aśvapati may be more purely than historical.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Inscription No. 10.

⁴ For the Bihār family's patronage of the Vedic rituals, see *ibid.*, Inscription No. 49, v. 1. For the Kanaur family's patronage see v. 7 of the Harikela inscription, *ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 116. These references are not merely conventional.

⁵ A Mathari inscription dated in the year 80 mentions Bala as a son of a certain lady (ante, Vol. I, p. 227, No. 24). If we place Kautskya in c. 330 A. D., then the date of this Bala would be c. 250 and it would be possible to identify him with Bala of our inscriptions. But from the fragmentary Mathari record it does not appear that Bala, mentioned therein, was a Maukhari.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 94.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 32.

¹⁰ Nāndīś is 36 miles from the railway station Bāilwara on the Cātor-Ajmer line.

the Maukhari Commander-in-chief Bala was the Kshatrapa ruler Vijayadāman, who was ruling from A. D. 238 to 259.¹ If agreeing with Prof. Rapson² and disagreeing with Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,³ we place Iśvaradatta Ābhira's intervention in A. D. 236, it is probable that Bala may have been compelled to transfer his allegiance to the interloper, provided he had made his power felt up to Kotah.

From the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūrasārman, the famous founder of the Kadamba house, it appears that he had defeated the Pallavas, Pundras, Traikūṭakas, Ābhīras, Pāriyātrikas, Śakas and Maukharis.⁴ Since the record mentions specific kings and dynasties defeated, we cannot suppose that it contains mere empty boasts. All except the first two powers in the above list, belong to Central or Western India. The date of Mayūrasārman is, however, not definitely fixed, but I think the view of Dr. Krishna that he flourished about the middle of the 3rd century A. D.,⁵ is to be preferred to that of Mr. Moraes who places him a century later.⁶ If such be the case, then our new Maukhari inscriptions will throw considerable light upon the political situation of the time. It has been suggested that the Maukharis defeated by Mayūrasārman were the Maukharis of Bihār; but it does not appear from the list of Mayūrasārman's victories that he had extended his sphere of activity much beyond Western India. If, as suggested above, the Maukharis of Balra were the feudatories of the Śakas (and of the Ābhīras also during their temporary ascendancy), then it is very probable that the Maukharis whom Mayūrasārman defeated were some of the descendants of Balra. After defeating (or encountering) the Traikūṭakas and Ābhīras, Mayūrasārman attacked Central Gujārat. He was there opposed by the Śakas, a portion of whose forces were under the command of their Maukhari feudatories of Central India. This circumstance is very probably responsible for the victory over the Maukharis claimed by Mayūrasārman. It does not seem that he had ever invaded Bihār.

It would appear that at the time of the performance of the sacrifices in A. D. 239, Mahāśatāpati Bala was still alive. His sons were probably occupying subordinate positions in his principality. None of them seems to have made much progress in his official career, as no title like Śāmānta or Śatāpati or Daśakāntapala is associated with any one of them.⁷

The date of the records is given at the beginning of each of them in identical phrases. The expression used is:—*Kṛitā 200, 20, 5, Phalguṇa-śuklasya pañcāśi di.*

In order to get at the real meaning of the first word used here, it is necessary to compare the expression with similar ones occurring in early Indian inscriptions. Relevant passages to be considered are the following:—

- (1) *Kṛitayōr-devayōr-varaṣa-lalitayōr-devāṣṭāyāś 200 20 2 (Chaitra-pūrṇamāśi) m.*—Nāndā pillar inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 53).
- (2) *Kṛitāśu chaitraśu varaṣa-lalitāśu-aṣṭāśi(n)śaka 200 20 2 Phalguṇa(n)-śuklasya pañcāśatāyām-āryām-pūrṇāyām.*—Bijayagadh pillar inscription (*Flac.*, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 253).
- (3) *Śrī(śrīm) Mālav-pṛaśnānāṁ prajānāṁ Kṛit-ratijñāt śakāśaṣṭy-adhikā praptā samā-lata-chaturvīṣṭi...*—*śilā Śrīrāja-sūktasya pañcāmyām.*—Mandaeir inscription of Naravarman (*op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 320).

¹ Rapson, *Catalogue*, etc., p. 129.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1227.

³ *Annual Report, A. S. I., 1913-14*, pp. 227-45.

⁴ *Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report, 1929*, p. 50.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁶ *The Kadamba-kala*, p. 71.

⁷ (See p. 32 n. & below.—Ed.)

- (4) *Yātishu chaitu[r]ishu Kṛi(Kṛi)śishu jātishu samayashchā (?) śhāhā)āta-sattara-padiśhu-
tha vataś[rishu]] jātish trayōdāśa-dinē dhuvī Kārttikayya māṣayya.*—Gaṅgdhār ins-
cription (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 74).
- (5) *Kṛitishu chaturashu varsha-jātish-shibhitya-uttarishu-asyām Mālava-pūrvāyām 400
80 I. Kārttika-shukla-pañchamyām.*—Nagari inscription (*P R A S W C.*, 1915-16,
p. 56; *Memoirs A. S. I.*, No. 4, p. 120).

Besides the present three records, we have thus five other instances where the word *Kṛita* is used in connection with the reckoning of an era. Out of these, in three passages, viz., Nos. 1, 2, and 4, the term *Kṛita* alone has been used and in the remaining two, viz., Nos. 3 and 5, it is used along with a reference to the Mālavva. In the two other Mandasor inscriptions, one of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvvarman¹ and the other of Yaśodharman² the term *Kṛita* has been omitted altogether and the era is indicated as *Mālavādinā gae-a-shityā* and *Mālava-gae-a-shi-vatā*.

The controversy connected with the interpretation of the term *Kṛita* used in the above passages has not yet closed. That all the above passages refer to the years of the Vikrama era is now admitted, but why the terms *Kṛitishu*, *Kṛitayōh*, etc. have been used in connection with the era is not yet definitely known. On the analogy of the passages Nos. 1 and 2 above, it is clear that *KṛetMi* of our inscriptions is to be corrected into *Kṛitaiś* and is to be taken as governing a term like *varshaiś* which is understood. The usual locative is here supplanted by the instrumental. But the meaning is the same, viz., 'when *Kṛita* years 295 had passed away.'

Dr. Fleet, while discussing the passage No. 4 above, was inclined to hold that *pūvishu Kṛitishu vatarishu* should be interpreted as 'when fully completed (480) years had passed.' He held that *kṛitishu* is more or less synonymous with *yātishu*. The passage No. 3 above, however, makes it clear that *kṛita* cannot be taken in that sense, but is clearly the proper name of the year or the era referred to in that document. While discussing the passage No. 3 above, the late MM. Haraprasad Sastri suggested that *Kṛita* was the proper name of the first year of a cycle of four years current in ancient India. He could substantiate his theory only by supposing that Bijayagadh and Gaṅgdhār inscriptions, which are dated in the years 423 and 480 respectively, expressed expired years. This theory is now no longer tenable, for in our present records and in the passage No. 1 above, the years mentioned are 295 and 283 respectively, and still they are described as *Kṛita*. In a cycle of four years, those years would be 3rd and 2nd respectively or 4th and 3rd, if we take them to be expired years. MM. Sastri's theory has therefore to be abandoned in the light of the new data.

While commenting upon the passage No. 3 above, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has observed that time has not yet come for suggesting a definite interpretation for the word *Kṛita*.³ He was inclined to hold that *Kṛita* was not the name of a king or royal dynasty associated with this era. To him it appeared that what is now known as Vikrama era was invented by the people or astronomers for the purpose of counting years and was consequently originally known as *kṛita* or 'made'. We do not so far know of any great astronomer having flourished in c. 57 B. C. None of the famous Hindu astronomers like Āryabhaṭa, Varāhamihira or Brahmagupta is known to have attempted the founding of an era. Astronomers in ancient India have invented eras like the Saptarshi and the Kaliyuga ones going back to pre-historic times; they are not known to have founded eras commencing at any specific historic date.

¹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 81.

² *Ibid.*, p. 162.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 163.

What then is the meaning of the term *Kṛta* in the above passages? I see no reason why it should not be taken as the proper name of the era. From the passage No. 3 above it is clear that though the era was traditionally handed down in the Mālaya tribe, it was known as *Kṛta*. The term *Kṛta* there does not designate any particular year of the era, but the whole collection of years, cf. *Kṛta-samudāya śaṅkashy-adhikā prapt sand-ata-chaturdśyagē*. The era may have been originally known by that term because of the name of its founder. *Kṛta* as a personal proper name is not familiar in later Indian history and literature, but the case seems to have been different in earlier times. *Kṛta* was the name of one of the Vāśīḍevas; Vasudēva had given it to one of his sons from Rōhṇī; a pupil of Hiraṇyakaśipu was known by that name; and fathers of Upa-nishada and Haryasana were christened by it.¹ What inherent improbability is there in postulating that the so-called Vikrama era may have been originally started by a king named *Kṛta*? According to the *Vikramādi*, *Kṛta* has also the sense of fruit or reward. This meaning seems to be connected with one of the Vedic meanings of the word,—'booty'. At the time of the founding of the era, a king named *Kṛta* may probably have scored a memorable victory and won great booty (*apsa*). To commemorate the victory an era was started called *Kṛta* named after its founder and his great achievement.

This theory is only a tentative one. I admit that so far we have no evidence whatever of a king named *Kṛta* having flourished by the middle of the 1st century B. C. But it is not improbable that in course of time we may discover a king of that name ruling at that time. It is also true that an era named after king *Kṛta* should be known by a *śaṅkshata* expression like *Kṛta-mukha* or *sandakṛta*, on the analogy of the expression *Gaṇpādhikā caraka-sata-trayā var-timāḍa* occurring in the Gaṇjān plates of the time of Śaśāṅkaśa.² The authors of early inscriptions were not particularly strong in Sanskrit (as is, for instance, evidenced by the present inscriptions) and the expression *Kṛta* (*sandakṛta*) for *Kṛta* (*sandakṛta*) is quite possible in their compositions. It may be further pointed out that in several cases *śaṅkshata* expressions have not been used in such cases. Thus in the Sānak plates of Kartadēva³ dated in the year 1148 and in the Bhadravar inscription of the time of Chaulukya king Jayasīṃhadēva⁴ dated in the year 1195, we have the expressions *Vikrama samvat* 1148 and 1195 and not *Fakrama samvat* 1148 and 1195. Similarly we come across the expression *Valokā Samvat* and not *Vāṇbhōya samvat*.⁵ There is therefore nothing unusual in the years of the era of king *Kṛta* being known as *Kṛtishy caraka* or *Kṛtishy sandakṛta* or *Kṛtishy caraka-kāryāḍ*.

The foundation of the Vikrama era is still shrouded in impenetrable mystery. Dr. Sten Konow has suggested on the authority of the *Kālabhūḍāya-lullāṇaka* that the era was founded by king Vikramāditya of Mālaya in commemoration of his ousting the Sakas from Vijaya-giri, where they had obtained a temporary footing.⁶ What is stated by the Jaina tradition is not, however, confirmed by the epigraphical data. If we analyse the inscriptions where the Vikrama era has been used, we find that the earliest instance, so far known, of the term Vikrama being associated with the era occurs full 194 years after its foundation.⁷ This Vikrama is for the first time called a king only in the 11th century of the era.⁸ It is therefore clear that in the

¹ See Monier Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary under *Kṛta*.

² *Asiatic*, Vol. VI, p. 144.

³ *Asiatic*, Vol. I, p. 317.

⁴ *Archaeological Survey Report for Western India*, No. 2, Appendix, p. xiii, No. 56.

⁵ *Ind. Inscriptions*, vol. IX, p. 4.

⁶ *Asiatic*, Vol. XIV, pp. 293-5.

⁷ Maṇḍi inscription of Jihādēva. *Ind. Asiatic*, Vol. XII, p. 125.

⁸ *Śaṅkshata* inscription of Naravāhana, dated V. 1028; *J. B. R. E. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 160.

first seven centuries of this era, its connection with a king named Vikrama was altogether unknown. If, as the Jaina tradition asserts, king Vikramāditya of Ujjayini, the expeller of the Śakas, was the founder of the era, it has to be admitted that people had completely forgotten his memory within 250 years after his death. We shall have to suppose that it was somehow revived in the 11th century, probably due to the historic researches of the time; and that the era came to be renamed after him. This seems to be altogether improbable.

The precise interpretation of the term *Kṛita* being for a long time doubtful, the earliest proper name associated with the era was for a long time considered to be that of the Mālavas. Kielhorn had observed that from about the 5th to the 9th century of this era it was believed by poets to be specially used by the princes and people of Mālava.¹ The Mālavas, however, do not seem to be connected with the foundation of the era. It is interesting to note that in the three earliest instances of the use of this era, viz., the present records and the passages Nos. 1 and 2 above, the Mālavas have not been associated with the era at all. The term *Kṛita* alone is used to denote it. The same is the case with the Gaṅgadhār inscription of the year 489 (passage No. 4 above). The passage No. 3 above is the earliest instance, known so far, of the association of the Mālavas with the era; but there it is expressly stated that *Kṛita* was its proper name, though it was traditionally handed down among the Mālavas.² The evidence available so far shows that the association of the Mālavas with the era commenced sometime towards the middle of the 5th century A. D., as evidenced by the passage No. 3 above. Towards the end of that century its original name *Kṛita* was dropped, as would appear from the name of the era in the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhavagana.³ People of the 8th century believed that the era was founded by a Mālava ruler.⁴ Down to the 4th century, however, the Vikrama era was known as *Kṛita* and was not known to be connected with the tribe or king of the Mālavas. The supersession of the name *Kṛita* by Mālava is paralleled by the supersession of the name of Gupta era by the term Valabhi era in western India.

The geographical position of the places, where Yēpa inscriptions and inscriptions with the term *Kṛita* occur, is worth noting. Yēpa inscriptions have been found at Jaipur, Bijayagadh, Badvā, Nagari and Nāndak. Bijayagadh is about 50 miles south-east of Jaipur; Badvā is about 110 miles south-south-east of Bijayagadh; Nagari is about 90 miles east of Badvā; and Nāndak is about 10 miles north-east of Nagari. It would appear from this that eastern Rājputāna played an important part in the revival of Vedic religion. *Kṛita* era inscriptions have been discovered at Nāndak, Badvā, Mandasor, Bijayagadh, Gaṅgadhār and Nagari. Mandasor is about 100 miles south-west of Badvā and Gaṅgadhār is about 36 miles east of Mandasor. South-eastern Rājputāna was thus the country where the designation *Kṛita* was current. It is worth noting that it is precisely in this area that the term Mālava came to be later associated with the era; for Mandasor, Nagari, Kanuwa and Gyarāpur are situated in the same sector of the country. It is therefore clear that in this province the term Mālava superseded the earlier name *Kṛita* after the 4th century.

The inscriptions mention no places. The village where they were discovered, is known as Badvā; it is not improbable that Badvā may be a contraction of Balavāṣi and that the modern humble village may have been once a flourishing capital,—founded by the *Mohāsāpasi* Bala,

¹ *Jed. Ast.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 403-4.

² This is no place to discuss the precise interpretation of the terms *Mālava-purāṇa*, *Mālava-gaṇa-śāhi*, *viśāhi* and *Mohāsāpasi-gaṇa-śāhi*. All these refer to the established usage in the Mālava tribe. I do not think that the era has anything to do with any tribal organisation of the Mālavas.

³ *Recet. C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 81.

⁴ See Kāpāra inscription, *Jed. Ast.*, Vol. XIX, p. 57.

who may have been the founder of the Maukhari branch in Kotah state. Its present population is only about 1,600, but half a century ago, it is said to have been four times more populous.

Before concluding, I would like to express my deep indebtedness to Major-General Ap Onkar Singh, G.I.E., Dewan of Kotah, and to Dr. Mathur Lal, State Historian, Kotah, for procuring the photographs of the Yūpa and supplying valuable information for the preparation of this article.

TEXT.¹

A. The Yūpa of Balavarddhana.

L. 1. Siddham [*] Kritāhi(Kritāhi) 200 90 5 Phalguna(Phālguna)-śuklasya pañcā dī śri(śrī)-mahā-sānapatēḥ * Mōkharēḥ² Bala-putrasya Balavarddhanasya yūpaḥ[*] Tri-rātra-samnitasya dakṣiṇyam(pā) gavāḥ sahasram(sahasram)³[*].

B. The Yūpa of Sōmadēva.

L. 1. Siddham[*] Kritāhi(Kritāhi) 200 90 5 Phalguna(Phālguna)-śuklasya pañcā dī śri(śrī)-mahā-sānapatēḥ * Mōkharēḥ² Bala-putrasya Sōmadēvasya yūpaḥ[*] Tri-rātra-samnitasya dakṣiṇyam(pā) gavāḥ sahasram(sahasram)³[*].

C. The Yūpa of Balasinhha.

L. 1.* Kritāhi(Kritāhi) 200 90 5 Phalguna(Phālguna)-śuklasya pañcā da(dī) śri(śrī)-mahā-sānapatēḥ⁴ Mōkharēḥ.

L. 2. r-Bala-putrasya Balasinhha(ha)sya yūpaḥ⁵(pāḥ) [*] Tri-rātra-samnitasya dakṣiṇyam(pā) gavāḥ sahasram [*].

TRANSLATION.

Well accomplished! On the fifth day of the bright half of Phālguna (of the year) 205 by Kṛita(years, this) sacrificial pillar (was erected) by Balavardhana (Sōmadēva in inscription B and Balasinhha in inscription C), son of Bala, the glorious Mōkhari commander-in-chief.⁶ The fee of a thousand cows as laid down for the Trirātra sacrifice (was duly given to Brahmanas).⁷

No. 8.—NANDAPUR COPPER-PLATE OF THE GUPTA YEAR 169.

By N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

This copper-plate, which is edited here for the first time, has been in the possession of Mr. Ganapati Sarkar, Zemindar of Bellāghātā, Calcutta, since 1829. I first saw it at the Annual

¹ From ink-impressions.

² Read - *pañcā*.

³ Read *Mōkharēḥ*.

⁴ There is a triangular symbol at the end.

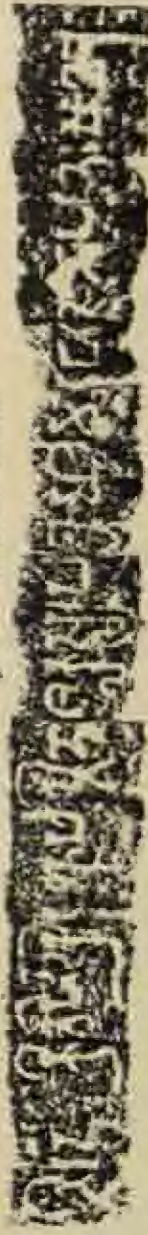
⁵ There are two symbols at the end of this record, one triangular and the other circular.

⁶ The word *siddham* has been omitted in this record.

⁷ The letter *na* is a result of the engraver's carelessness.

⁸ [According to the text *Mōkharēḥ* and *śri-sānapatēḥ* would refer to each of the three brothers and not their father Bala. Since all the three bear the title of *mahā-sānapati* it is to be presumed that it was meant to be only a title of nobility as in the inscriptions of the southern Chālauka rulers.—Ed.]

A. The Yupa of Balavaridhana.



Left half.

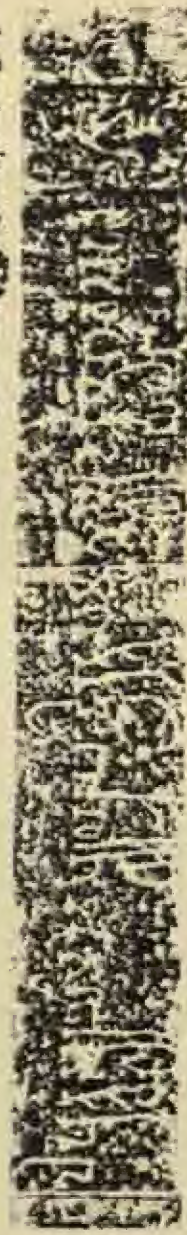


Right half.

B. The Yupa of Somadeva.



Left half.



Right half.

C. The Yupa of Balasimha.



First line



Second line

A photograph of the Yuppies.



Exhibition of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, held on the 3rd February, 1936. Subsequently, at my request Mr. Sarkar very kindly handed it over to me for decipherment and publication. So far as available information goes, the copper-plate comes from a village called **Nandapur**¹ which lies on the southern bank of the Ganges, at a distance of about two miles to the north-east of Surajgarh in the District of Monghyr. The plate is said to have been fixed to the wall of a niche in a dilapidated temple close to the site of a *Siva-linga* locally known as 'Bārhānāth Mahādēva'. According to reports collected by Mr. Sarkar, Nandapur and its neighbourhood are full of ruins representing an ancient site, a part of which has perished due to the erosion of the river bank.

This is a **single sheet** of copper, measuring about $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. It bears inscription on both sides, there being in all nineteen lines of writing of which fifteen are on the obverse and only four on the reverse. A **seal** is attached to the plate, which originally must have borne an inscription. But it has since suffered much from corrosion with the result that none of the letters is at present preserved. Probably two letters are also missing in line 4, just where the donor's name was mentioned, and a few are damaged, or partly obliterated, in lines 17 and 18. The rest of the document is in a fair state of preservation, and the engraving is, on the whole, well executed.

The **characters** belong to 'the eastern variety' of the Gupta Alphabet (cf. *ka*, *sha*, *sa* and *ka*) as found in the Dhānāidaha, Dāmōdarpur, Baigraṁ and Pāhārpur copper-plates, being typical of the writing prevalent in Bengal during the fifth century A.D. Attention may be drawn to the hook-like sign for medial *ā* attached to the bottom of some letters in making up the sign for the medial *ā*, e.g., in *Gōradadita* (l. 12), which occurs also in other records of the period. Another form of the medial *ā* sign is also used, in the shape of an upright stroke hanging from the right side of the *mātrā*. When applied to *pa* and *ma* this stroke is lengthened, reaching the bottom of the letter where it is slightly bent to the left, e.g., in *Brāhmanā* (l. 3) and *śāhmanā* (l. 15), in which we must recognize an advanced form of the sign.² The forms of the final *t* and *m* are noteworthy, e.g., in *vaśit* (l. 19) and *śatama* (l. 13). The numerical signs for 4, 100, 60, 2 and 8 occur in the inscription (ll. 13, 19).

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit prose, excepting that there are two imprecatory verses in lines 17-18. The phraseology will be found to tally in many respects with that of the Baigraṁ copper-plate.³ As regards **orthography**, we should note the use of both *ka* and *sa*. But the writer of the document has failed to distinguish between the two letters in the words *śāhna* (ll. 5, 9), *śamba* (ll. 5, 9), *śaṁbha* (ll. 2, 13) and *Baṁbhūta* (l. 8), in all these instances the sign for *sa* being used instead of that for *ka*.⁴ The consonants *ka* and *sa* are often doubled before a subscript *r*, e.g., in *rīkṛṇṇa* (ll. 6, 9), *gṛṇṇa* (l. 3) and *śakṛṇṇa* (l. 13), although the word *rīkṛṇṇa* is spelt with a single *ka* in line 10. Some of the consonants following a superscript *r* are occasionally doubled, e.g., in *pramartanāṇṇa* (l. 4) and *dharmāṇṇa* (l. 11).

The charter was issued from a village called **Amṛtā**. It records the purchase of 4 *kuṭṣṭhā* of fallow land within the village of **Jāṅgōyātā**, at the rate of two *drasmas* per *kuṭṣṭhā*, by the **Vishayapati Chhatramaha**, and the transfer of the same property as gift to a **Brāhmaṇa**, to enable him to perform 'the Five Great Sacrifices'. The name of the donee ending in *śaṁbha* cannot be made out with certainty. He was an inhabitant of **Nanda-rāhī** and **Khaṭṭa-pōraṇa-agnāhī**, and belonged to the **Kāśyapa-gṛāma** and the **Chhandōga** (*chāraṇa* of the *Sāma-vēda*). The land was bounded on the south by the plot given away to **Gṛāhahita** and on the

¹ It is marked as 'Nandipur' in the 1" scale map of the Survey of India (Sheet No. 72 K, 2 and 7) published in 1928.

² Cf. e.g., Faridpur grant of Gopachandra, *J. Ind. As.*, Vol. XXXIX, Pl. III (facsim. p. 204), l. 24.

³ *J. Ind. As.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 81-82.

⁴ Similarly in the Baigraṁ copper-plate the letter *sa* instead of *ka* occurs in *śamba* in line 5, while *ka* is correctly employed in *śamba* in line 11, in *śāṇṇa* in line 3 and 11, and in *śaṁbha* in line 2.

west by the land known as Śāpālibhāga. In the present transaction, the Pāṇḍitapuri Chhattra-maha himself was the applicant and appeared before the *Adhikārī* to secure the plot of land by means of a *śāstra-patra*. The matter was inquired into and reported on by the Revenue-Inspectors (*Pradyakṣa*) Pradyakṣa and Bandhukṣa. The land was measured by the standard unit of 8x9 *śulās*, following the recognised cubit length of Darvīkarmma, as in the Hāgrām charter. The copper-plate is dated the 8th day of the bright half of Vaisākha, the year 169, which is referable to the Gupta era of 319 A.D. The date would thus correspond to the year 488 A.D.

I am unable to identify Ambha whose the charter was issued, or Jangōyikā, the village in which the plot of land was situated. But the name 'Nanda-śāstrī' has perhaps survived in 'Nandapur' where the plate is said to have been discovered. That the document was drafted, engraved and issued from Bengal, or more precisely from North Bengal, follows not only from the nature of the script but also from the close agreement of its phraseology with that of Bangrām and other plates of this century discovered in North Bengal. Moreover, from the mention of 8x9 *śulās* and the standard cubit length of Darvīkarmma, the conclusion becomes irresistible that the land that was so measured and given away must have also belonged to the same region, although the donor himself resided at Nandapur in the Monghyr District of Bihar.

TEXT.*

Obverse.

- 1 Svasti. **Amvi**(mih)la-grāma-āgrahārīka-va-vīśvāssu-śāhīkaragām(ṇam) **Jangōyikā-grāmē**
Brāhmaṇa-pitarāṇa-śāstrīya-śāstrī-
- 2 ry-ādi-koṭṭamvi(mā)śāh-kulāṇa-munratāṇya bōdhayanti(t) līkhaṇti(ṣṭ) śa [†]†**Vijāṇayati**
śāh viśayapari-**Chhattra-maha**ḥ
- 3 kṛhāṇmy-śāhā-rya-puṇy-ābhīrūpāḥ Nanda-valībhāya-**Khaṇḍapāra**-āgrahārīka-
Chāhāndōga-Kāṭyapa-va-pūtra-Brāhmaṇa-
- 4 ...**svāminō** pañcha-mahā-yaśa-pravarttanāya khila-kāhōtra-kulyavāpa-chatuṣṭayaḥ
kritv-ātisraṣṭum [†]†
- 5 Yashad-vishayō śa samudaya-vā(śā)hy-ādy-astamva(śā)khila-kāhōtrāṇām āsvad-ā-
chandr-īka-tāraka-bhōjyā(śā)†
- 6 m-śāhaya-niryāḥ dvī-dhārīka-kulyavāpa-vikkrayō-nuvratāḥ tad-śāhā māro-śāpau
dīnārāṇa-upa-
- 7 sāngriya **Jangōyikā-grāmē** khila-kāhōtra-kulyavāpa-chatuṣṭaya-m-śāhaya-niryāḥ-
tāmrapattim dātum-iti [†]†
- 8 Yataḥ Pāṇḍitapala-Pradyakṣa(mā)śāh-Va(śā)dhīkārīya-va-vīśvāssu-śāh-
śa viśayāḥ samudaya-
- 9 vā(śā)hy-ādy-astamva(śā)khila-kāhōtrāṇām-śāhāṇa-pāṇḍitakāṇām dvī-dhārīka-kulya-
vāpa-vikkrayō-nuvratāḥ [†]†
- 10 **Evam**-valī-śāpāṇḍitakā-khila-kāhōtra-vikkrayō śa na kṛd-chid-rā-śrīka-vindhāḥ śya-
mūd tu Paramahatṭāraka-
- 11 pādānām dharmma-śāh-bhūg-śvāptā-tad-śyaṭām-†-†-śāpāṇḍit-viśayapari-**Chhattra-**
mahād-śāpau dīnārāṇa-upa-

* From the original.

† [As in the Pāṇḍitapuri Plate one would expect here the mention of some officers like *Arastakos* who are veyal the necessary information to the Court. See p. 55 n. 1.—Ed.]

† The letter *va* in *vā(śā)hy* was at first omitted through inadvertence and later inserted before.

Obverse.

2 4 6 8 10 12 14

Reverse.

[illegible]

- 12 sanggubhya Jangōyikā-grāmē Gāṛakshita-tāmapaṭṭa-dakṣiṇēnā Gōpālādibhāgāya pāchi-
mēna kille.
13 kshātra-kuliyavāpa-chaturakṣayam dattam ku + [1*] Tē yāyau-śraṇa viditā kuṭumvi-
[sub]nānā karāṇa-āvirōdhi-śrāṇa
14 Darvikartuma-budhē-śaṣṭaka-navaka-nalābhyāṃ-aparīṇabhya chira-kāla-śāyī-pāsh-
āchē-ādī-chūṇaṇa-chaturddi.
15 ā-nāyama-śāṇmānā kṛtvā dāyatha datvā[ttvā] ch-ākālaya-nīrī-dharmasā kṛcā-
kā-lam-anupālayishyatha

Record.

- 16 varṣamāna-bharishyāt-cha samvavānābhor-ē;ad-dharmu-āpōkashy-ānupālayishyām-
[1] [1*] Uktā-cha bhag-
17 [vaiś Vyā]ś[ita] [1*] Śva-dattān paridattān vā yō harōta vasumharān [1*] sa vaiśā-
yām kṛmīr-bhātvā pūṣṭibhiḥ saha
18 pachyāt [1*] [Bhāshitā] vaccha-saharūḥ svarṣe mōdati bhūmidaḥ [1*] ākshēptā ch-ānu-
mantā cha tāny-eva sa-
19 rakṣ vacāt [1*] Sam 100 80 9 Vai śudi 8

TRANSLATION.

[Ll. 1-2] Had! From the (*reput*) grant (*agrādāna*) of **Ambila** village, our Head of the Dis-
trict (*Prādyakopati*) **Chhatramahā**, with confidence¹ intimates, addresses in writing and informs
the Court (*śālikikroṇi*), as well as the Brāhmanas, the chief officers and others, and also the house-
holders, at the village of **Jangōyikā**, after having enquired about their well-being:

[Ll. 3-7] "I wish to make over, for the sake of the increase of my religious merit, 4 *kūḷa-*
vāpā of fallow land, after (a) has been purchased, to the Brāhmanas. . . . **svāmīn**, an inha-
bitant of the *agrādāna* of **Khatāpārāna** in **Nanda-śikā**,² belonging to the *Kāyapa-gotra* and
the *Chāṇḍoga* (*charaṇa* of the *Śāmaśāda*), to enable him to perform the Five Great Sacrifices.³
Now, in your District (*prāpā*) there is established the system of sale at the rate of two *śāḍas*
per each *kūḷavāpa* of fallow land, originally devoid of vegetation, which does not yield any
revenue (to the State) and being under perpetual endowment (*ādāya-nīrī*)⁴ can be enjoyed
eternally, as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure. So you should accept from me eight
śāḍas and grant (me) by means of a copper-plate for the sake of perpetual endowment, four
kūḷavāpas of fallow land in the village of **Jangōyikā**."

[Ll. 8-11] Whereas it has been ascertained on enquiry by the Record-keepers, **Pradyūmanīha**
and **Baṇḍhudāsa**, that there is established in this District the system of sale at the rate of two
śāḍas per each *kūḷavāpa* of fallow land, originally devoid of vegetation, which does not yield
any revenue (to the State), and whereas there can be no loss of income to the Crown in such sale of
revenue-free fallow land—rather in case of gift a sixth part of the religious merit would accrue
to the King (*Paramābhūtarāṇa-pāda*)⁵—now therefore let (the land) be granted.

¹ [See p. 34 n. 2. I should translate: "From . . . Ambila . . . (the *Āyukhāna*) . . . intimates and writes to (the *śālikikroṇi*) (the Court) that *Prādyakopati* Chhatramahā informs . . ."—Ed.]

² Cf. as instance in a *Chāṇḍogya* copper-plate; *ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 126 l. 2.

³ The term *śikā* is used in the sense of a part of a district or sub-division. Cf. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 71.

⁴ The five sacrificial rites are *havi*, *śraṇa*, *śāḍas*, *agastya* and *śikā*.

⁵ The expression *ādāya-nīrī* is used in l. 6 as well as in l. 7 in the fifth case, evidently as *havi*. In the Bagri copper-plate, l. 17 it has the same con-ending in this sense.

⁶ The reigning king is thus referred to also in other grants, e.g. in Bagri (p. 13), *Chāṇḍogya*, No. 2 (ll. 12-13, where the current reading should be *dharmasā ch-ādāya-nīrī*), and in *Prādyakopati* (*Jan.* *Asi.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 106, l. 13).

(Ll. 11-13) So having realized eight *śiḍḍas* from the Head of the District, **Cchāttarama**, four *śulkaśūpas* of fallow land, *śu* 4, is being granted in the village of **Jaṅḡyikā**, (the land being bounded) on the south by (the plot granted by) a copper-plate charter to Gōrākshita and on the west by **Upalibhāga**.

(Ll. 13-15) Therefore having known this, you should give away (the plot) in a land that may not cause hindrance to cultivation of householders, after measuring (it) by (the standard unit of) 8×9 *reedas*, according to the cubit length of Darvvikarma, and also after demarcating the area in four directions by permanent marks of chaff, charcoal, etc.

(Ll. 15-16) And having made over you should still maintain (it) for ever, under the operation of the principle of perpetual endowment (*akṣaya-niṣi*). Likewise, it should be maintained, out of regard for piety, by the present and future administrative officers as well. And so says Lord Vyāsa. (Here follow two imprecatory verses.)

(L. 10) The year 169, the 8th day of the bright half of **Vaiśākha**.

No. 9.—SRUNGAVARAPUKŌTA PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN, KING OF KALINGA.

By PROF. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D., DACCA.

This is a set of three copper-plates, measuring 8½ inches in length and 2 inches in breadth. The right half of the third plate is broken and missing. The outer faces of the first and third plates are blank, while the second plate bears writing on both the sides. The plates are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered to a circular seal bearing in relief the figure of a couch with some indistinct emblem inside it.

The plates were discovered at the village of **Srungavarapukōta**, in the district of Vizagapatam (Madras). The cultivator who found them was under the impression that the metal was gold. So he broke the third plate, and had one piece melted by a goldsmith who, of course, declared it to be made of copper. Thus the remaining plates were left intact and secured by Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M.A., Ph.D. He gave them to Mr. M. Narasimham, who sold them to the **Madras Museum** where the plates are now preserved.

Mr. M. Narasimham edited the inscription in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* (Vol. VIII, pp. 153-160), with Photo-prints of the plates. Unfortunately, his reading contains several errors, and many of his introductory remarks are either palpably wrong or open to serious objections.

I re-edit the inscription from ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India.

The alphabet is of an early southern type. It is undoubtedly earlier than the early Gāḍga records, e.g., those of Hastivarman¹ and Indravarman,² dated respectively in the years 80 and 87 of the era used by the family. It shows great resemblance to the alphabet of the Kōṣṭhī plates of Chandavarman.³ Dr. Hultsch, who edited this inscription, observed that its alphabet resembled that of the Kollāra plates of the Śālikāyana King Vijayanandivarman. Since then the Pedaregi grant⁴ of this king has given us an approximate idea of his date. He was the great-

¹ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 372 ff.

² Above, Vol. III, pp. 128 ff.

³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.

⁴ J. A. B. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.

grandson of Hastivarman, who must almost certainly be identified with the king of Vāṅgi defeated by Samudragupta. The reign of Vijayanandivarman thus falls in the fifth century A. D.

The present record is dated only in the regnal year, but so far as we can judge from palaeography alone, it would, I think, be safe to presume that the present plates belong to the century 450-550 A. D.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the three well-known imprecatory verses (ll. 16-19) the inscription is written in prose.

As regards orthography, the following points may be noted. Separate signs are used for *ḍ* and *ṛ*. Consonants are doubled after *r* with a few exceptions, viz., *-chandrārka* (l. 10), *-ājñāra-bhava*² (l. 11), *-bhīr-ṣṛitaṃ* (l. 14) and *-vājaraṣi* (l. 13). Consonants *ḍ*, *m* and *t*, followed by *r*, are also doubled, and *dh* is doubled before *y*. *Anusvara* is used for palatal *ñ* in *prabhañjana* (l. 4), the *anuvāra* sign being wrongly placed above *y*. Both *jīvaśmāṣṭya* and *upadhmāṣṭya* are used. The final *s* and *m* are indicated by small-sized letters (*m* in l. 12, *s* in l. 19).

The inscription records the grant of the village of **Kindāppa** in **Tēlavallī-ṣiṣṭhaya** as an *agrahāra* to the Brāhmaṇa **Mātrīśarman**, by the king of Kalinga, **Mahārāja Anantavarman**, son of **Mahārāja Prabhañjanavarman**, and the grandson of **Mahārāja Guṇavarman**, lord of **Dēvarāṣṭra**. The grant was issued from the victorious city of **Piṣṭapura**.

King Anantavarman is also known to us from the Siripuram copper-plate grant.³ It was issued by Anantavarman, lord of Kalinga, from the victorious city of **Dāvapura**. It gives the name of the king's father as **Prabhañjanavarman**, evidently a mistake for **Prabhañjanavarman**, and that of his grandfather as **Guṇavarman**. There is no mention, however, of the last named king being lord of **Dēvarāṣṭra**.

There can, of course, be no doubt about the identity of the donors of the two grants. Still, it may be remarked in passing that the phraseology of the two grants shows no close resemblance, and that they were issued from different places. This point is noteworthy as, very often, arguments for and against the identity or close association of two kings are based on such considerations.

Dēvarāṣṭra, over which king Guṇavarman ruled, must be the kingdom of the same name which was conquered by Samudragupta. Formerly this was identified with **Mahārāṣṭra**. But G. Jouveau-Dubreuil proved, with the help of the Kāsimkōṭa plates, that **Elamañchi-Kalā-gadēśa** formed part of **Dēvarāṣṭra**.⁴ **Elamañchi-Kalāgadēśa** was taken to mean "the Kalinga country of which **Elamañchi** (the modern **Yellamanchilli**) was the chief town"; and hence **Dēvarāṣṭra** was located in the Viṅgapatam District. This view is supported by the present grant, inasmuch as it seems to show that **Piṣṭapura** was included within the kingdom of **Dēvarāṣṭra**. It is, no doubt, possible to take the view that **Dēvarāṣṭra**, over which Guṇavarman ruled, did not originally include **Piṣṭapura** which was subsequently acquired by Anantavarman; but, even then, we must regard the two as neighbouring localities.

In any case, it appears to be reasonably certain, that Anantavarman ruled over both **Piṣṭapura** and **Dēvarāṣṭra** which were two separate kingdoms in the time of Samudragupta. Of the two "Victorious Cities" from which he issued the grants, **Piṣṭapura** is, no doubt, the same as

² It was edited by Mr. M. Narasimham in the *Telugu Journal Bhāratī* (September, 1931) which is not accessible to me. A short account of its contents is given in his article on the present grant (*J. A. B. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 153). The Government Epigraphist has, at my request, very kindly placed at my disposal an excellent ink-impression of the Siripuram plates. My remarks are based on the original reading of these plates.

³ *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 60.

Pithāpuram in the Godāvari District. The other, Dārapura, from the close resemblance in name, may be regarded as the capital of Dāvarāṣṭra, but of this there is no definite evidence as yet.

Of the kings who ruled in Kalinga during the interval between the invasion of Samudragupta and the rise of the Gāṅga dynasty, only the names of Chapdavarman,¹ Unavarman,² Nanda-Prabhañjanavarman,³ Śaktivarman⁴ and Viśākhavarman⁵ were hitherto known from inscriptions. The present grant adds the names of three new kings belonging to a dynasty, viz., Guṇavarman, Prabhañjanavarman and Anantavarman.

We cannot definitely postulate any relationship between this dynasty and the kings previously known, although they all probably flourished between 400 and 550 A. D. But, in view of the very little knowledge we possess of the history of Kalinga during this period, two suggestions are made below in the hope that they may be of some use for future research in this direction.

As regards the king Nanda-Prabhañjanavarman, it has been suggested by Mr. D. C. Sarker, that the name probably signifies "Prabhañjanavarman of the Nanda family."⁶ If this view were accepted, this Prabhañjanavarman might be tentatively identified with the father of Anantavarman. It may, however, be pointed out that an other ruler of Kalinga styles himself as belonging to the Nanda family.

Some association may also be inferred between Anantavarman and Śaktivarman. Both issued their plates from the victorious city of Pishāpura, and both had Varman as their name-endings. Further, Śaktivarman is called 'Vāśiṣṭhiputra', while in the present grant, Anantavarman's father is described as 'moon in the Vāśiṣṭha family'.⁷

As to the time of King Anantavarman, I have already expressed above my view that the grant is to be placed, on palmographical grounds, during the period between 450 and 550 A. D. The date, most probably a regnal year, was mentioned at the end of line 19, but unfortunately this portion is missing, as noted above.

Mr. M. Narasimham has referred King Anantavarman to the first century A. D.⁸ He bases this conclusion on the following expression in the Siripuram grant—*astātītiśa-samāhṛityābhyā*. . . . *śubhadravajī samvatsaraṁ turt*. He interprets it as 'the eighth year of the Śaka era, in the year of Mahāvīryaja'. He ignores, however, the fact that '*astātītiśa-samāhṛityābhyā*', obviously a mistake for '*astātītiśa-samāhṛityābhyā*', cannot be taken as either qualifying the word '*samvatsaraṁ*', or as an independent word expressing date. I believe, the word qualifies the preceding word '*brāhmaṇa-bhāṣā*' and denotes the number of *brāhmaṇas* to whom the grant is made. I must confess, however, that I am unable to explain the word, beyond merely suggesting that it might stand for 18, 28 or 38.

In any case, whatever may be the interpretation of the word, the king Anantavarman can never be referred to the first century A. D., as the alphabet of the inscription is too late for that.

¹ Kāmarāṭi pl.; above, Vol. IV, pp. 144 ff.

² Dharuprāsthā grant; above, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff. Tekkal pl.; J. A. H. E. S., Vol. VI, pp. 33-4. King Unavarman mentioned in these two plates may be the same or different persons.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 48 ff.

⁴ Hāgola pl.; above, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 23 ff.

⁶ *Journal of the Department of Letters* (published by the Calcutta University), Vol. XXVI, p. 60, l. n. 2.

⁷ [It may be noted that while Prabhañjanavarman and his father Guṇavarman are described as 'Moon in the Vāśiṣṭha family', i.e., belonging to the Vāśiṣṭha-putra, Śaktivarman bears the anagrammatic Vāśiṣṭhiputra, which indicates that probably the last mentioned belonged to a family different from that of the two former rulers. —Ed.]

J. A. H. E. S., Vol. VIII, p. 128.

period. It may be further pointed out that *aṣṭāśaka* is not a correct grammatical form for denoting 'the eighth Śaka year', and that no king of Kalinga was likely to use the era, under that express name, in the eighth year of its foundation.

As to the localities mentioned in the inscription, *Piṣṭapūra* and *Dēvarāṣṭra* have already been dealt with. The village *Kiṇḍōppa*, the object of the grant, was situated in the *Tellavallivishaya*. Neither of these can be identified with certainty. Mr M. Narasimham says that the river called 'Tel' in the *Zamindari* of *Jaypote* used to be called the 'Telivāhi' in early times. He then argues that "the modern *Jaypote* (sic) must have been called *Tellavalli* (sic) *vishaya* on account of the river *Telivāhi* which flows across it." This cannot, however, be regarded as a satisfactory argument.

About fourteen or fifteen miles to the south-west of *Srunavarapukōṭa*, where the plates were found, there is a village called *Tella-gumudy* ($82^{\circ} 58' \times 17^{\circ} 58'$) and near it, another village, called *Koṇḍapālem*. The former is situated at the crossing of two roads, and on the bank of a rivulet, thus indicating an important site. I venture to suggest that *Tella-gumudy* may be identified with the *Tellavalli-vishaya* of the grant. But as there are several villages of the name of *Koṇḍapālem* in the neighbourhood of *Srunavarapukōṭa* it is not certain which of these is referred to in the inscription as the *Kiṇḍōppa-grāma*. Probably the latter has to be identified with *Koṇḍapālem* near *Tella-gumudy*.

The donee is styled *Achāṇṭapūra-bhōgika*. I have translated it as 'resident of *Achāṇṭapūra*', taking the term 'bhōga' as a territorial division. I am unable to identify this place.

In the inscriptions of the *Śailōdibhava*, the *Parivrājaka* and the *Uchchakalpa* kings, the term 'bhōgika' is used as a technical official title, possibly connected, according to Fleet,¹ with the territorial division called *bhōga*. But the term is used only with reference to the fathers and grandfathers of persons who wrote the charters.² In the case of the records of the *Gāṅga* dynasty we have, as the engravers of their charters, (1) *Āditya-Maṇchin*, also called *Āditya-Bhōgika*; and his son (2) *Khaṇḍichandra*, also called *Khaṇḍichandra-Bhōgika*.³ In all these cases, the term *bhōgika* must be taken as an official title, probably the chief of a *bhōga*, and whatever may be the particular duties of this official, the writing and engraving of charters were most probably included in them. But there is no doubt that the office carried dignity and prestige with it; for, in the records of the *Parivrājaka* and *Uchchakalpa* kings, even high officials like *Mahāśāhī-vijayāṇika* performed the same office, and described their fathers and grandfathers as *bhōgika*. In *Sanskrit Dictionaries*, the term *bhōgika* is explained as 'groom, horse-keeper'. The term has also been regarded as equivalent to Telugu *Bhōi*, a palanquin-bearer.⁴

None of the above meanings of *bhōgika* is suitable in the present case. We cannot think of the donee *Māṇḍarman* who was a *Brāhmana*, possibly following scholarly pursuits, either as a regular official, or following such menial occupations as those of a groom or a palanquin-bearer. We have, therefore, to take *Achāṇṭapūra-bhōga* as the name of a territorial unit, and regard *Māṇḍarman* as a resident of the same.

¹ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 157.

² *Fleet, C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 100, f. n. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 103, 109, 120, 124, 129, 134; above, Vol. III, p. 46; *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 192.

⁴ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 303.

⁵ *Ibid.*, f. n. 8.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm¹ Svasti² []³ Vijaya-Pishṭapur-ādhiśṭhānā-mahī-manjula-vyāpi-śārad-āndu-kara-nirmma-
lu-guṇaṇya
2 Dēvarāshṭr-ādhipatēr-anika-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-vijay-ādhiḡata-yāśasō Mahārāja-āri-Gu-
3 pavarmmaṇaḥ parama-pauṭraḥ śakti-tīray-ōpanata-rāja-sampadō Vāishṭha-kula-cha nd-
rama-
4 mah āri-Mahārāja-Prabhajamna⁴ varmmaṇaḥ priya-puttraś-eva-bala-vikkrām⁵-ōpārjita-
lūlū-mma-
5 ya-vinaya-sattva-sampam-ādhiḡata-yāśō dēva-dvijāti-guru-jan-ānuddhyāta-sam-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 6 varddhita-mahimā parama-māhātātō mātā-pitṛ-pād-ānuddhyātāḥ Kaliḡg-ādhipatiś-
tri-
7 Mahārāj-Anantāvarmma⁶ Tēlavallī-vishayē Kipḡēppa⁷-grāmō sarva-samavēśin-kūṭu-
8 mbinah samāhāpayaty-asī śaha grāmō-sunābhīr-Uttārāyāḡ⁸-amat-puṇy-ābhivṛddha-
9 yō śāsmat Kauśika-sa-gūṭṭrāya Tūttiriya⁹-sa-bṛmhachārīḡ¹⁰ Achantapura¹¹-bhōgi-
10 ku-Māṭṛīśarmmaṇō ś-chaṇḍ-śika-tāraka-pratiśṭham-agrahārāḥ kṛtvā sarva-kara-
bharaṇ

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 11 pariḡṭṭiya sampradattas-tad-ēvam-aradhīt-ājāir-bhavadbhis-tad-ājū-ānuddhyātibhi-
b pratyaha-
12 m-upasthātavyam¹² Bāhmuṇḡna śh-ānmanō-grahārāḥ puttra-pauṭtrikam-upahhuṇyama-
13 nō ma kaid-ekid-vallakha-durllabhair-upahantavyah¹³ Agāmibhir-apī rājashī-
14 bhīr-vṛttam-anupālayadbhir-yyath-ēya dharmma-prasavaṇy-āvicchēhōdēna pravṛi-
15 tū-bhūbhavati¹⁴ tath-ānubhūyām ēvañ -cha asī tatva tēhām-apī dharmmēḡ-ābhīsamba-

Third Plate : First Side.

- 16 nāhas-smaryyutō || Bahubhir-evaundhā dattā bahubhi ś-cha-ānupālītā | yasya yasya yadā
bhūmā-ta.*]
17 sya tasya tadā phalam¹⁵ []¹⁶ Sva-dattām-param-dattām vā yatnū(d-raksha Yudhiśṭhira |
mahid mahimātāḥ śchēḡṭha dānō.*]

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² Read Prabhajamna.

³ Read śikāma.

⁴ Read Anika.

⁵ N. reads Kipḡēppa, —but the right vertical stroke is a regular part of the letter s (N. denotes Mr. Narasimham).

⁶ Read Anantāyana.

⁷ Read Tūttirīya.

⁸ Read sa-bṛmhā.

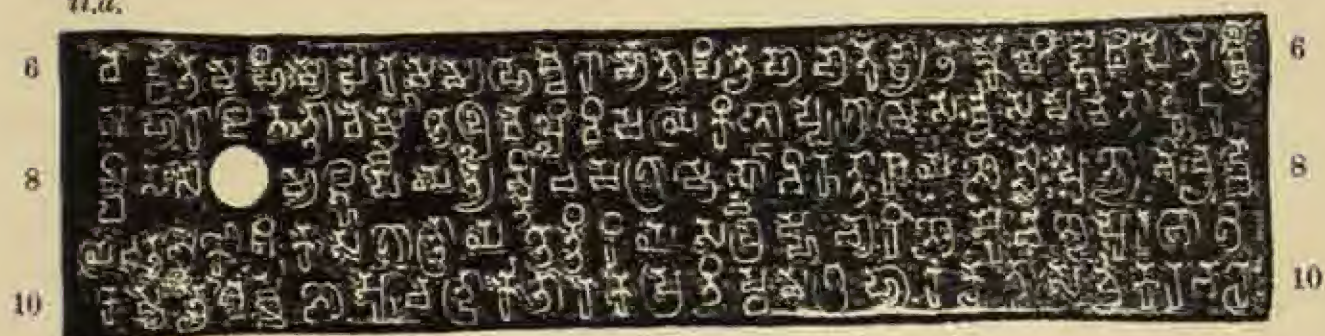
⁹ N. reads Śchāntapura.

¹⁰ Read śchēḡṭha.

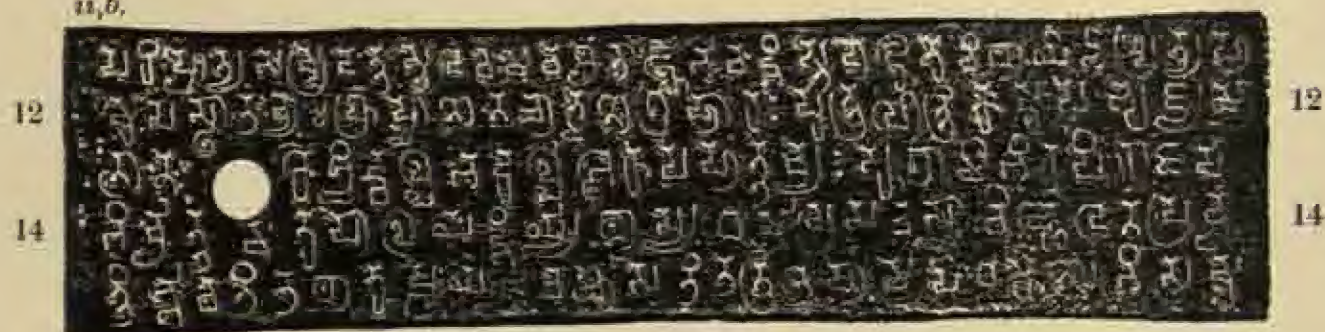
i.



ii.a.



ii.b.



iii.



Seal.



From a photograph.

- 18 *ch-ehhrēyō-nupālarach(m)* [i]* *Shashitū varaha-sahasrāpi svarygē* [mōdasi bhūmidah /
ākshēptā ch-ānumantā cha tā *]-
19 *by-āva narakē vasēt* [i]* *Pravarddhamānayā rājya-śriyā rājave* {*ta**}
20 *yōdāyām-Uttarāyagē dharmma-pradānam kṛtām-iti bhū*

TRANSLATION.

Om. Hail! From his residence in the victorious city of **Piaṭapura**, the glorious **Mahārāja Anantavarman**,—who is the lord of **Kalinga**; who adores the *lost* of (*his*) mother and father; who is the devout worshipper of Mahādeva; whose greatness has been enhanced by affectionate solicitude for the gods, the twice-born, and the elders; who has acquired fame by reason of his being endowed with wisdom, modesty, and virtue; who has acquired the earth by his own strength and valour;

who is the dear son of the glorious **Mahārāja Prabhañjanavarman**, the moon of the Vāsishtha family, who (*Prabhañjanavarman*) brought about the prosperity of the Kingdom by the three elements^a of royal power;

who is the most excellent grandson of the glorious **Mahārāja Guṇavarman**, who^b acquired fame by victories in many stubbornly fought battles, who^c was the lord of **Dēvarāshṭra**, and whose^d spotless virtues, like the rays of autumn moon, pervaded the whole world:—

commands^e (as follows) all the ryots present at the village of **Kipdēppa** in the district (*vishaya*) of **Tēlavallī**: this village has been granted by us, during summer solstice, for the sake of increasing our religious merit, to this **Mātrīśarman**,—a member of the Kausika *gotra*, a student of the Taittirīya (*śākhā*), and a resident of **Achaptapura** *śāloka*—after having made (*it*) an *agrahāra*, which is to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the stars, and exempting (*it*) from all burdens of taxation.

Having understood this command you should, every day, act in accordance with it. The **Brahmana**, enjoying his own *agrahāra* in hereditary succession (*it* through sons and grandsons) should not be hindered in any way, by any officer (*however*) eminent.^f

The future royal ascetics, following the traditional usage, should pursue that (*course*) which would lead to continuous progress (or practice) of this act of virtue. This being so, the association of these (*succeeding kings*) also with religious merit in this matter is mentioned in the *Smṛiti*.

[*Three customary verses follow.*]

By the increasing majesty

On the thirteenth (*tiṭhā*), during the summer solstice, this religious gift is made.

^a *N.* reads 'the'. The 4-*lāra*-like sign may really be part of the next letter.

^b There are three elements of royal power (*śakti*), viz., (1) *prabhāśakti*, i.e., the majesty or pre-eminent position of the king himself; (2) *mantrāśakti*, i.e., the power of good counsel, and (3) *utsāhāśakti*, i.e., the power of energy.

^c Refers to Guṇavarman.

^d Refers to Anantavarman.

^e The original expression is 'Vallabha-darśhabha'. The first word means 'Overseer, Superintendent, or headman', and probably stands for royal officials in general. I am unable to suggest any definite meaning for *darśhabha*. One of its meanings given in the lexicon, is 'uninited or extraordinary,' and it may be regarded as an adjective of *Vallabha* (*Śrīyama-symmetrical*). Or possibly, from its association with *Vallabha*, it may also here be taken in the sense of an Official, though the term in this sense is not known from any other source.

No. 10.—NARASINGAPALLI PLATES OF HASTIVARMAN, THE YEAR 79.

By PROF. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D., DACCA.

This is a set of three copper-plates, measuring 6½ inches in length and 2½ inches in breadth. The outer face of the first plate has been left blank while the two other plates bear writing on both the sides. The writing is distinct and in good preservation. The plates are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered to the bottom of a circular seal showing indistinctly a couchant bull, facing right.

The plates were discovered in a field in the village of Narasingapalli, Chinnacole taluk, Ganjam District, by one Surin Nayudu, while digging earth. He gave it to Mr. Byri Appalaawami Nayudu, from whom it was obtained by Mr. M. S. Sarma and sold to the Madras Museum. The inscription has been published in the Telugu Journal *Bhārati*, Vol. XI (September, 1934), pp. 461 ff., which is not accessible to me. I edit the inscription from an excellent ink-impression supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The alphabet is of an early southern type and closely resembles that of the Utlām plates of the same king and the copper-plate grants of Indravarman II. This is only what could be expected, for Vinayachandra, who wrote the present plates, is also the writer of all the plates of the Kalinga kings Hastivarman and Indravarman II, viz. :—(1) Utlām plates of Hastivarman ; (2) Achyutapuram plates of Indravarman II ; (3) Santahommali plates of Indravarman II ; and (4) Parsi-kimēdi plates of Indravarman II.*

If we compare the alphabet of our grant with that of the Sirjingi grant of Indravarman I,† dated in the year 39, we find that the latter belongs to a distinctly earlier class, and indeed the difference appears to be far greater than would be warranted by the interval of 40 years between the two. Attention may be specially drawn to the forms of *ā*, *y*, *v*, *ṃ*, *bh*, *m*, *c* and *ḥ*‡

The final form of *v* occurs at the end of the inscription, while it is replaced by *asuvāra* in *phalaka* (l. 23), *asupāraṃ* (l. 24), and *devādityān* (l. 27). The two numerical symbols 70 and 9 are used in the date (l. 27).

The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of five verses, the inscription is written in prose. The influence of Prākṛit may be traced in the form *śikṣānti* (l. 27). As regards orthography, *asuvāra* is represented by guttural *v* in *Rājasiṃha* (l. 28) and *saṃphalāḥ* (for *samphalāḥ*, l. 29), while dental *s* is represented by *asuvāra* in *gītā* (l. 24). Consonants are doubled after *v*, with the exception of *ś* in *vareṣa* (l. 25), and *dh* is doubled before *y* in *śuddhyān* (l. 8). Separate signs are used for *ḥ* and *v*.

The inscription records the grant of a piece of land for defraying the expenses of the worship of god Nārāyaṇa and repairing his temples. The land included four *śikṣāntas* (which means houses or probably sites for the same) and was situated in the village Rōhapaki in the district of Varābhavanti. Mahāśya Hastivarman of Kalinga, who makes the grant, belongs to the Gāṅga family. As noted above, this king is already known to us from the Utlām plates, dated in the year 80.§ The present grant is dated in the year 79, and is thus earlier of the two. Except

* Above, Vol. XVII, p. 330.

† Above, Vol. III, p. 128.

‡ J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, p. 21.

§ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 134.

¶ J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, p. 49.

§ The difference is, no doubt, partly the result of difference in the style of writing, but as the two records belong to the same locality, we may assume, with a tolerable degree of certainty, on the basis of the palaeographic examination above, that the Sirjingi grant is earlier than the present one.

* Above, Vol. XVII, p. 330.

the Tirjūgi grant of Indravarman I, dated in the year 39, this is the earliest copper-plate grant of the Gāṅga family so far discovered.¹

The introductory portion of this grant agrees word for word with that of the Uṣṭā plates, save that in the latter the word *sukṣa* is added after the word *suramitta* in line 1. As is well known, this long phraseology became stereotyped in the grants of the family, and, with some additions and alterations, continued for nearly five hundred years. The corresponding phraseology of the Tirjūgi grant is, however, quite different. The present grant is, therefore, the earliest document where we can trace the stereotyped phraseology of the Gāṅga records. The five verses of the Uṣṭā plates also occur in this grant.

The inscription is dated in the year 79. The exact equivalence of this date depends upon the determination of the epoch of the Gāṅga era to which it is presumably to be referred. As is well known, scholars differ widely on this point. This subject is too vast and complicated to be dealt with here. I may note, however, that whereas some earlier writers like Sewell² and R. D. Banerji³ placed the initial date of the era, respectively in the ninth and eighth century A.D., Mr. G. Ramdas⁴ pushes it back to the fourth century A.D. Dr. Fleet,⁵ who first dealt with the subject, was of opinion that the two extreme dates for the epoch of the Gāṅga era were A.D. 481 and 634. He based his views partly on paleographic and partly on historical grounds. The latter have now lost much of their force, but I believe his view still holds good on paleographic grounds. The present grant may be regarded on paleographic grounds as somewhat later than that of Anantavarman which I have edited above. I have there shown my grounds for referring the latter to the century 450-550 A.D. The present grant may, therefore, be referred to the period 550-650 A.D. The epoch of the Gāṅga era would accordingly fall between 470-570 A.D.

This is in accord with the latest theory on the subject, viz., that of Prof. R. Subba Rao,⁶ who is the first to work on the subject with the help of some positive data. He fixes the epoch of the era at A.D. 494.⁷ Although one may differ from him in some of his arguments and conclusions, and may not be inclined to be dogmatic about the particular year A.D. 494, I think, the data presented by him would reasonably lead to the hypothesis that the epoch of the Gāṅga era lies between 494 and 560 A.D., i.e., roughly speaking, about the first half of the sixth century A.D.⁸ Hastivarman may thus be regarded as flourishing towards the end of the sixth or the first half of the seventh century A.D.

No new information of Hastivarman's reign is furnished by this record. As in the Uṣṭā plates, two of his *śirudae* or epithets, viz., *Rājastirūha* and *Rajabhīta* are mentioned in the present grant. As regards the last, Dr. Hultzsch has already drawn attention to its peculiar

¹ I leave out of account the Tirjūgi grant, dated 28 (*J. A. H. B. S.*, Vol. III, p. 54), for the reading of the date appears to me to be very doubtful. The writer of this grant is also Vinayachandira, son of Bhānu-chandra. So if the year of the Tirjūgi plate belongs to the same era to which those of Hastivarman and Indravarman II are to be referred, we have to presume that Vinayachandira was in active service from the year 28, or some time previous to it, to the year 91 (date of Parāśimiddi plates of Indravarman II), or some time posterior to it. In other words, he held the office for nearly sixty-five to seventy years. This appears to be highly improbable.

² *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, edited by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, p. 357.

³ *History of Oriss*, Vol. I, p. 239.

⁴ *J. E. O. E. S.*, Vol. IX, pp. 304 ff.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 123.

⁶ *J. A. H. B. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 272-4.

⁷ Mr. J. C. Ghosh suggested that it should more properly be A.D. 496; *Ind. Ant.*, 1937, p. 237. See also Bhattacharya's *Id.*, p. 304, note 1.

⁸ I shall discuss the question more fully in a separate article.

character and the fact that it occurs as a name of a member of the Śailodbhava family.¹ I may add that several other members of the same family bear similar names, viz., Yaśobhita (or A-yasobhita) and Saṁyabhita.²

So far as is at present known, such names do not occur elsewhere. Hastivarman's rule in Kāliṅga falls during the period when the Śailodbhava family was ruling in Kāśmīra immediately to its north. The assumption of such a peculiar title by Hastivarman may not be totally unrelated to the rule of Śailodbhava family, though we have no definite information as to any relation between the two.

The present grant of Hastivarman is a *dev-āgrahāra*, i.e., a free-hold created, not for the benefit of an individual person, but for the regular worship of god Nārāyaṇa and the repairs of his temples.³ We have a similar example in the Śantabhumali plates of Indravarman II⁴ which repeat the exact phraseology of this inscription denoting the object of the grant.

As noted below, the three epithets of god Nārāyaṇa (ll. 12-13) occur in a single verse of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvarṇāṇa* (canto X, verse 21), and it is not unreasonable to presume that the compiler of the record was acquainted with that work. Of far greater interest, from the historical point of view, is the designation of the god, viz., *Ragabhītōdaya* (l. 13). There can be hardly any doubt, that this was derived from the king's own *bindu*, *Ragabhita*. It thus furnishes an example, well known in India and Indian Colonies in the Far East, of designating (the image of) a god after the king who set it up.⁵

The king made this grant presumably at the request, or on the recommendation, of *Buddha-maṇḍhi-Bhōgiḥa* (l. 16). The word *prabōdhita* (l. 17), used in this connection, literally means 'to awaken, to inform, to entrust, etc.', but, considering the context, it is clear that 'to request' or 'to recommend' would convey the real sense.⁶

As to *Buddha-maṇḍhi-Bhōgiḥa*, there is no doubt that *Buddha-maṇḍhi* was the name of a person who held the office of a 'Bhōgiḥa'. The different meanings of the term '*Bhōgiḥa*' have been discussed by me while editing the Srungavarapukōṭa grant of Anantavarman (above, p. 59). For an example of personal name of this type I may refer to Āditya-maṇḍhin, the writer of the Chocacole plates⁷, and the son of Vinayachandira who wrote the present grant. It is interesting to note that this Āditya-maṇḍhin is referred to as Āditya-Bhōgiḥa in the Parla plates.⁸ This alteration of titles led Dr. Hultsch to remark that like '*Bhōgiḥa*', *Maṇḍhi* is perhaps an equivalent of the Telugu *Bhāṇi*, 'a palankeen-bearer'. The presence of both the words in the name of *Buddha-maṇḍhi-Bhōgiḥa* disproves this assertion. Besides, the same 'palankeen-bearer' can hardly be applied to either Āditya, or *Buddha-maṇḍhin*. I have shown that the duties of the official called *Bhōgiḥa* included writing or engraving of royal charters. In the present instance the term might mean the chief of the territorial unit called *Bhōga*.⁹ In that case it would be the duty of this officer to suggest to the king the grant of land for the maintenance of a temple of

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 331.

² For the Śailodbhava inscriptions, cf. Bandopadhyay's *I. G.*, Nos. 1672-4.

³ The phrase *dharmā-śraddhā-dharmā-gatana* occurs in the Malabar Museum plates of Vajrahasta; above, Vol. IX, p. 94.

⁴ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 21.

⁵ Cf. my book *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, Vol. 1. Champ. pp. 184-6.

⁶ Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 132, f. n. 2.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 121.

⁸ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 302.

⁹ It is a sub-division of a district. Cf. e.g., '*Vikṣepaṇi-śāpāṇi*' in Khallinagar Copper plate of Dharmapala; above, Vol. IV, p. 244; also *Foriddha-śāpāṇi-śāpāṇi-grāma* in l. 11 of the *Arjuni* grant of King Indravarman (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 52). The editor reads *Śāpāṇi*.

Nārāyaṇa in his jurisdiction. The first part of the name Buddha-maśchūn may be a reminiscence of the stronghold which Buddhism once had in this region.

Of the localities mentioned, **Kaliṅganagara** is now usually identified with Mukhalīgam¹. The district **Varāhavartanī** (l. 9) is mentioned in several Gāṅga records. Dr. Sten Konow suggested that it was probably near Chicacole². This view is supported by the present grant. For the village **Rōhapaki**, mentioned in the present grant as situated in the district of **Varāhavartanī**, may be identified with modern **Rōṇāṅki** (Renunky of the Indian Atlas, Degree Sheet, 84° × 18°-20'), a hamlet of Singupura of the Chicacole taluk. Further, an unpublished grant of Vajrahasta III³ refers to the village of Navagrāma in Varāhavartanī-*śūkyā*, and this village can be easily identified with the present Naogam in Tekkali taluk of the Ganjam District. Mr. G. B. Pantulu has identified the village Siddhārthaka in the Varāhavartanī-*śūkyā* with Siddhāntam near Chicacole⁴. The Varāhavartanī district would thus roughly correspond to the coastal region between Chicacole and Tekkali. It was presumably bounded on the west by Kurak-rāṣṭra, corresponding to modern Palakonda taluk⁵. According to Mr. G. Ramdas, the village Sellāda in the Rūpāvartanī-*śūkyā*⁶ belongs to Tekkali taluk. If this identification be accepted, Rūpāvartanī-*śūkyā* may be located to the north of Varāhavartanī. As already suggested by Hultzsch, this Rūpāvartanī-*śūkyā* is probably the same as Rūpyavartī-*śūkyā* mentioned in the Tekkali plates of Indravarman⁷.

About two miles to the south-east of Rōṇāṅki, there is a village called Byroy in the Atlas. It is at the junction of two roads, and on the bank of the Vamśadhara river. Is the name a reminiscence of the old Varāha-varianī? Local investigations alone can solve this problem.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Om^a Svasti []^b Sarve-ṛṣṭi-ramanīyāḥ-vijaya-Kaliṅga-nagarāt-śakala-bhavana-
- 2 nirmanā-sika-śūtradhārasya bhagavatō Gōkarṇa^c-śvāmīnā-śharapa-kamala-
- 3 yugala-prapñāṁś-apagata-kālī-kalāṅkō vinaya-naya-sampadā-
- 4 m-ādharāḥ sv-śai-dhātā-parispand-ādhipati-śakala-Kaliṅg-ādhitājya-
- 5 ś-chatur-ndadhī-taraṅga-mēkhal-āvanī-tala-pravīrat-āmala-yatāḥ antka-
- 6 samara-saṁkshobha-janita-jaya-śabdō Gāṅg-āmala-kula-pratishṭhāḥ pratā-
- 7 p-ātīlay-ānāmīta-samasta-sāmanta-chūdā-maṇi-prabhā-mañjarī-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 8 puṣṭa-rañjita-charapō mātā-pitri-pād-ānuddhyātāḥ parama-māhōśvaraḥ

¹ Kaliṅganagara was identified by Fleet with Kalingspatam (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI, p. 132). Mr. G. V. Ramamurti proposed the identification with Mukhalīgam (above, Vol. IV, pp. 167-5). This view is now generally accepted, but it is not free from doubts (*cf. Ann. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.* 1924-25, p. 79). Fleet's view is still upheld by some (*cf. e.g.*, Prof. B. C. Bhattacharya's article in *J. R. O. R. S.*, Vol. XV, pp. 623 ff.). For a detailed discussion of the subject, *cf. J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 57 ff.

^a Above, Vol. IX, p. 85.

^b Edited below, pp. 67 ff.

^c Above, Vol. XIII, p. 213.

^d See above, Vol. XIV, p. 381.

^e *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 271.

^f Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 307 ff.

^g Expressed by a symbol.

^h This letter has been read by Dr. Hultzsch (above, Vol. XVII, p. 332, l. 2) as *raṣa*. But undoubtedly we have to take it as the normal symbol for *reṣa*, in which the curves of *ṣ* are not repeated twice.

- 9 śrī-Mahārājō Hastivarmanā Varāhavarttani-vishayē Rōhagakyāni
 10 sarva-samavātā-kumbhina-samajilāpavati [*] Viditam-astu vō ya-
 11 theśamū-grāmō bhagvātō bhūmā-bhūmābhikṛitya chatur-anivē-
 12 āna-sahitā bhagvātō sapta-ārupava-bhūmā sapta-sām-ōpa-
 13 ghāya sapta-lōk-alka-nāthīva **Rapabhitōday-ābhidhānāya**
 14 **Nārāyaṇāya** bah-chaṇ-satra-pravarittanāya khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 15 sādakārāya cha sarva-karṇi panchit-ā-chandr-ārkka-pratishṭham dēy-āgrahāram
 16 krivā māt-ā-pitrō-ātman-cha paṇy-ābhivṛiddhaya* **Buddha-maṇchi-bhōgikōna** prati-
 17 bōdhitān-samābhū-ādattā [*] tad-viditvā na kōmachit-parivādhā* kāryyā [*]
 18 śimānta-lingāni ch-ātra pūrvvā-śya grāma-garītā dukahigēna
 19 varasphakāḥ* panchimēna viśaya-garītā kṛavak-mūla-sahitā utta-
 20 rāya saha tīla-vātikay-ōhi | Bhaviśyad-rājabhū-eh-āyan-dāna-
 21 dharmā-nupālaniya-tathā cha Vyāsa-gītām* tīkha-ādāharanti [*]

Third Plate : First Side.

- 22 Bahubhū-evaśūhā dattā bahubhū-eh-ānujālītā [*] yasya yasya
 23 yadā bhūmā-tasya tasya tadā phalaṇ(lam) [1*] Sva-dattām-para-dattām vā
 yatnāt-ra-
 24 ksha Yādīnabhīra [*] mahim-mahimātām śrōṣṭha dānāch-chrēyō-nupālanaṁ
 (nam) [2*]
 25 Shashīm varsha-sahasrāṇi mōdatē divi bhūmidah [*] ākshēpā ch-ā-
 26 numanā cha tāny-eva narakā vanād-āt* | pravarāhmanāna-vijaya-rājya-sariva-
 27 tarāḥ vāhānī (ākṣatātī) 70 2 Jāhṭha*śukla-dvādāśyāch(āyām) || Idam Vinaya-
 chandīṇya
 28 Bhūmchāntasya sōnuā [*] āśanāni Rāja-siāhasya* lkhītāni eva-mukh-ājñāyā
 [4*]

Third Plate : Second Side.

- 29 Maṇḍalāgr-āgra-nishpēsha-nishpēsh-ārātī-māghatēḥ* [1*]
 30 Śimātō-pratigh-ājñāyā **Rapabhitasya** āśanam [1 5*]

TRANSLATION.

Om. Hail ! From the victorious (city of) Kaliāgunagara, which is pleasant in all seasons, the glorious *Mahārāja Hastivarman** . . . commands (as follows) all the ryots assem-
 bled at Rōhagaki, in the district of Varāhavarttani :

* This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

* Read paribhāṣit.

* Read varasphakāḥ.

* Read pūṣa.

* Read mat [13*] di.

* Read Jyāṣṭha.

* Read viśāhasya.

* Read mahānā.

* The long epithets of the king are omitted in the translation, as they have been translated many times (cf. above, Vol. III, p. 126).

i.

1
2
3
4
5
6

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

ii, a.

8
10
12
14

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

ii, b.

16
18
20

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

22 ၎င်းသို့ နှစ်ရာတစ်ရာ ပြုလုပ်၍ ဘုရားရှိခိုးသော နှစ်ရာ
 24 နှစ်ရာတို့ကို ပြုလုပ်၍ နှစ်ရာတစ်ရာ ပြုလုပ်၍ နှစ်ရာ
 26 နှစ်ရာတစ်ရာ ပြုလုပ်၍ နှစ်ရာတစ်ရာ ပြုလုပ်၍ နှစ်ရာ
 28 နှစ်ရာတစ်ရာ ပြုလုပ်၍ နှစ်ရာတစ်ရာ ပြုလုပ်၍ နှစ်ရာ

30 နှစ်ရာတစ်ရာ ပြုလုပ်၍ နှစ်ရာတစ်ရာ ပြုလုပ်၍ နှစ်ရာ
 30 နှစ်ရာတစ်ရာ ပြုလုပ်၍ နှစ်ရာတစ်ရာ ပြုလုပ်၍ နှစ်ရာ

Seal: From a photograph.



vāraṇa (l. 41). The letter *ā* in conjuncts *śāā* and *śāā* is placed after *śā* and *āā* and is not connected with it (cf., e.g., *lāśchana* in l. 8, and *prāśāśāśā* in l. 12). The anusvara is denoted by a circle after the consonant, and very often a *virāma* is added underneath.

There are several superfluous signs of interpunctuation in the grant (cf. ll. 47, 51, 52), the most glaring instance being that in line 2, where the sign is used between two words of the same compound, *dāśakīya* and *satya*.

As regards orthography, the class nasal is used before sibilants, the only exception being *samīyān* (l. 33). The letter *ṣ* is used throughout for *ś*. Consonants are doubled after *r*, except in *varaka* (l. 16), and *poṛaka* (l. 53), but cf. *varākāṣṭa* in ll. 25-27. In doubling *ś*, the form *śśś* is used instead of *śśā*. In one case alone, *r* seems to be doubled before *r* (*putraṣ*, l. 51), though it is doubtful whether the letter really denotes *r*. There are several cases of interchange of sibilants. Thus *ś* is used for *s* in *samīyān* (l. 24), *maśiṣa* (l. 26), and for *ś* in *śāśā* (l. 50); *ś* is used for *s* in *śāśā* (l. 3), *śāśā* (l. 42), and *śā* for *s* in *śāśā* (l. 12). As in the other plates³ of Vajrahasta, we have *prākāśāśā* (l. 3) instead of *prākāśāśā*, and *samīyān* (ll. 3, 25) instead of *samīyān*. It is difficult to distinguish between medial *ś* and *ś*.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It contains twelve verses, the remainder being in prose.

The inscription is one of king **Vajrahasta** (III, or, according to another reckoning, V) of the Gāṅga dynasty, the son of **Kāmāruṇa** and **Vinayamahādēvi**. Six other copper-plate grants of this king are known, of which four have been edited and published in well-known journals⁴. Of the remaining two, the Triplicane Grant, dated in the Śaka year 982, is noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1924-25 (p. 7, No. 5) with a summary of its contents. The remaining one, the Bodhipālā Grant, is described by Prof. Subba Rao⁵, but no reference is given. It was published in the *Telugu Journal Bāṇāśi* (Vol. II, No. 57). In the following remarks I shall confine myself to the four published copper-plate grants of the king known to me.

The introductory portion of the present grant, which covers the first forty-two lines and six letters of the forty-third line, is an exact repetition of what we find in the other four plates⁶. It contains, in addition to the opening stereotyped panegyrical passage, the genealogical account of the family, to which we shall refer later.

The next portion beginning with *Kāliṅga-nagarāt* in l. 43, and ending with *viditān-vastu bhāvanā* in l. 46, also occurs in the first three grants mentioned in footnote 1, with this difference, that whereas in the present grant, and the Madras Museum plates, the name of the king is written as *Śrīmad-Anantavarman Vajrahasta-dēva*, it is simply "*Śrīmad-Vajrahasta-dēva*" in the other two.

The remaining portion, which actually records the grant, is, of course, different, though the usual legal phrases, which occur in ll. 47-49, are common to all. Thus, with the exception of the name of the village in l. 47, the first forty-nine lines of the present inscription contain nothing new⁷. It must be noted, however, that the present grant contains, comparatively speaking, fewer mistakes than the others.

³ (a) The Nagasari plates, year 979 Śaka (above, Vol. IV, p. 183); (b) The Madras Museum plates, year 984 Śaka (above, Vol. IX, p. 94); (c) The Chinnole plates, year 971 Śaka (*J. A. B. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 171) and (d) Narasipatnam plates, year 967 Śaka (above, Vol. XI, p. 147).

⁴ *J. A. B. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 203-205.

⁵ This has been noticed also in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1925-26 (No. 1 of Appendix A). But by mistake the name of the dynasty is given as Eastern Chāḍiṇya instead of Eastern Gāṅga.

⁶ A few minor changes are introduced in Narasipatnam plates.

⁷ Hence I do not give any translation of the text, for which cf. above, Vol. IV, pp. 182-93 and Vol. XI, pp. 152-53.

From the concluding four lines of the inscription we learn that the village mentioned in l. 47, viz., **Navagrāma** (in the district of) **Varābhavartan** was granted by the king, in the **Saka year 591**, on Monday, the seventh day of the first fortnight of the month of **Āshāḍha**, to **Gōkananīyaka**, son of **Bhīmana-nāyaka** and his wife **Prōlakavā**, and the grandson of **Mallapa-nāyaka**. The *damō* is said to be *Tāyāṭṭāpī-sukhōddhara*, i.e., descended from a courtesan. The word *clayā* is possibly a mistake for *Paṇḍya*, but I may point out that grants to courtesans, who were royal favourites, were not unknown in those days¹. The word *paṇḍya* in the last line I am unable to explain, but it is possibly a mistake for *paṇḍya*. In that case, the royal grant was a recognition of the donee's devotion and valour extending over a long period.

✓ The date of the grant has been calculated to correspond to 9th June, 1068 A.D., taking the Saka year as current.

Of the localities mentioned, the village **Navagrāma** is to be identified with the present **Naogām** in **Telikāli taluk** of the **Ganjam District**. As to **Varābhavartan**, which must have been in the neighbourhood of **Chicasole**, and **Kaliṅganagara**, usually identified with **Mukhaliṅgam**, I have already discussed their identification while editing the **Narasingapalli plates of Hastivarman**, on p. 65 above.

Lastly, there is the title, 'Lord of **Tri-Kaliṅga**', applied to **Vajrahaṣṭa**. **Tri-Kaliṅga** is usually interpreted as the whole of **Kaliṅga** in its widest extent². Thus **Prof. R. Subba Rao**, on the strength of the above title of **Vajrahaṣṭa**, infers that "he was also the paramount sovereign of **Tri-Kaliṅga** country which extended from the river **Ganges** in the North to the river **Godāvari** in the South"³. Apart from well-known historical facts which militate against this view, I may point out that it is impossible to accept this meaning of the term **Tri-Kaliṅga**, at least for the period to which the present grant belongs. A perusal of the records of the Eastern **Chālukyas** throws very interesting light on this point. We learn from the **Masulipatam plates of Chālukya-Bhīma I** (888-918 A.D.), and the **Puthūpuram Pillar Inscription of Mallapadēva**⁴, dated **Śaka-samvat 1124**, that the Eastern **Chālukya** king **Vijayāditya III** (844-888 A.D.) took 'by force the gold of the **Giṅga** kings of **Kaliṅga**', and 'received elephants as tribute from the **Kaliṅga** king'. The **Masulipatam plates of Amma I** (918-925 A.D.) tell us that king **Vijayāditya IV** (918 A.D.) ruled the '**Vēṅgi-maḍala**, joined with **Tri-Kaliṅga** forest' (*Trikalukṣya-āraṇya-yuktam*). According to the **Kolavanni grant**⁵ of **Chālukya-Bhīma II**, king **Vikramāditya II** (who ruled some time after 925 A.D.) ruled over **Vēṅgi** and **Tri-Kaliṅga**. **Ammaṛāja II** (945-970 A.D.) is also stated to have at first ruled over the **Vēṅgi** country with **Tri-Kaliṅga**⁶, but later left the parental throne and ruled in **Kaliṅga** for fourteen years (956-970 A.D.). **Dānārpava**, too, ruled in **Kaliṅga** for three years, after the loss of **Vēṅgi**⁷.

These extracts show that in the Eastern **Chālukya** records of the tenth and subsequent centuries, **Tri-Kaliṅga** is distinguished from **Kaliṅga** and is obviously regarded as a place of less

¹ [Apparently added in the present record is an arce in writing for *Paṇḍya* to which rests the *Nāyaka* in this part are known to have belonged. Cf. *As. Rep. on Epigraphy*, 1913-19, C. P. No. 3.—22.]

² Cunningham—*As. Geogr.*, p. 594. *Flac.*, above, Vol. III, p. 227. Recently Mr. B. C. Majumdar and Mr. R. Mitra have interpreted **Tri-Kaliṅga** as denoting the three countries '**Kaliṅga**, **Kōṅḍā**, and **Uṭṭala**' (*Oriss in the Midway*, p. 127; *J. H. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 145).

³ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 203.

⁴ *As. Rep. on Epigraphy*, 1914, p. 84.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, p. 240.

⁶ Above, Vol. V, p. 131.

⁷ *S. I. J.*, Vol. I, pp. 43 f.

⁸ *Arumāḍa* pl. of *Bhāṇḍa*, above, Vol. XIX, p. 137.

⁹ *Mangala Grant*, *As. Rep. on Epigraphy*, 1917, p. 132; also cf. *J. H. Q.*, Vol. XI, p. 43.

importance than Kalinga. In any case, it is impossible to take Tri-Kalinga in these records in anything like the sense in which Prof. Sabha Rao has taken it. The same conclusion follows from the fact that the Haihaya, the Chandra, and the Sāmavāṇi kings of Kāśī also assumed the title *Tri-Kalinga-dāhipati*.

Mr. G. Ramadas has suggested that Tri-Kalinga denotes the highland to the west of the Mahādra hills of Ganjām, from the upper course of the Mahānadi to about the source of the Lāṅguliṅga river.¹ He was apparently unaware of the references to Tri-Kalinga and Kalinga in the Chālukya records cited above. But there is no doubt that they generally support his view, though we may have to extend the boundaries of the region further south. Without entering into further discussion on this point, I think we have to admit, that we cannot take Tri-Kalinga in the present record to denote the whole of Kalinga, and that it was the designation of a separate region, most probably the hilly tract to the west of Kalinga.

The genealogy of the Gāḍga family, as given in this and the four other inscriptions² referred to above, was shown in a tabular form by Mr. G. Y. Ramamurti, while editing the *Nāgaḍga* plates. The same scholar also drew attention to the fact that it differs substantially from the genealogical account given in the *Vinagapatam* plates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, dated Śaka 1040.³ The latter is also repeated in the Kōrṇi copper-plate grant⁴ of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, dated Śaka 1034. Curiously enough, the other copper-plate grants⁵ of the same king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga corroborate the genealogical account given in the plates of Vajrahasta, including the present grant.

This is not the proper place for entering into a detailed discussion on these discrepancies. It is only necessary to point out that the genealogy given in the present grant and the other plates of Vajrahasta III appears to have far more historical value than the more elaborate genealogical account in the Kōrṇi and *Vinagapatam* plates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, dated respectively in 1034 and 1040 Śaka. The former looks like one based on family records, while the latter is undoubtedly an artificially concocted pedigree, reaching back to the creator of the universe.

The grant, like the other plates of Vajrahasta III, gives the exact time of the coronation of the king (ll. 33-35). This has been calculated to correspond to 3rd May, 1035 A.D., 8 h. 27 m. P. M.⁶

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōḍḥ⁷ vvaṇṇi [||⁸] Śrīmatām-akula-bhuvana-viṇṇa-naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākehi-
2 tya⁹ * -satya-tatva-śaṅkṛya-dhairy-śi-guṇa-ratna-pavitrakāpām-Ātrā-
3 ya-gōtrāṇām vimala-vichār-śāhāra-puṇya-talila¹⁰ prakāśyānta¹¹ ka-

¹ *J. A. S. E. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 547 ff.; Vol. XV, pp. 535 ff.

² See l. n. I, no. p. 48. The *Triphaxia* Grant also gives the same genealogy (*Ann. Ep.*, = *J. Ind. Ep.*, 1924, 48, p. 78).

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 183 ff.

⁴ *J. A. H. E. S.*, Vol. I, p. 106.

⁵ (a) *Vinagapatam* Grant, dated 1003 B. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 181); (b) *Vinagapatam* Grant, dated 1007 B. (*Ind.*, p. 172) and (c) Kōrṇi Grant, dated 1003 B. (*J. A. H. E. S.*, Vol. I, p. 39).

⁶ Above, Vol. IV, p. 183. Prof. S. Rao gives the date of Vajrahasta, since as 1037-1070 A.D. (*J. A. H. E. S.*, Vol. V, p. 276; Vol. VI, p. 208), and again as 1028-1060 A.D. (*Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 312).

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Read *śāhā*.

⁹ This sign of interpolation is unnecessary.

¹⁰ Read *prabhāṇa*.

- 4 li-kāla-kalmasha-mashidh mahā-Mahēndr-āchala-sikhara-pra-
 5 tishthataaya¹ an-char-āchala-gurūḥ sakala-bhuvan²-nirumā-
 6 p-āka-sitradhāraya³ śatāśka-śūdrā-maṇḍ-ābhāgarat⁴ Gākarṇa-vāndhaḥ prā-
 7 sādāt-samāśrit-āka-śatka-bhāṭ-paścha-mahāśavda(bda)-dhavala-chakhatra-
 8 hōma-chāmara-vara-vṛṣabhā-lābhana-samajvala⁵-samasā-sāmājya-ma-

Second Plate: First Side.

- 9 himānā-anāka-samam-saṅghaṭṭa-samupalaṅdha⁶-vijaya-lakṣmī-samāli-
 10 āgit-ōtunga⁷-bhūja-dapḍa-maṇḍikānām **Tri-Kaliṅga-mahābhujām Ga⁸**
 11 āgānām-anvayam-alaṅkariṣyōr-v Viśhūṭ-iva vikram-ākānta-dharā-ma-
 12 pālaaya **Gupamahārṇava**-kha(ma)hārājya shutaḥ⁹ || 10 || Pūrvam bhū-
 13 patihāḥ¹⁰-vviḥhujya vasmadhā yā paśchabhīḥ paśchaḥ¹¹ bhuktā¹² bhūri-
 14 parākramō bhūja-vallī¹³-tām-ōka ōva svayam || 11 || Śikṛitya vijitya
 15 hatru-nivahāna¹⁴ śrī-Vajrahastā¹⁵-chatuśchaṭvāriṣṭatam-atyudāra-churitaḥ
 16 sarvām-arakṣit-samāli || 12 || Tasya tamyō **Gupāma-rājā¹⁶** varaha-trayaṁ
 apālaya-

Second Plate: Second Side.

- 17 d-mahim || 1 || tad-anujāḥ **Kāmārṇavadvah** paścha-trimātām-avdakān¹⁷ || Ta-
 18 sy-ānujō **Vinayāditya**-samāś-tiṣṭh || Tataḥ Kāmātṭavā¹⁸-jātō jagatī-
 19 kalpa-bhūrahāḥ || 1 || yā-rājad-rājita-chakṣyō **Vajrahastō**-vaṇpatih¹⁹ || 2 || Praś-
 chyōdā(ta)-
 20 n-māda-gandha-luvdha²⁰-madhupa-vyālīḍha-gaṇḍān-gaṇḍān(o)-arṭhībhyas-samudīt-sa-
 21 hasam-atalō yas-tyāginām-agraḥ²¹ || 1 || mah²² śrīmān-Aniyāśkabhima-qi-
 22 patir-gāḍg-anvay-ōtāmśakāḥ²³ paśchāttrimātām-avdakān²⁴-samabhūna-
 23 k-pithvīm²⁵ stutaḥ pārtthivāḥ || 3 || Tad-agra-sūnūḥ surs-rāja-sūnūḥ sūnas-
 samastā-
 24 id samit²⁶-āri-maṇḍalāḥ || 1 || sma pati **Kāmārṇava**-bhūpatir-bhūhāram²⁷ sampid-
 dhimān arddha-
 25 samāli samajvalaḥ²⁸ || 4 || Tad-anu tad-anujanmō²⁹ chittajam-ōjamānō gupa-

¹ Read *pratikāśaya*.

² Read *bhāgavata*.

³ Read *samupalaṅdha*.

⁴ Read *ōr*.

⁵ Read *śatāś*.

⁶ Read *śikṛitya*.

⁷ Read *ōtū*.

⁸ Read *śatāś*. [This also appears to be a verse in faulty *Arjya* metre, though some of the published editions seem to have noticed it.—Ed.]

⁹ Metre: *Śloka*.

¹⁰ Read *sa*.

¹¹ Read *śatāś*.

¹² Metre: *Śloka*.

¹³ Read *śikṛitya*.

¹⁴ Metre: *Yamīkṛita*.

¹⁵ Read *śikṛitya*.

¹⁶ Read *śikṛitya*.

¹⁷ Read *śikṛitya*.

¹⁸ Read *śatāś*.

¹⁹ Read *śatāś*.

²⁰ Metre: *Śloka*.

²¹ Read *śatāś*.

²² Read *śikṛitya*.

²³ Read *śikṛitya*.

²⁴ Read *śikṛitya*.

²⁵ Read *śikṛitya*.

²⁶ Read *śikṛitya*.

²⁷ Read *śikṛitya*.

²⁸ Read *śikṛitya*.

²⁹ Read *śikṛitya*.

Third Plate : First Side.

- 26 nidhir-anevadhyō Guṇḍam-ākhyō mahāśa¹ [*] sakalam-kāṣṭha-samkchat=trīṇi va-
 27 rahahāṇi dhātṛi-ralayama-alagho-tzjō-nirjū-ārati-chakraḥ || [5*]² Tstō dval-
 28 mātura=asya Madhukāmārpavō nripaḥ kvati am-āvaśm=śtām=avdā-
 29 m³=ākārpa-vināstīm || [6*]⁴ Attha Vajrahasta-nripatār-agra-antāḍ-akhila-gu-
 30 ti-janāgṛāṇyaḥ [*] Kāmārpavāt-kavindra-praglyamān-āvalāta-
 31 kuhha-kirttāḥ || [7*]⁵ Ślyā⁶ iva Vaidumv⁷-ānvaya-payah-payōnidhi-samu-
 32 bbbh(dhba)vāyās=cha[*] yaḥ samajāni Vinayamahādēvyāḥ Śrī-Vajrahasta iti
 tana-
 33 yaḥ || [8*]⁸ Viyad-ṛito-nidhi-samkhyāḥ yāti Śak-āvidā⁹-sadhāḥ Dinakṛti Vṛishabha-
 34 sthō Rāhipi-bhō sulagṇō [*] Dhannḍhi¹⁰ cha āta-pakabō Sūryya-vārō trīṇyām¹¹.

Third Plate : Second Side.

- 35 yaṇi sakala-dharitrah¹² rakshitum yā-bhishikṛtaḥ || [9*]¹³ Nyāyyāna yatra samam-ā-
 36 charitum trī-vergṇā¹⁴ mārggēṇa rakshati mahām mahita-pratāpō [*] nirvyā-
 37 dhayaḥ=cha niragḥāḥ=cha nirāpadaḥ=cha śāvat-praḥ¹⁵ bhuvī bhavanti vibhū-
 38 timarttyaḥ¹⁶ || [10*]¹⁷ Vyāptō Gaṅgā¹⁸-kul-ōttamasya yāśāḥ dīk-chakravālō
 39 śāl-padyōt¹⁹-āmalinēna yasya bhuvanaḥ²⁰-prahlāda-
 40 mādunā [*] saindūrai-ati-sāndra-panka-pataḥ|| [*] kumbha-ethali-pattakōchre-āl-
 41 mpanāi panah pānāḥ=cha haritām-ādhdhronā vāraṇān || [11*]²¹ Anurīgāṇa
 42 gopinō²² yasya vakabō-mukh-ā-jayōḥ²³ [*] ālīnō²⁴ Śrī-Sarasvatyār-anu-

Fourth Plate : First Side.

- 43 kālō virājataḥ || [12*]²⁵ Kaliṅganagarāt-parama-mahāśvata-parama-
 44 bhāṣṭāraka-mahārāj-ādhirāja-Tri-Kaliṅg-ādhipati-śrīmad-Anantava-
 45 rmmā Vajrahasta-(dē)vaḥ kuśāḥ samast-āmātya-pramukha-jauṣpadān-m-
 46 mādūya samājāpayati viditam=ante bhavatām || [Viditam-a-

¹ Read mahāśa.² Read shōḥ.³ Metre : Śikha.⁴ Read Śrīya.⁵ Metre : Gm.⁶ Read Dhannḍhi.⁷ Read dharitrah.⁸ Read vergṇa.⁹ Metre : Fāṇshāṭṭika.¹⁰ Read pradyōt.¹¹ Metre : Śāṇḍilī-śikha.¹² There is a redundant medial t sign before p.¹³ Read śālā.¹⁴ Metre : Mahāś.¹⁵ Read śāśāna.¹⁶ Metre : Gm.¹⁷ Read Vaidumv.¹⁸ Read Śak-dhā.¹⁹ Read trīṇyā.²⁰ Metre : Mahāś.²¹ Read mukḥ.²² Read Gaṅgā.²³ Read bhuvana.²⁴ Read ā-jayōḥ.²⁵ Metre : Śikha.

- 47 stu bhava] 'Varāhavarttanyān | Navagrāmaś-chaṭoś-sim-āva-
 48 chohinnas=sa-jala-ethalas=sarvva-pīḍā-vivarjitaś-ā-chaṇḍ-ārka-
 49 kahiti-sama-kāśa [yāvan]²-mātā-pitrōr-ātmanāś-cha puṣya-yāś-ā-bhivṛddha-
 50 yāś | kṣā-nanda-nidhi-[k]k-āvdā³ | Āśāḍha⁴-māsa-prathama-pakṣa-sa-

Fourth Plate: Second Side.

- 51 ptamyān Sōma-vāś vāsyā⁵-varāś-ōdbhavaś | Mallapā-nāyakaś-tasya puttrāś
 52 Bhīmānā-nāyakaś-tasya bhāryyā Prōlakavā | tayōś putrāyā | Gōkana⁶-
 53 nāyakāya chita-kālam-ārādhyā eva-pauruṣa-paritōṣitāya datta iti ||

No. 12.—INDIAN MUSEUM PLATES OF GANGA DEVENDRAVARMAN:
THE YEAR 308.

By B. C. CHAKRA, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (LOND.), OOTACANUD.

The charter under examination is one of the nine sets of copper-plates that were acquired, in the year 1935, by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, through Mr. Satyanarayan Rajguru of Parlakimedi, District Ganjam. Regarding its find-spot no definite information is available. Mr. Rajguru, however, informs me that a cultivator, while digging a field in a village of the Badakhmedī Estate of Ganjam, came upon an earthen pot containing some ten sets of copper-plates of which the present record is one. Ink-impressions of these plates were kindly supplied to me by Mr. Majumdar with whose permission I edit them here.

These are three copper-plates, each measuring $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$. They were strung on a ring, about 3 inches in diameter, fixed to a circular seal. The seal, $1\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter, is intact and bears the figures in high relief of a seated bull, facing the proper left, a crescent and a star above it and a blown lotus below. The plates weigh 112 tolas, while the ring and the seal together weigh 14 tolas. The plates have flat rims. The writing on them has undergone a slight damage, especially on the obverse of the second plate. There are 38 lines of writing in all, the first and the last faces bearing 7 each and the remaining three 8 each. All the three plates are inscribed on both the sides, the charter ending on the obverse of the third plate. On the reverse of this last appear two different writings, one upon the other, but neither seems to be relevant to the present grant. The three lines of writing on the lower portion, the first consisting of four akṣaras only and the

¹ The syllables within the brackets are indistinct. Probably the engraver, through mistake, repeated the phrase *Vidhismāda bhārataś*, and then tried to cancel it by rubbing off the letters.

² The portion of the plate before this letter is very damaged, and there might have been two or three letters. The last one, immediately preceding Pa, seems to be *ta*. There might be the word *ataś*.

³ These three letters are very indistinct, as this portion of the plate is very damaged.

⁴ The letter *ā* is very indistinct. Read -*āśāś-āśāś*.

⁵ Read *āśāśha*.

⁶ Read *uṣṇa* or *Uṣṇa*.

⁷ There is a dot over *ka*, but I doubt whether it was intended for connection, as this is usually represented in this plate by a circle to the right of the consonant.

other two of nine each, in clearer and bigger letters, were evidently engraved later without first completely smoothing the surface, for it shows traces of a previous engraving a considerable part of which can still be read. It presents the same text as found in ll. 27-32 of our inscription. It also betrays the same hand to which the incision of the present charter is due. Probably, the engraver, while incising the record on the plates, omitted the text contained in the ll. 24-26. But later, when he had engraved the subsequent six lines, he discovered his mistake. Thereupon he rejected that plate and carved afresh on the other one, beginning with what he had omitted. The rejected engraving was left as it was. The later addition of the three lines of writing in bigger characters, though quite clear, does not yield any coherent sense to me.

The alphabet belongs to a Northern variety and resembles closely that of the other known records of the king, *Dāvāndravarmān*. The writing is cursive and is rather carelessly done. It does not look uniform. There are even instances where two independent syllables have been written with one flowing stroke, cf. *śālī* of *śālī*, l. 14; and *śālī* of *śālīśālī*, l. 16. In these as well as in certain other cases, the letter *ś* does not show the neutral bar which is shown clearly elsewhere, e.g., in *śālīśālī*, l. 5. Several letters exhibit each more than one form, cf. *g* in *dagurān*, l. 3, *gātā*, l. 4, *dagurān*, l. 6, and *śālī*, l. 8; *j* in *vijaya*, l. 2, *janita*, ll. 9-10, *janī*, l. 10, *i* in *śālī*, l. 1, *prasthī*, l. 4, *śālī*, l. 8, *śālī*, l. 9, *janita*, ll. 9-10, and *śālīśālī*, l. 15; *d* in *śālīśālī*, *śālīśālī*, l. 16, and *śālīśālī*, l. 26; *n* in *śālī*, l. 1, and *janita*, ll. 9-10; *r* in *śālīśālī*, l. 1; *ś* in *śālīśālī*, l. 2, and *śālīśālīśālī*, l. 9; *ś* in *śālīśālī*, l. 5, *śālī*, l. 10, and *śālīśālīśālī*, l. 26; *ś* in *śālīśālīśālī*, l. 4, *śālīśālī*, ll. 4-5, and *śālīśālī*, l. 9, etc. Moreover, only in one instance, *n* has its Nāgarī form, whereas in all the other cases it has been represented by its ancient form. Both of them may be compared in *Śrīśaivismān* and *prasthīśālīśālī* in the last line, i.e., l. 38. It may further be noticed that, except in one or two cases, the medial long *i* has throughout been represented by the sign of the medial short *i*, the exceptions being *śālī*, l. 37, and *śālī*, l. 38. In like manner the signs of medial *n* and *ṇ* are not distinguished, that of the former representing the both.

The record is composed in Sanskrit prose, except that three verses occur in ll. 28-30. It offers only a few noteworthy points of orthography. The consonant after *r* is very rarely doubled; see for example *śālīśālī*, l. 1, *śālīśālī*, l. 5, *śālīśālīśālī*, l. 13, *śālīśālī*, l. 18, *śālīśālīśālī*, l. 19, and *śālīśālī*, l. 25. In most cases *r* is used for *ṛ*, like in *śālī*, l. 10. *śālī* is used instead of the class nasal, in *śālīśālī*, l. 5, *śālīśālī*, l. 8, *śālīśālī*, l. 23, etc., as well as for the final *n*, cf. *śālīśālī*, l. 15, and *śālīśālīśālī*, l. 16. In certain instances an *śālī* or *śālīśālī* has been wrongly left out, e.g., in ll. 2, 4 and 8. A few more mistakes of spelling, possibly attributable to the engraver, will be noticed in the footnotes to the text.

The charter records the gift of a village called *Puruṣvānā* (?) in *Baṇḍravaka* or *Baṇḍravakā*, in *Lohāśālīśālī*, by the Ganga king *Dāvāndravarmān*, son of the *Mahārāja* *Rājāndravarmān*, to one *Govindavarmān*, son of *Śaṅka Nārāyaṇa*. The donee is described to be a resident of a place in *Uttara-Rāṣṭra*, a member of the *Yama-gotra* and a follower of the *Yajur*-out. The name of the donated village which may be read as *Puruṣvānā* or *Puruṣvānā* occurs in l. 21, but the subsequent details are not clear, as that part of the inscription is badly disfigured.

What is of chief importance in this record is its date which is the year 308. Although it is indicated only by decimal figures, yet there can be no uncertainty or ambiguity about its reading. This mention of date throws, as we shall presently see, a decisive light on the date, which up till now rests on a mere surmise, of another grant of the same ruler.

Besides the present one, three more records are known of the same Devendravarman, namely (1) Bangalore Plates,¹ (2) Chicacole Plates² and (3) Tekkali Plates.³ The first of these, like the present one, has been issued from **Kaliṅganagara**, but it contains no date beyond mentioning an *ayana-samkṛanti* on which occasion the village Sidhātā of the Varāhavartan-vishaya is stated to have been granted to an individual "in order to provide for the worship and offerings to (the god) Paramāvara." The Chicacole grant, it is reported, "records the gift of the village Virupika in the Pudukottai-vishaya to four brothers."⁴ It is undated, and it has been issued from Kaliṅganagara. The Tekkali Plates have been edited by Dr. Hultzsch. This record has likewise been issued from Kaliṅganagara and it is dated. The wording of the date is, however, doubtful.⁵ The editor has supposed it to be the year 310. This supposition now becomes most acceptable in the light of the present record, as has been pointed out above. The year refers itself to the Ganga era the initial date of which has been much discussed, but not yet been quite settled. Recently Mr. R. Subba Rao has outlined a history of the Gangas of Kaliṅga. According to his calculation, the Ganga years 308 and 310 would correspond respectively to A. D. 892 and A. D. 804,⁶ which may not be far wrong, if not exact. This date may, moreover, be borne out by the palaeographical evidence.

The name Devendravarman has been borne by several Ganga kings. That of our record stands, in the genealogical order, as Devendravarman IV.⁷ That the self-same person figures as the grantor in all the four, dated and undated, records described above, is evident from two main considerations: firstly in all the instances he is mentioned as the son of Rājendravarman, and secondly all the four charters have evidently been engraved by one and the same person. Moreover, except for the Bangalore grant which does not mention the composer's name, the re-

¹ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IX, pp. 140, and Plates; see also the Introduction, p. 9 (text on p. 22 of the section called *Text of the Inscriptions in Roman characters*, and translation on pp. 28 f. of the section called *Translations of the Inscriptions*). It is stated that there is the figure of an "elephant in the seal". Possibly the figure of a bull has been mistaken here for that of an elephant. Moreover, the editor assigns the plates roughly to A. D. 700, of course without the knowledge of the dated records of this Devendravarman.

² *An. Ep. on S. I. Epigraphy*, 1915-19, Appendix A, No. 7. These plates have been published first in Telugu by R. Subba Rao in the *Sanatān G. V. Samamantam Pustaka Gana Commemorative Volume*, pp. 224 f. and later in English by G. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao jointly in the *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 180 f.

³ *Above*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 311-313, and Plates.

⁴ According to the editors, while the name of the village is Virupika, it was granted "to Hihikā, son of Yilānā" (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 193). It may be pointed out that the text given by the editors is obviously inaccurate in several places. Their account, therefore, may not entirely be depended upon. At the same time, it may be admitted that the writing on the plates is not very clear.

⁵ The reading is *śata-sapt-dśatitā*. The first compound is suggested to be a clerical error for *śata-sapt*; cf. *above*, Vol. XVIII, p. 312, and *A. R. on S. I. E.*, 1923-24, pp. 97-98.

⁶ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 196-97. See also *A. R. on S. I. E.*, 1921-22, p. 45, where the origin of the Eastern Ganga era has been discussed, and almost the same conclusion has been reached.

⁷ This is according to R. Subba Rao, whereas according to some other views, he is Devendravarman III, see e.g. R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa*, Vol. 1, p. 224.

remaining three have likewise been composed by an identical individual. Both the composer and the engraver bear titles, as is shown below:—

Places.	Composer.	Engraver.
Bangalore	<i>Nil.</i>	Sri-Khandivill.
Chiccocole	Sarvachandra-Sriśaṁanta	Sriśaṁanta-Khaṇḍimala.
Tokliah	Baharya ¹ -Sriśaṁanta Sarvachan- dra	Akhaśālin-Sriśaṁanta-Khaṇḍimala.
Indian Museum	Baharya Sarvachandra	Akhaśālin-Khaṇḍimala-Sriśaṁanta.

Notwithstanding the variant readings presented and in spite of the omission of titles in certain cases, we may safely assume that the composer and the engraver, in each case, were respectively *Baharya Sriśaṁanta Sarvachandra* and *Akhaśālin Sriśaṁanta Khaṇḍimala*.

The official titles *Baharya* and *Akhaśālin* are met with also in several other Gāṅgā records.² They have been rendered by Dr. Hultzsch respectively as 'private secretary' and 'keeper of records'.³ The latter term perhaps simply denotes 'an engraver'.

Among the localities mentioned in the inscription, *Kalinganagara* has been identified with Mukhallāgam, a place of pilgrimage, 20 miles from Parlakimedi in the Ganjam District, while *Uttara-Bāḡha* is that part of Bengal which includes a portion of the district of Murshidābād. I am unable to identify the other places occurring in the record.

TEXT.⁴

First Plate; First Side.

- 1 Om⁵ Svasty⁶ Amarpur-śmukhriṇaḥ sarv-arta-
- 2 mukha-ramaṇi(cīyā[d*]-v)jaya-vatā(ka) Kala(l)āga-
- 3 da/na/garān-Mahāśūda(nā-ś)-kale (l-ā)-mala-śikha-
- 4 prastāpīdā(ka)ya sa-cha-śikha-garā(ā)(b*) sa-
- 5 [ka]la-[bh]uvana-nirṇa(rnā)g-āka⁷-x(a)tradhāraṇa śaśāṅka-
- 6 cū(chā)ḍāmaṇi(r*)-[bla]gava(tō*) Gō⁸karṇa⁹-svāmināś-cha-
- 7 saṇa-(ka)mala-

First Plate; Second Side.

- 8 yugala-ṣa(ṣa)ṣa(ā)ma(mā)(d*)-v(r)gata-kali-kala(m)kā(kā) Gāṅg-ā-
- 9 mala-kala-tīlakā-nāka-samara-sa(n*)-phaṭṭa-juni-
- 10 ta-ṣya-śayda(bāḥ) pratāp-ā(va)ṇata-samāsta-pāma-
- 11 [u*]ka-chāḍāmaṇi-prabhā¹⁰-mañjari(r)-puñja-raḍji-

¹ This reading is due to restoration.

² Above, Vol. III, p. 21.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ This letter has a peculiar form. It no doubt stands for ka. In *Spandanā*, l. 10, va has an almost like shape, but in that case only the ventral dash is superfluous.

⁵ The right-hand curve attached to the ka is superfluous here. Usually it represents medial v in this inscription; see, for example, in *Spandanā*, l. 14.

⁶ The formation of this syllable is hardly recognizable.

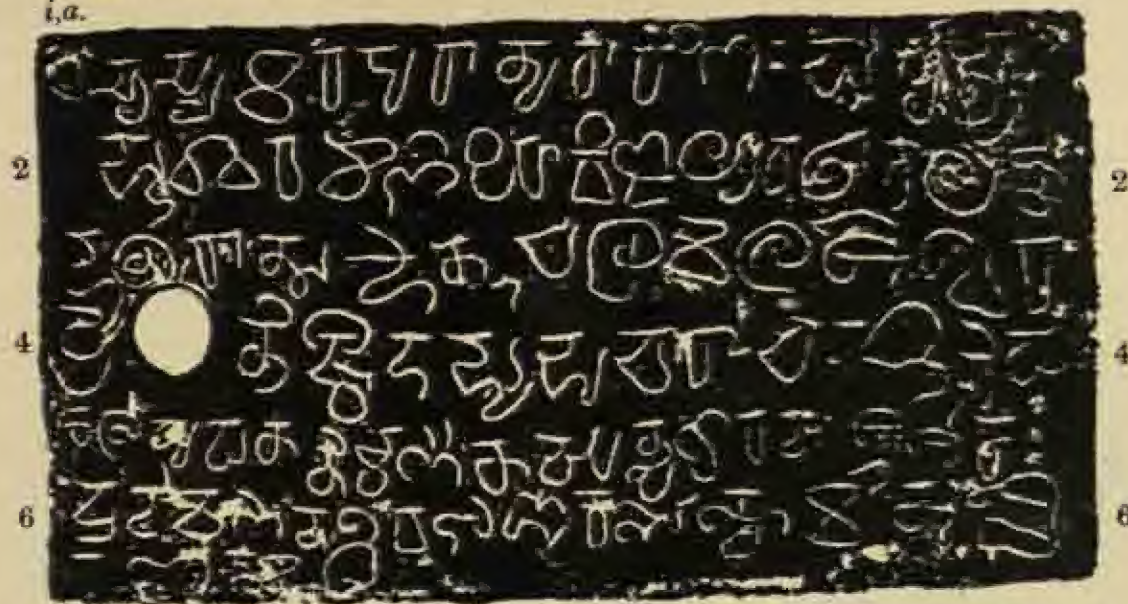
⁷ The doubling of the consonant is doubtful here.

⁸ See, for instance, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 145.

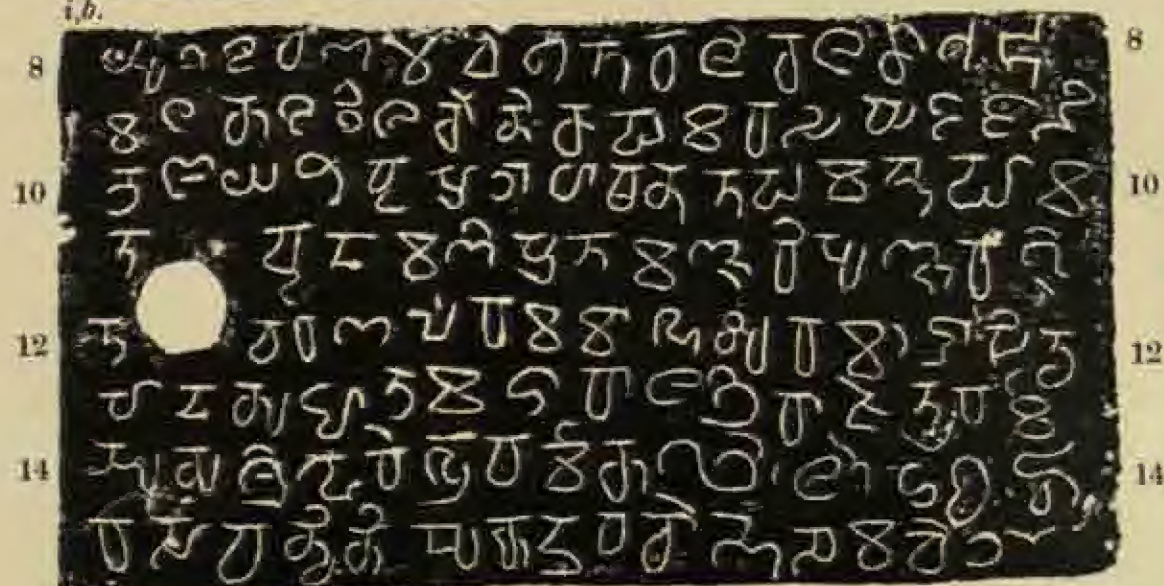
⁹ From the impressions.

¹⁰ This is looks more like vi.

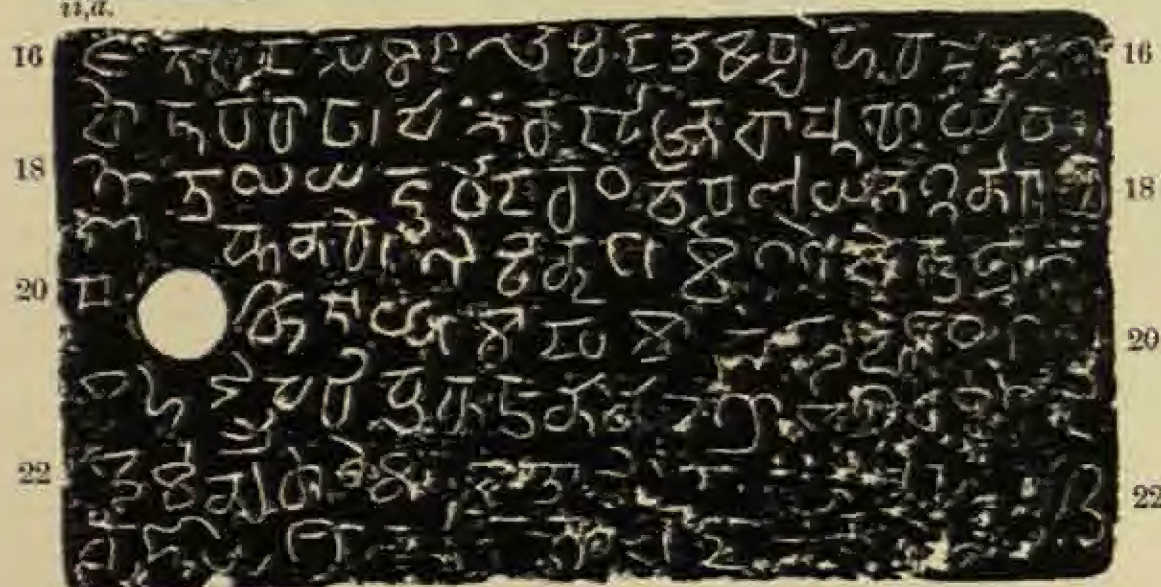
i.a.



i.b.



ii.a.



24 24

26 26

28 28

30 30

1948

32 32
34 34
36 36
38 38

Seal.



- 12 ta-charaṇa(h*)² parāma-māhādeva(rō) mātā-pitṛi-
 13 pād-ānandhyāta(tō) Mahārāja-śrī(śrī)-Rājendravarma-
 14 su(sū)nu(h*)³ śrī(śrī)-Dēvēndravarma(rnā) kusa(h)(h) ⁴ Lōhadhaṇḍa-
 15 ra-saṁhva(ha)ndhimi Bukudravakē as⁵ samavēṭṭ(h)(u)

Second Plate; First Side.

- 16 jānapadāṇ(hu) samu(mā)diati. viditam-astu bhavati(hi) yathā (i)
 17 ch-Ottara-Raḍhā ⁶ Pāṭa⁷ka(bō)ya⁸ (i)-vāstavyāya Vatsa-
 18 gōtrāya Yajur-vēda-katha-charaṇāya bhāṭṭa-Nāra(rā)ya-
 19 ṇa-su(śū)navō ⁹ Gōvīndastarmāṇō
 20 hā(pa)ṇḍitāya Māgha-māsē
 21 mā pari Puruṣaṭha(or)va(nā-nāma-grāma)ś-tri-dharma
 22 matṭ-ānuraḍ(hō)(dhēna)l(mā)ṇa-pu(tr)ṭ(r-ātma)ṇa-cha puṇy-lābhi-
 23 vṛid(dh)jayō āḍa¹⁰ chandrā¹¹

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 24 grā(grā)ṇō(mō)-yam-samābhic-śarta(hi) yatō¹²-aya bha-
 25 viśh¹³rad-rāja-pu(tr)va-rāṇ(ja)-va(l*)-labha ¹⁴chāṭa-bhata-
 ✓ 26 śaṇḍapāṇāḥ-ādibhiḥ. kē(kai)(ś)-chid-vā(bā)dhā na kartavy(ā) (l*)
 27 pūrva¹⁵-athityā śi(śi)mā śtu-parichā¹⁶(chēhhō)ḍē-na pra-
 28 bhāsyatāḥ¹⁷ aktaṇ-cha (i) Va(ha)huhhite-vasu(dh)ṇa
 29 da(t*)ṭā rājābhiḥ Saṅg¹⁸ādibhiḥ (i*) yaṇya yaṇya
 30 yadā¹⁹ bhu(bhū)mi-taṇya taṇya tadā phalaṇ(ham)²⁰ (l*) (l*)²¹ Svā-dātāṇ(tri)ḥ
 31 para-dātāḥ(tri)ḥ vā ²²yō harēta vaṇṇaḍdharāṇ(rām) (i*)

¹ A dash and a dot above are superfluously added to the left-hand vertical stroke of the pa. That they may have stood for an apodhātulya is highly improbable. Besides, the right-hand vertical stroke of the pa is abnormally long.

² The dash is unnecessary.

³ This syllable seems to be redundant. Mr. N. L. Rao reads *Bahudramāṇō* in which case there will be no superfluous syllable.

⁴ The formation of this syllable is hardly recognizable.

⁵ The reading is tenable only if the dash and the two dots above it are regarded superfluous.

⁶ The reading is very uncertain. Moreover, in case of the suggested reading, the form of j would be Nāgarī.

⁷ Read probably *śaṇḍa*.

⁸ The corresponding phrase in the Tekkall Plates is *chandr-dāṭya-paryvāṇa*.

⁹ Perhaps we have to read this syllable as pa and correct it into pā, but the vowel sign here is quite different from that in the pa of the *gurmā*, l. 25.

¹⁰ There is a curve below the ch, but it can hardly represent the required cā after the ch.

¹¹ Read perhaps *grāhāṇḍa*. The sign after this word must originally have been intended to be a *śaṇḍa*.

¹² The syllable rā here resembles the ra as seen in *-sila*, l. 5.

¹³ The right-hand portion of the pa looks separated from it and affixed to the next letter.

¹⁴ There is a sign after *phalam*, perhaps meant to be the required double *ḍaḍā*.

¹⁵ Metre *Anuṣṭubh*.

Third Plate: First Side.

- 32 sa viśvabhāyān kṛiṇ(iṛ)-bhāivā piteśāhā mha pacyatē [0°] [1°] L.¹
 33 tī² kamaḥ-dal³śāmbu-vinda-bāḥ(iḥ)āriyam-anuḥi-
 34 [1°]tya manuṣa⁴(ahya)-p[0]vitaś-cha i sakalam-īdam=śāhā-
 35 tat cha vadhvā(baddhvā) na hi pūnashaiḥ para-k[0]t[1]t[2]y[3] vi-
 36 lō⁵-pyāh [0°] [3°]⁶ likhitam-īdam āśānān Śarvachandrā(ndra)-
 37 rahasyān-ā[0]kṛiyān ch-ākṣa⁷śāli-khaṇḍīmala-
 38 Śrīśāmantēna ga⁸ pravarddhamāna-sarvachha⁹ 308

No. 33.—BADAKHIMEDI COPPER-PLATES OF INDRAVARMAN.

By P. N. BHATTACHARYYA, INDIAN MUSEUM.

These plates were found in Badakhimedi Estate in Garjam and acquired for the Indian Museum, Archaeological Section, in 1935-36 through Mr. Sanyasarayana Rajaguru, Municipal Councillor, Parlakimedi.

The plates are three in number of which the first and the third are engraved on one side only and the second on both sides. The size of the plates is $7\frac{1}{2}$ " in length by 4" in breadth. They were strung on a ring having a diameter of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches and thickness of $\frac{1}{4}$ inch. The ends of the ring are secured in a circular seal ($1\frac{1}{2}$ " diam.) which bears in relief the figure of a recumbent bull.

The inscription which is in a good state of preservation consists of 28 lines of writing. The characters are Nāgarī. The record is not dated but on palaeographical grounds it may be placed in the 13th century A. D. The language is Sanskrit, but the text is full of errors and contains a number of vernacular forms. Excepting the customary laudative and imprecatory verses the whole record is in prose. In respect of orthography the only point that deserves notice is that in many cases alifilants have been used promiscuously.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant by the P. M. P. Indravarmadēva, son of Pythivivarmadēva, of the village called Tanardā in Hallānyam-vishaya to Bhāṭaputra Durgākhaṇḍi, son of Bhāṭa Bōdhana and belonging to the Chhāndōga-chāraṇa, the Kūpāyānīya-śāhā, the Vāṭya-gōṭra, the Aurva-Bhāṭya-Chyavana-Āpṣavēna-Jamudagni pravṛt, and aneyrasura. The grant was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse from the royal residence at Śvāi(th)ka.

Indravarmān of this grant appears to be different from Indravarmān mentioned in the Parle¹ plates; the father of the former was Pythivivarmān whereas the father of the latter was Dāhargava. This Indravarmān cannot also be identified with Indravarmān I of the Achyutapurāṇ² and

¹ *Notas, Inscriptions.*

² Two dots placed next to each other and a dash or a curve below constitutes the vowel sign for initial *i* in this script. In the present instance, however, only the two dots are visible. It looks probable that the scribe did put a dash beneath, but that the engraver mistakenly raised it with the letter *ch* further below in the next line.

³ The formation of this syllable is hardly recognizable.

⁴ *Notas, Prākṛapūro.*

⁵ This *ga* possibly stands for *Gomphana* as is found in the Takkā Plates. Evidently the scribe intended to conclude the character on this very face of the plate and was, through want of space, obliged to employ the abbreviation.

⁶ Read *anvayānāḥ*.

⁷ *Sherr, Vol. XIV, p. 362.*

⁸ *Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 128 f.*

the Paralakimedi plates on palaeographical grounds. The former appears to be the son of Prithivivarman who issued a Ganjam grant¹ which like the present record was also issued from Śvāt(aka), written by the Śaṅkhaśruti Śrī-Sāmanta, and engraved by Svayambhu. The name of this Indravarmān is known from our plates for the first time. He is described as Kōkalāvalapara-pattayavirgata (ll. 7-8). Prithivivarman, father of Indravarmān, also calls himself Kōkalāvalapara-pattayavirgata i.e., belonging to the city of Kōkalāvala. Generally the Eastern Ganga kings have the title Kōkalāvalaparasamantivara (Lord of the city of Kōkalāvala). The terms Kōkalāvalapura, Kōkalāvala, and Kōkalāvala seem to denote one and the same place which has been identified by Mr. L. Rice with Kōlār in the Mysore State. Indravarmān bears the title of Nandagiriśūha, or the Lord of Nandagiri, which has been identified with the well-known fortified hill to the west of Kōlār District, Mysore, now called Nandidroog.² It may be noted that both the above titles were also adopted by some of the Western Chālukya³ and Western Ganga⁴ kings.

The inscription was written by the Śaṅkhaśruti who also bears the designation Śrī-Sāmanta but his name seems to have been omitted. It was engraved by the Śaṅkhaśruti Śrī-Sāmanta Svayambhu of the brahmin class, son of Nripa, and registered by the Vaidhavi Śrī-Govāmini Śrī-Mahādevī by which the chief queen may have been referred to.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁵ avastī (a*) Śvāt(aka)-ādihishṭhānād-bhagavatah sucharūchata-gurōh (a*) sa(ka)-
- 2 kala-śaśānāśaka⁶ ādhara-dharasya. (a*) śakty-otpatti(iti)-pralaya-kāraṇa⁷ hā-
- 3 tār-Mahāendrāśha(cha)llā-s(ā)khaṇa-nirāt(ā)nah śrīmah(īma)dhā(d)-dīkharas(pā)va(ava)ra-
- 4 hā-
- 5 tārakasya charaṇa-karmā-ārādhanāt(d-a)vāpta-punya(āya)nicaya(yah) (a*) lakṭi(kti)-
- 6 traya-praka-
- 7 riśh-ānuraṅgū-s(ā)śha⁸ śānta-chakra(h*) āva(ava)-bhūja-vaśhaṭha-parāmarā-ārānta-sa-
- 8 kala-Kaling-ādihirāj(īya)h (a*) parama-māhādevarō mātā-pitri-pād-āra-
- 9 dhyaṭō (a*) Gaṅg-āmala-kala-tiśka(h*) (a*) śrī-Nandagiriśūha(h*) Kōkalāvala-
- 10 pura-pattaya-virgata-kāvalya-varayagholas-mā(ma)hārājādihirāja-pa-
- 11 ramāvara-pamamādhā(āraka)-śrī-Indravarmādhā(h*) kusa(ka)śrī Śrī-Prithi-
- 12 vivarmādhā-sutah Paṇḍitya-vishā(h*) yathākāl-ādhyāś-mahāśa-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 11 manpa(ata)-śrīśānta-śhānaka-rājaputra-kamārāmāty-āpa⁹ dardānā-
- 12 yakul(ka)-vishayapati-jrōṇapatti(ta) āya(ayā)śha-cha-chaṭa-bhā(bha)ta-vallabha-śa
- 13 th(īyā(n*)) tārakūṭa-kopamvināś¹⁰ śānta-śhānta-śhānta-pādānā(dā) sa-
- 14 mādhāvi viditā-saśha bhavātā (a*) śatā-vishaya-samvādhā¹¹ grāmā-yaṇi Tare-

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 134.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 359.

³ Ind., Nos. 95, 124, 125, 130, 132 and 133.

⁴ Danda unnecessary.

⁵ Kānta has been omitted in the Śaṅkhaśruti inscription. Above, Vol. XV, p. 277.

⁶ Read -pralaya-kāraṇa-śhānta.

⁷ Read -śhānta-kāraṇa-śhānta.

⁸ Danda unnecessary. Read -śhānta-śhānta.

⁹ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 134-5.

¹⁰ Kōlār's List of S. I. Ins., Nos. 162, 170a.

¹¹ Expressed by a symbol.

¹² Read -śhānta.

¹³ Read -śhānta.

¹⁴ Read -śhānta.

¹⁵ Read -śhānta.

¹⁶ Read -śhānta.

- 15 rdā nāma sa-jala-ethal-ārānya¹ chatuḥ-sa(ś)m-ōpalla(la)kshitaṇ(taś)=cha²
 16 Chhāndōga-churaṇāya(ya)³ Rācāgī⁴-śā(śā)khāya⁵ Vāchha(Vatā)-gōtrāya⁶ pā(pa)ñcha-
 17 pravarāya || Añvya(Auvva)-Bhri(Bhriḡu-Chyavane-A(A)pravāna-Jāmadagud(ni)) tatha iva
 (tath-siva)
 18 anupravari(h*) pañcha || bhāja-putra-Daga(rga)khaṇḍūnō* ||⁷ bhajja-Vō(Bō)dhama-
 sutah(tāya) hi
 19 va (lh-siva) su(sō)rya-grahāṇē⁸ datā⁹ mātē-pitrō-ātmanā=cha¹⁰ : punya(rya)¹¹
 prāvīdhan(dhayaṇ)¹² sūli(h)
 20 [la*]-dhātē-puraḥsarāya¹³ : chandr-ārka-sūti¹⁴ : sama-kāla(m*) a-kari(rīkṛitya)¹⁵ pratipā-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 21 *pāñtō-smābhīr-yatah*¹⁶ : śā(śā)jana-darasanāt dharmo-gaṭravāht-tamādah-dga-
 22 ravā cha¹⁷ na kēna-chipta(t=pa)ripanthinā bhavitavya(m*) tathā cha paṭhyatē dharmo-sāstrō
 (s*)ya.
 23 hūhūr-vasudhā datā rāṭnāi Rogar-ādhibhīh [(*)] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi tasya tasya ta-
 24 dā phala(h [(*)] Mā bhūmi phala-sāktā va para-dat-ēti pārihva¹⁸ Haratē harayātē
 25 bhūmi manda-vudhī tamā-vṛita[(*)] sa vadhdhō Vāruṇaḥ pāśai-tīrya-yō-
 26 nyāḥ-cha gachhati || Śva-datām-para-datām-vā yō harēti vasundharā | aha
 27 viśvāyā krimir-bhōitvā pītrilīhīh sāha pachatē || Hī(m*)hyam-ēkath gōmā-
 28 kuḥ-cha¹⁹ : bhūm-ēkaḥ : chanur-śāgulaḥ [(*)] haratē-marakatam-āyāti yāvad-āhu-
 29 ti-sampāya || Saśūthim-varias utāni svagrahā mōdasi bhūmija || (y)²⁰

Third Plate.

- 30 Akubōptā ch-ānumantā(cha*)jāny-eva*) narakam vṛijēt || sva-dānāt-phalam kuryā
 31 paradati-śampālannam [(*)] :²¹ abhāu tō punya-karmāṇu niyatō svaṛga-gā-
 32 minau || Iti kamala-dal-āruva-vinda-lōlā(m*) :²² riyam-ann-
 33 chintyā manaya-jivitaṇ-cha | sakalam-idam-udāhṛitaṇ vudhā
 34 na hi parussī para-kīrtayō vilōpyā || likhitaṇ-idam sa-
 35 udhivigrahi-kī-sāma-sūtaṇ || utkīrtan-cha²³ : sū(lā)ssamā kṛmācā-kulaputaka-
 36 śrēṣṭhī[(h*)] :²⁴ kī-sāmanta-Srayambhenā Napa-sūcōna²⁵ :²⁶ lābhitaṇ-cha parama-
 37 raṇḍagavi-²⁷ :²⁸ Gōvāmini(h) :²⁹ ar-mā(na)hādēvyā || uyy-āksharam-ādīdhikāka-
 38 ram-vā³⁰ :³¹ ant sarva(m) pramāṇam-iti(h) || ॐ ||³²

¹ Read āruṇaḥ.

² Read āśubhāyā.

³ Read parāśaraḥ.

⁴ Read yataḥ.

⁵ Read darśanāt dharmo-gaṭravāht ānum-ānumantā=cha.

⁶ Reading of these verses is hopelessly incorrect. Since they are well known no correction is made.

⁷ The second half of this verse is found in II, 30-31.

⁸ The first half of this verse has been omitted.

⁹ Read utānā cha.

¹⁰ Read Nṛpa-sūtaḥ.

¹¹ Read sūcōnaḥ.

¹² Read āśubhāyā-māhā-śubhāyā.

¹³ There is a symbol after this.

¹⁴ Read ānumantā.

¹⁵ Probably intended for datā which is superfluous.

¹⁶ This pa is superfluous.

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ii.a.
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ii, b.

22 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवा
२३ द्यौः ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदमुनिर्वाक्यं श्रुत्वा भगवत्पुत्र
२४ मया ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदमुनिर्वाक्यं श्रुत्वा भगवत्पुत्र
२५ मया ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदमुनिर्वाक्यं श्रुत्वा भगवत्पुत्र
२६ मया ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदमुनिर्वाक्यं श्रुत्वा भगवत्पुत्र
२७ मया ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदमुनिर्वाक्यं श्रुत्वा भगवत्पुत्र
२८ मया ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदमुनिर्वाक्यं श्रुत्वा भगवत्पुत्र

iii.

30 अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदमुनिर्वाक्यं श्रुत्वा भगवत्पुत्र
३१ मया ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदमुनिर्वाक्यं श्रुत्वा भगवत्पुत्र
३२ मया ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदमुनिर्वाक्यं श्रुत्वा भगवत्पुत्र
३३ मया ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदमुनिर्वाक्यं श्रुत्वा भगवत्पुत्र
३४ मया ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदमुनिर्वाक्यं श्रुत्वा भगवत्पुत्र
३५ मया ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदमुनिर्वाक्यं श्रुत्वा भगवत्पुत्र
३६ मया ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदमुनिर्वाक्यं श्रुत्वा भगवत्पुत्र
३७ मया ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदमुनिर्वाक्यं श्रुत्वा भगवत्पुत्र
३८ मया ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदमुनिर्वाक्यं श्रुत्वा भगवत्पुत्र

No. 14.—PATTAN PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

Pattan is a substantial village with a population of about 1,500 souls in the *Multāi taluk* of the Betul District, Central Provinces. It lies about 10 miles south of Multāi, on the Multāi-Amrāoti road. Tradition says that the original village was turned upside down and buried underground by the curse of a Mahommedan saint Sulaiman Shah.¹ Even now when excavations are made, large-size bricks, beads of conch and coins are found, which also shows that the modern village is occupying an old site. The present plates were turned up in a field by the plough of a farmer in 1935. Mr. Bajaram Jain, Head Master of the local Vernacular Middle School, first brought them to notice in the beginning of the next year. Finding himself unable to decipher the record, he made fairly accurate eye-copies of it, one of which reached the hands of Mr. M. A. Suboor, of the Central Museum, Nagpur. The latter took immediate steps to acquire the plates for the Museum and thoroughly cleaned them when they were received. They are now deposited in the Museum. I edit them here as desired by Mr. Suboor.

They are five copper-plates of which the first and the last are inscribed on one side only and the remaining three on both the sides. Each plate measures 6·9" by 4" and is about 1" in thickness. The ends of the plates are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims for the protection of the writing. About 1·9" from the proper right side of each plate there is a hole $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter for the ring which originally connected the plates. When the plates reached the Nagpur Museum, the ring had been straightened, and its seal, which is a round disc, 3" in diameter, separated from it. The nasal band, to which the seal must have been rivetted, is not forthcoming now. The weight of the plates is 134 tolas and that of the seal 8½ tolas.

Some of the plates have cracked at the edges. Their surface, which originally was not made quite smooth, has been further damaged by rust. The letters were deeply cut. Some of them show through on the reverse, especially in the case of the first and last plates which are somewhat thinner than the rest. Many letters in the right half of l. 45 and most of those in the two following lines have been almost obliterated by friction but can be read, though with some difficulty, from the traces left on the plate. The record consists of 47 lines. Each inscribed surface contains six lines, except the first side of the third plate which has only five lines incised on it. The seal contains the usual *Vikṣepa* legend in verse, inscribed in four lines.

The characters are of the box-headed variety and closely resemble those of the Tirōḍi plates.² They include the signs for the initial short *i* in l. 27, long *i* in l. 46 and for the initial short *u* in l. 28. The only peculiarities worth noticing here are that the length of the medial *i* is generally denoted by a ringlet in the curve which represents its short form, but in one case by a curve turned in the opposite direction, cf. *Bhūgīrathya*, l. 7, and in another by a dot in the circle, cf. *Śrī-Pravara-sēnariya*, l. 19; the *mātrā* for the medial *ā*, *ṛ* and *ṣ* are added at the foot of the letters *sa* and *ṣa*; see *m-Aptorygām-Ōkṣhya*, l. 1, *Aśvamedha*, ll. 2-3 and *Varadāśhṛta*, l. 20; the medial *ṣ* is cursive in *Lohapāgar*, l. 20; the medial *sa* is everywhere bipartite; see *Gautamīputra*, ll. 8-9; the subscript forms of *a* and *ṣ* are not distinguished, while those of *j* and *b* have no notch on the left; see *śa-parvarga*, l. 18, and *śa-rarṣa*, l. 45; *-ārijara*, l. 10, and *-āyā-bhala*, l. 27; a final consonant is indicated by its small form and in some cases by a short horizontal line at the top (see *Pravara-purāṇa*, l. 1, *datum*, l. 23, etc.). The *vyadhōṣṇiṇi* occurs in ll. 15, 18, and 35 of the inscription and

¹ Betul District Gazetteer, p. 236.² Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 107 ff.

in 1.3 of the legend on the seal. Punctuation is marked by two or three vertical and somewhat curved lines followed by a dash.

The language is Sanskrit. Except the legend on the seal and the customary benedictory and imprecatory vocæ at the end, the whole record is in prose. It abounds in mistakes of orthography, *sandhi*, syntax, declension, conjugation, verbal and nominal derivatives, etc., most of which must be attributed to the ignorance or carelessness of the writer. As regards mistakes of orthography, we find *manā* everywhere written for *manā* (see II. 4, 9, 15 and 16), *Bhāṣaśāstram* for *Bhāṣaśāstra* in 1. 8, *atyanta* for *atyanta*, II. 4 and 10; *ai* is used for the vowel *ai* in *Prakāśa*, 1. 14, and *ai* is used for *ai* in *Prakāśa*, 1. 35; similarly *ii* is used for the vowel *ii* in *Prakāśa* in 1. 71; the dental *n* is used for the lingual *n* in *Prakāśa*, 1. 10 and *Prakāśa*, 1. 38; the anusvara before a sibilant is incorrectly changed to the dental nasal in *manā*, 1. 5, and to the guttural in *manā*, 1. 6 and *manā*, 1. 43. Other instances of orthographical mistakes are furnished by *Prakāśa*, 1. 28 *Prakāśa*, 1. 11, *Prakāśa*, 1. 30, *Prakāśa*, 1. 22, etc. In many cases rules of euphony have not been followed or have been violated; see for instance *Prakāśa* *Prakāśa*, 1. 24, *Prakāśa* *Prakāśa*, 1. 12, *Prakāśa* *Prakāśa*, 1. 36, etc. For mistakes of declension, see *Prakāśa* for *Prakāśa* in 1. 5, *Prakāśa* for *Prakāśa* in 1. 25, etc.; and for those of conjugation, notice *Prakāśa* for *Prakāśa*, 1. 36 and *Prakāśa* for *Prakāśa*, 1. 37. Attention may also be drawn here to the verbal derivative *Prakāśa* for *Prakāśa* in 1. 23 and *Prakāśa* for *Prakāśa* in II. 46-47, and the nominal derivative *Prakāśa* for *Prakāśa*, 1. 22. The writer has violated the elementary rule of concord in *Prakāśa* *Prakāśa*, 1. 17 and in *Prakāśa*, II. 26-29, and of compounding in *Prakāśa* *Prakāśa*, 1. 7. His carelessness is responsible for the repetition of *Prakāśa* *Prakāśa* in II. 11-12. As regards the orthographical peculiarities sanctioned by Sanskrit grammar, we may notice that the consonant preceding *r* and *y* is doubled in *Prakāśa*, 1. 4, *Prakāśa*, 1. 24, etc.; and that following *r* is similarly doubled in *Prakāśa*, 1. 13, *Prakāśa*, 1. 12, etc.

Like several other Vākātaka records, the present plates contain the word *Prakāśa* in the beginning. They were issued by the Mahārāja Pravarasena II. of the Vākātaka dynasty from Pravarapura.¹ His genealogy is given here as in his other plates, his maternal grandfather being called Dēvarasena. The present plates record the royal grant of 100 *vinayana* of land by the royal measure² in the village of *Pravāṭhakhēṭaka* for the maintenance of a *śāstra* or charitable hall in honour of the footprints of Mahāprasaṅga (Viṣṇu).³ The village was situated on the road to *Varadākhēṭa* in the division (*śāstra*) of *Lohapagara*. The gift was made at the request of *Nārāyaṇarāja*. The charter was written on the seventh day of the dark fortnight of *Kārtika* in the twenty-seventh (regnal) year. The scribe was *Kālīdāsa* who was serving under the *Śaṅkapa* Kātyāyana. The record was engraved⁴ by the goldsmith *Iśvaradatta*

¹ The Chamuk plates are the most correctly, see *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 237.

² In the present record the Kāśīkhar form *Prakāśa* is used, whereas everywhere else the writer form *Prakāśa* is used.

³ Since the grant was made at the capital, the expression *Prakāśa* *Prakāśa*, 'at the victorious office of justice', occurs in it as it does in similar other Vākātaka grants, cf. above, Vol. XXII, p. 170.

⁴ *Prakāśa* *Prakāśa*, 1. 22, like *Prakāśa* in the Kāśīkhar plates of the Chālukya-Vikramāditya I (*J. B. R. S. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 240) denotes a royal measure as distinguished from local measures which were called 'unauthorised' as in the *Prakāśa* plates (first set) of Dharm II (above, Vol. V, p. 52). The second set of the *Prakāśa* plates of the same king mentions a *Prakāśa* *Prakāśa* 'later measure' (ibid.).

⁵ For a similar grant of a slightly later period see the *Prakāśa* inscription, above, Vol. XXI, p. 176. For *Prakāśa* or *Prakāśa* meaning Viṣṇu see the *Prakāśa*, *Prakāśa*—II. 1. 10; V. 15, 4 and 6; 12, 16-17, VIII. 5, 32, etc.

⁶ With *Prakāśa* 'engraved' cf. *Prakāśa* in the Rāṭhpur plates of Bhavattarāyana, above, Vol. XIX, p. 103.

who was a servant (*antaka*)¹ of Kāmparāja. It is stated at the end that Pitāmaha and Nanda caused the charter to be drafted.²

Till now the latest known year of Pravarasēna II's reign was the twenty-third, furnished by his Undī³ and Tirōḍi⁴ plates. The present plates therefore increase his reign by about four years. Kāmparāja, whose servant Urasadatta issued the present charter, is evidently identical with Kōṇḍarāja,⁵ the son of Śaṅgubhūti, at whose request the grant recorded in the Chamūl plates was made.

The mention of Kālīdāsa in the present grant raises the interesting question of his identity with the illustrious Sanskrit poet of that name. The date of the latter has been for more than a century the subject of controversy, and various theories have been advanced, attempting to fix it in periods ranging from the first century B.C. to the sixth century A.D. Of these the theory which places him in the Gupta age and makes him a contemporary of Chandragupta (II) Vikramāditya is gradually gaining ground and receiving general acceptance. But nothing short of a contemporary inscriptional record mentioning the poet's name would remove the doubts of sceptics in this matter. The earliest epigraphical mention of this name, so far known, was that in the *Alidāsa* *prasthā* of Pulakāṇa II, Śaka 556 (=A.D. 534).⁶ This is, therefore, the first time that the name Kālīdāsa has been discovered in a record of the Gupta period.

Kālīdāsa, no doubt, figures only as a scribe in the present grant; but that does not per se disprove his identity with the great Sanskrit poet. Such charters were generally drafted and written on copper-plates by clerks working in the office of the *Sādāksigrahaka* or Minister for peace and war, but sometimes we find even great officers mentioned as writers of such documents. Thus the writer of the recently published Tirōḍi plates of this very Pravarasēna II was the Chief Minister (*Śrīyogāditya*) himself.⁷ The Añjanayati grant of the Hāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III, was written by his Minister for peace and war.⁸ So there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the writer of the present plates was identical with Kālīdāsa, the great Sanskrit poet. Recent researches have, again, shown that Kālīdāsa was for some time at least connected with the Vākāṭaka court. From certain passages in the *Kaṇṭakavāṇanāṭya*,⁹ a Sanskrit work ascribed to Kālīdāsa, which have been cited in the *Kāryaśāstrasūtra*¹⁰ of Rājāśekhara, the *Śrīgūṇaprabhā*¹¹ and the *Saṁskṛta-kāvalīkharṇa*¹² of Bhōja, and the *Aṅkītyaśikharākhanda*¹³ of Kāśmīnātha, it has been conjectured with great probability that Kālīdāsa was sent as an ambassador by his patron Vikramāditya to the

¹ *Antaka* which is connected with the PIE word *antika* meaning 'proximity, presence' occurs elsewhere as a technical territorial term (see C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 118, 120 and 132). It is used in Vākāṭaka grants in the sense of a subordinate officer or a servant.

² Cf. C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 99 note 3. The word *Antaka* used here corresponds to *Antapala* which occurs elsewhere, e.g., in the Kāṇvaṇi Stone Inscription, J. B. B. R. I. S., Vol. XXII, p. 167.

³ Above, Vol. III, p. 202.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 174.

⁵ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 237.

⁶ Above, Vol. VI, p. 2.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 174.

⁸ Above p. 14; also C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 99, note 3.

⁹ The name occurs as *Kaṇṭakavāṇanāṭya* in the *Śaṅkayogāditya* of Kāśmīnātha (*Nirayashgure* Press ed., p. 139), but it is there probably a mistake for *Kaṇṭakavāṇanāṭya*.

¹⁰ *Baṅkavāṇanāṭya* Oriental Series, Second edition, pp. 99-101.

¹¹ *Śrīgūṇaprabhā*, Chapters XXII-XXIV, Introd., p. xxii.

¹² *Nirayashgure* Press ed., p. 166.

¹³ *Kāryaśāstrasūtra*, *Śaṅkavāṇanāṭya*, *Nirayashgure* Press ed., pp. 139-40.

court of a Kuntalāśa (lord of Kuntala).¹ He stayed there for some time and when he returned, he reported to his patron that the lord of Kuntala was spending his time in enjoyment, throwing the responsibility of governing his kingdom on him (i.e., Vikramāditya). This lord of Kuntala is probably none other than the Vākātaka king Pravarasēna II: for it was during his reign that Gupta influence was at its highest at the Vākātaka court.² It seems that the Vākātaka princes had assumed the title of Kuntalāśa since the conquest of Kuntala by Prizhivāhēṣa I.³ It may be noted in this connection that the author of the *Sētibandha*, who is none other than this Pravarasēna II, is called Kuntalāśa in the Sanskrit work *Bharatacharita*.⁴ According to a tradition recorded by Rāmādāsa, a commentator of the *Sāmbodha*,⁵ Kālīdāsa composed the Prākṛit work for Pravarasēna by the order of Vikramāditya. This he must have done during his sojourn in Vidarbha. The idea of writing the *Meghadūta* seems to have suggested itself to his mind at Rāmtēk near Nāgpur (Rāmagiri of the *Meghadūta*) which, we know, was a holy place visited by the Vākātakas.⁶ It is not unlikely that while in Vidarbha, Kālīdāsa was attached to the office of the Sēnāpati as stated in the present record. There is, thus, *primò facie*, nothing against, and much in favour of, the identification of the scribe of the present grant with the illustrious Sanskrit poet.

But a close examination of the present record shows that this view is untenable. The scribe of the present plates had a very imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit. As pointed out above, there are numerous orthographical and grammatical mistakes, for most of which the writer, and not the engraver, must have been responsible. On the other hand, Kālīdāsa had a great command over the Sanskrit language. He has emphasised the importance of correct speech in one of his similes⁷ and his works contain fewer instances of solecism⁸ than those of his predecessors and successors. It is incredible that such a great poet as Kālīdāsa would commit so many mistakes of orthography, *sandhi*, syntax, nominal and verbal forms, etc., which disfigure the present record. Disappointing as it is, one has to admit that the scribe was only a namesake and contemporary of, and not identical with, the prince of Sanskrit poets. We may note here that similar names ending in *dāsa* were current in Vidarbha in the age of the Vākātakas. Thus we know of Namidāsa a *Sēnāpati*, Chanidāsa the Chief Minister, as well as Chakradāsa and Gōladāsa the scribes of the Poona and Dudiā plates respectively.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant Varadākṣhṛṣṭa is probably Warūd in the Morā tāluka of the Amravati District, about 12 miles due south of Patṭan. Lohapagara, the headquarters of an ancient division, may be represented by Lōḷi about 9 miles south-west of Warūd. The name of the village Aśvattha-kṣhṛṣṭaka, in which the donated land was situated,

¹ For a full discussion on the subject see A. Rangaswami Sastri, 'Further glimpses into Gupta Literary History' *Quart. J. Mythic Society*, Vol. XVI, pp. 93 ff.; K. S. Aiyangar, *Vākātakas and their Place in Indian History*, pp. 40 f.; V. V. Mirashi, *Kālīdāsa* (Marāṭhi), pp. 27 ff.; N. Lakshminarayana Rao, 'The Gupta contemporary of Kāśikāśvarman', *I. H. Q.*, Vol. IX, pp. 269 f.; K. S. Rangaswami Sastri, 'King Pravarasēna and Kālīdāsa', *Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh Oriental Conference*, pp. 99 ff.

² Note for instance that in both the Poona and Baidhagar plates of the Vākātaka Dowager Queen Prathā, varāguptā, the genealogy of the Guptas, and not that of the Vākātakas is given in the beginning.

³ See the inscription in the Ajanta Cave XVI, *A. S. W. J.*, Vol. IV, p. 125.

⁴ अनामयशास्त्रकारदत्तमार्गलमयनं निरि श्रीमद्व्यास ।

श्रीमद्व्यासं कालमयुर्जितं स्वयं श्रीमद्व्यासं कुरुक्षेत्रः ॥ Canto I. v. 4. Trivandrum Sri. Series.

⁵ Nirupayāgarā Press ed., p. 3; see also the colophon of the last chapter, *ibid.*, p. 427.

⁶ The Baidhagar Plates of Prabhāvatiguptā (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 54 ff.) were issued from the feet of the Lord of Rāmagiri.

⁷ *Kundrasambhava*, Canto I, verse 27.

See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 214.

can no longer be traced; its site seems to be occupied by the modern village of Pattan. It may be noted in this connection that it lies on the way from Multāl to Warūḍ (ancient Varadākṣhēṣa), and thus, answers to the description of its situation in the present plates.

I edit the inscription from the original plates.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 इष्टः¹ [1*] स्वस्थः ॥ प्रवरपुरात्² चम्बिटीमातोर्थामोवन्धो-
- 2 कश्चतिराजवाजपेयकृद्दत्तस्यतिसवसायस्तचतुरस्र-
- 3 मेधयाजिनः विष्णुदत्तसमोचस्य सन्नाद³ वाकाटका-
- 4 नाम्नाहाराज्यीप्रवरसेनस्य सु(स्)तोः सु(स्)नोरत्वन्य(न्त)स्त्रामिम-
- 5 जामैरवमक्तस्य चन्दा⁴भारमन्त्रिवेमितमिवमिहोदहनमि-
- 6 वसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवङ्गा⁵नाम्नराक्षमाधिगतभा-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 7 गीरतया(स्य)मन्त्रजन्ममूर्त्ती(र्धो)मिथित्तानान्दयास्त्रमेधवधुदत्ता-
- 8 नाम्नाहारी(मि)वा⁶नाम्नाहाराज्यीभवनाम[दी]⁷द्विचस्य गौतमीपु-
- 9 त्रपुत्रस्य⁸ वाकाटकानाम्नाहाराज्यीप्रवरसेनस्य सु(स्)नोर-
- 10 त्वन्य(न्त)माहेस्वरस्य सत्त्वाज्यवकारुन्ध(स्य)गौर्वविद्वमन-
- 11 यविनयमाहाक्षधीमत्त(स्व)पात्रमतम[क्तिल]⁹पात्रमतम-
- 12 क्तिलधर्मविजयित्वमनोनैर्गन्धादिगुणैः¹⁰ समुपेतस्य

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 13 पर्यस्तमभिवर्द्धमानकोमटच्छसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौ-
- 14 त्र(वि)णः सुविहिरहन्तेर्वाकाटकानाम्नाहाराज्यीप्रियविसे-¹⁰

¹ Read इष्टम् as in other Yāskāka grants.

² Here and in many places below, rules of sandhi have not been observed.

³ The letter द् is close on the original plate. Read प्रमाज.

⁴ Read चन्दा.

⁵ Read वङ्गा.

⁶ The box at the top of the letter व is not completely incised.

⁷ The right curve at the top is not sufficiently raised for want of space.

⁸ All the other Yāskāka plates discovered so far read गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य, thus making the construction ambiguous. See, above, Vol. XXII, p. 175. The reading in the present grant shows that the adjectival expressions from चन्दास्त्रामिनाहाराज्यीभवनाम towards qualify चरुदेवस्य.

⁹ This expression is unnecessarily repeated.

¹⁰ Read सुविहिरहन्ते.

- 15 नमः सु(सु)नोभैवतचक्रुवाणे) प्रसादोपाजितयोसु-
 16 दयस्य वाकाटकानावाहाराज्योदितमेनम्य सु(सु)नो-
 17 सु(सु)नो)हाराकाधिराज्योदेवगुप्तमुत्तमः प्रसाद[ति]गुप्त-
 18 वामुत्तमस्य शम्भो) प्रसाददृष्टिवात्तुगुप्तस्य वाकाटकाना-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 19 मयममादेवमहाराज्योदेवमेनम्य वचना[तु*] न
 20 लोहजगमभागे वरदादेवमार्गे यमस्य(ल)देवके
 21 सन्नाद्यपुसोमी धामो वक्तव्यः [1*] यव धामे रा-
 22 ज्ञमनेन भूमेर्विवर्त्तनयतानि चत्वारि महापुरुषपा-
 23 दमूलमनोपयोव्य नारायणराजविज्ञानेन दत्तम् [1*]

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 24 यतोध्वस्तकामध्वीनामनियोननिदुक्ताः पाशमद्या-
 25 रिक्कुलपुत्राधिकता भटान्वादिष विभूतपूर्वा(व्यं)पाशया-
 26 ज्ञापयितव्याः [1*] विदितमनु य(यो) यवे(वे)पाश्याभिराक-
 27 नो यमोमुर्वन्तविजयेत्यर्थेवपुष्टये इडामुवदिता-
 28 त्ममाकानुपुष्टाय वैत्रयिके यमस्वाने यपूर्वदत्ता(त्ता) उदक-
 29 पूर्वम्पतिवृष्टः [1] यथास्त्रोचिताम्यूर्वरा(रा)नु(मता) वातु-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 30 श्री(श्री)वासा(वा)हारमयादाचित्तमः [1*] तद्यथा यकरदावी यम-

* The medial 's' sign is faintly seen on the plate.

* Read सुताज्ञो.

* So in the Samal and Chammak plates. Read प्रसादपुत्रासुत्तमः.

* Read राजकीयमनेन.

* The engraver has repeated a strongly inclined stroke on the left of न.

* Read यमोमुर्वन्तविजयेत्यर्थे.

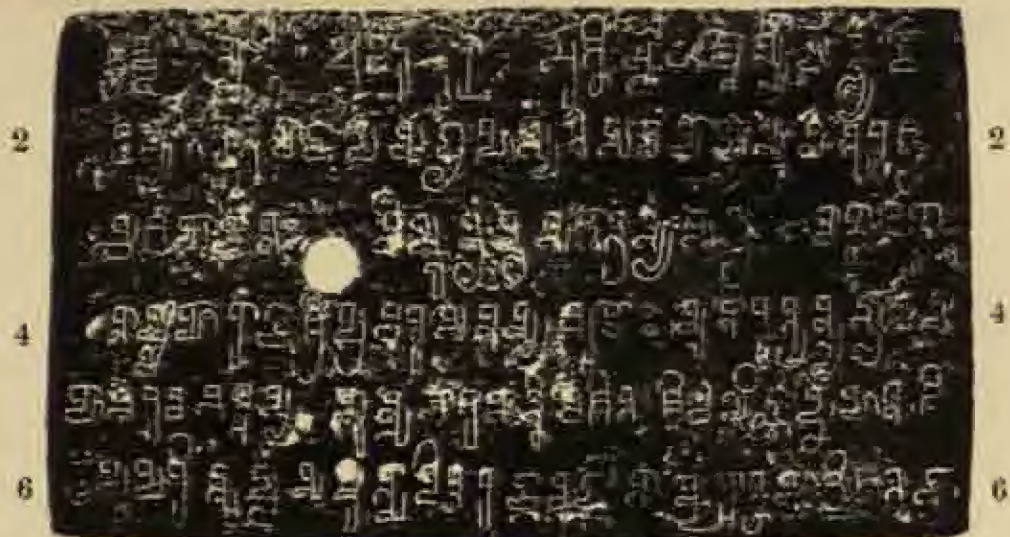
* It is better to read विदितम्.

* The engraver first incised the Sanskrit letter on the and then tried to convert it into Devanagari by adding a vertical stroke in the middle of the character. Contrast the proper form of य in l. 32.

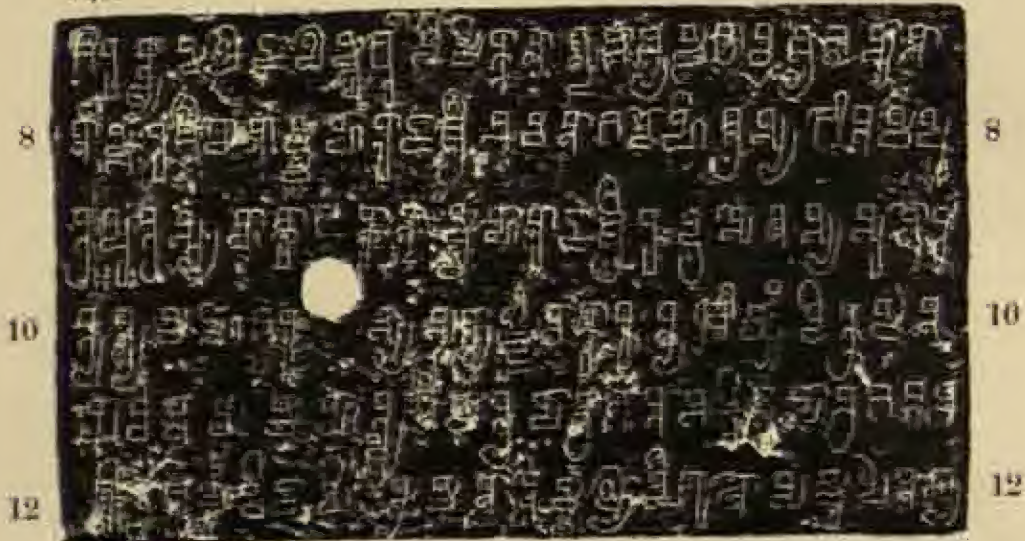
* The Sanskrit form यवा in l. 26 seems to qualify some word like यमः. यमिष्यन् is, therefore, required here. The writer has, however, used the masculine form throughout, as he has blunderly copied the usual form for the grant of a village (यमः). [The intended reference here may be to the question mentioned in l. 30 in which case the Sanskrit should be converted into Devanagari. Apparently the two meanings of land constituted the grant made to the temple and an exemption like agricultural land has been raised by Prof. Minaka in this note and the next do not seem to be justified by themselves, the objections raised by Prof. Minaka in this note and the next do not seem to be justified.—Ed.]

* Read यमोदायितमः. The writer has forgotten that the present grant was made to a temple and not to Brahmins as in the four last. See also यमोदायितमः in ll. 20-21 below. Some of the prohibitions and exemptions laid down here are appropriate only in the case of a whole village.

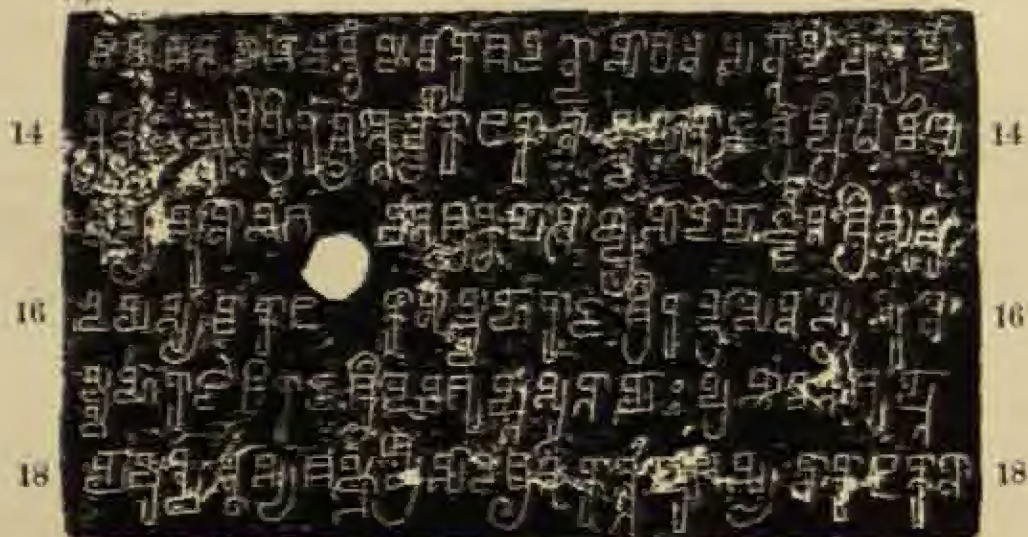
i.



ii.a.



ii.b.



iii, a.

20

20
22

20

22

iii, b.

24

24
26
28

24

26

28

iv, a.

30

30
32
34

30

32

34

- 31 च्छ(च्छा)वपावेयः अपारंपरगोस्तिवर्हः अयुमचौरसन्दोहः[*] च-
 32 पा(चा)रा'मन्वचर्माज्जा(का)रः अन्वचर्मेचिन्नकः सर्ववे(वि)ष्टिपरीडा-
 33 रपरिहृतः[*] सनिधिः सोपनिधिस्त्रिजि(कु)र्माप(कु)र्माः आबन्दादित्यका-
 34 लोयः पुत्रपौत्रातुमाप्नो भुज्यमान(नी) न केनचिद्दगाचोतयितव्यः
 35 सर्वज्ञ(जि)याभिज्ञ(सं)रचितव्य-परिवर्धितव्यश्च [1*] य[या]मच्छासनम-

Fourth Plate: Second Side.

- 36 मन्वयमानः[*] स्वल्पामपि परिवाधां कुर्यात्कारवीत वा' तस्य ब्राह्म-
 37 र्थैर्वैदितस्य मदण्डनिपुणं कुर्यामः(म) [1*] अस्मिन् वसोदरक-
 38 [२*]वि प्रतीकानेकराजदत्ता(त्त)मञ्जितपरिपावन'कृतपुत्रा(पुत्र)
 39 तुकीर्तनपरिहारात्वं'व कीर्तयामः[*] आसगौती चात्र प्रोक्तौ
 40 मन्माजीकर्तव्यौ [1*] सदत्तामरदत्तां जा(या) यो इति वसुधाम् [1*]
 41 मयां मत्तमहस्यस्य वसुध्वरति दुष्कृतम् [२*]

Fifth Plate.

- 42 पटिवर्धमहस्याणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1*] पाचकेता
 43 चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं वसेदिति ॥ [२*] मांस्वस्वरे' सताविहो'
 44 कार्त्तिकवदुत्तपत्तमस्यम्¹¹ सेता तिहाल्लायन-
 45 सन्तकेन लिखित(तं) कालि'दासेन [1*] [कीर्णराजधन्वजेन मुव]¹² म'
 46 कार¹³ ईश्वरदत्तेन स्थात ॥ अस्म्य शासनस्य कारा-
 47 पकी सितामहन्ते ॥

¹ As the stroke for medial *h* at the end of *r* was not quite clear, the scribe seems to have added another at the top.

² Read *kāṇḍī*-*et*.

³ Read *चक्षि*.

⁴ Read *पुत्रपौत्र*.

⁵ The measure is superfluous.

⁶ Measure: *Amśāpāṭh*.

⁷ Read *सुत* [1*] *et* ॥ Measure: *Amśāpāṭh*.

⁸ Read *संस्मर*.

⁹ Read *संस्मर*.

¹⁰ Read *सुत*.

¹¹ What looks like a dot in the middle of the circle for *medie* *f* is probably due to a fault in the plate.

¹² The letters in the brackets and those in the next two lines can be read with certainty on the original plate.

¹³ Read *सुवर्णकारेण*.

The Seal.

- 1 वाकाटक(न)न(न)मस
- 2 क्लमप्राप्तपत्रियः [1*]
- 3 राज्ञ(प्रवरसेनस)
- 4 प्राप्त रिपुप्राप्तन(नम) [2*]

No. 15.—TANDIVADA GRANT OF PRITHIVI-MAHARAJA : 46TH YEAR.

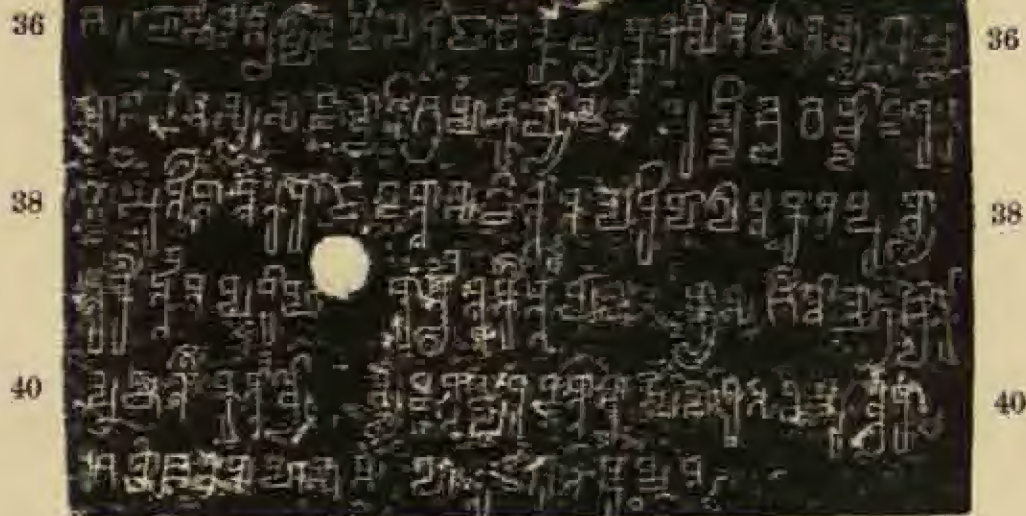
By B. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a set of four copper plates received by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, from M. R. Ry. M. Ramakrishna Kavi Garu, M. A., Assistant Curator, Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, in the year 1917. They are included in Appendix A of the *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras*, as C. P. No. 6 of 1916-17 and described in a slip attached to the impression as follows: "These are four copper-plates oblong in shape and bearing a ring hole of about $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter at about $\frac{1}{8}$ " from the proper right margin. They have writing on six faces in all, the first and the last plates being blank on the outer faces. All the engraved faces have very slightly perceptible rims. The plates have an average thickness of about $\frac{1}{16}$ " and measure about $6\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and a little over 2" in height. It is much to be regretted that the seal of this record, the dynasty of which is not known, is missing."

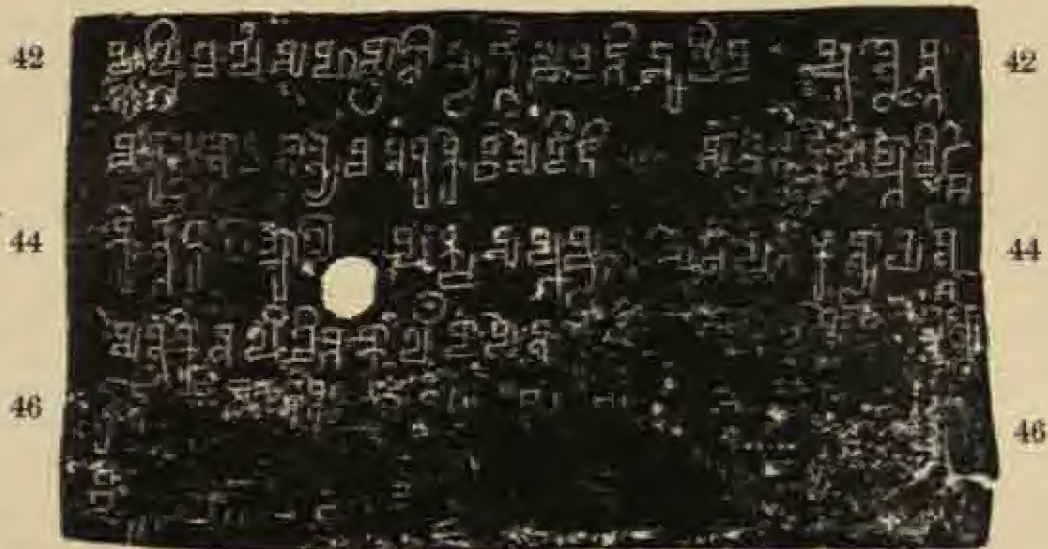
The alphabet is of an early Southern type. It resembles the characters of the Chikkulla plates¹ of Vikramāndravarman, the Pulāṣībūru grant² of Mādhavarman, the Koppuram plates³ of Pulikēśin II and the Cōḍavari plates⁴ of Prithivīmūla. The letters of the British Museum plates⁵ of Chāruḍēvi and the Iṭṭi plates⁶ of Dēvarman's son Mādhavarman are angular in shape and more antique than those of the present inscription. The Pulibūmra grant⁷ and the Peddavēgi plates,⁸ both belonging to the Eastern Chālukya king Jayasimha I., appear to be written in more developed characters. Thus the alphabet of the present inscription may be said to belong to the period between the dates of these two sets of inscriptions, i.e., to the beginning of the 7th century A.D. The letters *i* and *n* are not distinguished here by a loop as both have a similar shape except that the right curve of *i* is continued on the left side at the bottom. The medial long *i* is distinguished from the short one by an inside curl at the top as in *Prithivī-Mahārāja* (l. 8) and *Prithivīśarmasamāja* (l. 14). The initial *a* is used thrice (ll. 11, 19 & 24) and *ā* in two places (ll. 23 & 26). Orthography is generally free from errors. The language is Sanskrit prose with the exception of the three verses at the end.

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 192.² *M. E. S.*, 1913-14, C. P. No. 7; *J. A. S. E.*, Vol. VI, pp. 17 & 18.³ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 237.⁴ *J. B. S. E. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 114.⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 143 & 144.⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 337.⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 234.⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 238.

in, b.



o.



Seal.



The object of the record is to register a grant of the *agrichāra* village Tāndivāda in Pāṇḍyāra-*vāḥa* made from Pishṭapura by Prithivī-Mahārāja of the Kāśyapa-gotra who bore the *virada* Śrīraṃa,¹ son of Vikramēndra and grandson of Mahārāja Raṇadurjaya, to Bhavaśarmā of the Kāmakhyana-gotra, who was the son of Prithivīśarma and grandson of Viśhṇuśarma and was a resident of Kōṇḍamañchi, on the full-moon day of Kārtika in the 46th year of his reign. The *Ajāpati* of the grant was Rāmalagpurāja. The donor is extolled as meditating on the feet of his parents, a *parama-brahmavijaya* and as having subdued the whole circle of the *śāmanas*. His father Vikramēndra is not given the regal title *Mahārāja*, which perhaps indicates that he did not rule at all or his rule was very short and uneventful. The donee is described as a scholar well-versed in the Yōda, Vēdāṅga, Nyāya, Upanishad and Yōga and in 'three thousand sciences' (*trīsahasra-vidyā*) and as the author of twenty commentaries (*vyākhyāna*). His father, Prithivīśarma, had mastered the three thousand sciences and could expound and comment on them and his grandfather, Viśhṇuśarma, had studied the Śruti and Smṛiti and performed the *Agnichōpa* and other sacrifices.

There is no clue in the record to find out the exact period when Prithivī-Mahārāja lived. The language, phraseology and the 'formal elements'² of the inscription are strictly official and unostentatious and remind us of the Sanskrit charters of the early Pallava kings, the plates of the Śālanākāyana and the Viśhṇukundina, the Rāgōla plates of Śaktivarman, etc. As stated above, the alphabet belongs to about the beginning of the 7th century A.D. Since it is known from the Alaijō inscription³ and the Timmāputam plates⁴ that Pishṭapura passed to the Eastern Chālukyas after its conquest by Pulikēśa II and remained in their hands since then, the present record must be assigned to a period prior to that event. A clear understanding of the political situation in the East Coast before the time of Pulikēśa (II)'s expedition will help us to determine the most approximate time when Prithivī-Mahārāja might have lived.

The earliest epigraphical reference to Pishṭapura is found in the Allahābād Pillar inscription⁵ of Samudragupta (4th century A.D.) which shows that the city was held by Mahēndra⁶ at the time of the Gupta king's southern expedition. The Rāgōla plates⁷ which may belong paleographically to the 6th century A.D., were issued from Pishṭapura which was evidently the capital of the Kālīāga king Vālaśthīputra Śaktivarman who calls himself "an ornament of the Māthara family". The Kipḍōṇṇa grant of Ananīavarman 'Lord of Kālīāga' who belonged to the

¹ See note 1, p. 89.

² Dr. G. Stein quotes that the "formal elements" in inscriptions "serve as a guide for chronological considerations, when other sources are lacking", see the *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. IX, pp. 215 ff.

³ Above, Vol. VI, p. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 317.

⁵ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 7.

⁶ This Mahēndra has been conjectured to be a king of the Pallava family (*The Goddard Ind. Quart.*, p. 161). This does not, however, seem likely, since (Pallava) Viśhṇugupta of Kāśchī is mentioned separately in the same epigraph. Further, there is no evidence to show that the Pallava territory had extended in the north beyond Kāmarāṣṭra, the modern Ganjam District, since the Śālanākāyana Bhavīśarma was holding the Vāṇa country (i.e., the Kāṇṇa District) at this period. We know that the Chandellur plates of Kumāraśālan and the Cūṇḍa plates 1 and 2 mention Kāmarāṣṭra as the district under the control of the Pallavas. The towns of Palaklāda, Dāṇḍapura and Mānānāṭra from where the Sanskrit charters were issued, were probably situated in this district (cf. Dānēnūl: *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 98). And Kāmarāṣṭra-*śālan* of the Śālanākāyana is identical with Cūdrāśāra of the later inscriptions, which comprised portions of the Kāṇṇa District.

⁷ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 24. The alphabet is similar to that of the Kōṇḍaga plates of the early Kāṇṇa king Śiva-Mānāśāstavarman. Compare also the Brāhmagōṇḍa inscription of Uṇḍavarman and the Kōṇḍa plates of Chāṇḍavarman which are assigned to the first quarter of the 6th century A.D. (*Ancient History of the Deccan* by J. Dānēnūl, p. 94).

Vāṣiṣṭha-śāstra is also stated to have been issued from Vijaya-Piṣṭapurādhishṭhāna.¹ After Anantavarman, Piṣṭapura appears to have been a bone of contention between the kings of Kalinga and the Viṣṇukundins of Deṇḍalūra who had succeeded the Śaṭṭāyamas in the Kistna and a part of the Guntur Districts, and ultimately to have passed into the hands of the latter whom the Chālukyas of Bidlān conquered in the first half of the 7th century A.D. Since, as stated above, the present charter belongs paleographically to this period, it is necessary to find out exactly when and in what capacity Piṭhivī-Mahārāja ruled at Piṣṭapura during the Viṣṇukundin supremacy in the east coast. This object cannot be accomplished, as is evident from the sequel, without a full discussion of the genealogy and chronology of the Viṣṇukundin kings.

The most important document of the Viṣṇukundin family is the Pulāṁbūrṇa grant of Janāśraya-Mahārāja Mādhavarman III issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Phālguna in the 48th year² of the king's reign. During the period of about seventy years in the sixth and the seventh centuries to which the record may be assigned on paleographic grounds, lunar eclipse in the month of Phālguna occurred in the following years: (1) A.D. 593, February 21, Saturday; (2) A.D. 594, February 10, Wednesday; (3) A.D. 612, February 23, Tuesday; (4) A.D. 621, February 12, Thursday; (5) A.D. 639, February 23, Tuesday and (6) A.D. 653, February 23, Friday. Of these, on (1) and (3), the eclipse was not visible in India; (2) is too early for the 48th year of a king who was defeated, as shown below, in about A.D. 631, by Pulikēśin II or his brother Kubja-Viṣṇuvarddhana; (5) and (6) are too late for the king who had been defeated with his territory annexed to the Chālukya dominions prior to them. Hence the date of the Pulāṁbūrṇa grant may be equated with A.D. 621, February 12, Thursday on which day the lunar eclipse was visible in India.³ It is noteworthy that this grant furnishes a few synchronisms for determining the genealogy and chronology of the Viṣṇukundin dynasty. Janāśraya-Mahārāja Mādhavarman is described with the significant epithet *Trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-purana-yuvati-gona-vishanaya-ratib* (l. 8)⁴ who delighted himself in playing with the maidens in the palace of Trivara-nagara⁵, i.e., the city founded⁶ by Trivara who has been identified in the sequel with Mahāśiva-Tivaraśrēva of Mahākōśala. Secondly, Śivarman, the donor of this record, figures as the father of Rudrarman who was the recipient of a gift in the Pulāṁbūrṇa grant of the Eastern Chālukya king Jayasimha I. In addition to these, other historical and astronomical considerations gathered from the published charters of the family and contemporaneous history will help us considerably in the study of the family. These are: the archaic method of dating the inscriptions in seasons and fortnights; the Vākātaka-Viṣṇukundin relationship in the time of Mādhavarman I; an ancient work⁷ on astrology called *Janāśrayi Chāṇḍīślokiti* written presumably under the patronage of Janāśraya-Mahārāja of the Pulāṁbūrṇa record, which quotes a verse from the *Kirātārjuniya* of Bhāravi; and lastly, the Eastern Chālukya conquest of Kalinga which has an indirect bearing upon the subject. The cumulative evidence of all these points proves, as shown below, that the

¹ *J. A. H. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 123.

² This regnal year is expressed by the numerical symbol ३ which appears to have been made up of ३ standing for 40, (see Kaye in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 32 and Bühler's *Indian Palaeography*, plate IX) and ३ which resembles the one in the Chikkalla plates (l. 23) for 8. Mr. D. C. Sircar, however, takes it to be a single symbol for 40 which lacks epigraphical support (*Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. IX, p. 275, l. n. 2).

³ See Ball's *Eclipses of the Moon in India*.

⁴ Scholars have attempted to identify this place with Tovar in Central India (above, Vol. XVII, p. 234). This is unlikely, since Tovar is known to ancient literature and epigraphy under the name of Tripuri or Tripara.

⁵ Similar instances are not rare in inscriptions. Pravarapura was the city founded by Vākātaka Pravarasena and Yayāti-nagara by Yayāti, otherwise known as Mahāśiva-gupta of the Śamaras family.

⁶ I am indebted to Mr. T. N. Subramaniam for drawing my attention to this work.

Vishnukundina ceased to be an independent ruling power by the middle of the 7th century A.D. and that Janāśreya Mahārāja Mādhavarman was the last king and a later member of the family different from the homonymous king who was probably the originator of the dynasty.

Of the five copper-plate inscriptions belonging to this family, the Ipūr plates (set I)¹ bears a date in the seventh fortnight of the hot season (*griṣma*) and the Ipūr plates (set II)² in the seventh fortnight of the rainy season (*vṛṣa*). Similarly the Chikkulla plates³ are dated in the eighth fortnight of the hot season (*griṣma*). This dating presupposes the division of a year into three seasons of eight fortnights each, which is mentioned in the earliest extant works *Pañcāṅga-jyotiṣa* and the *Brāhmaṇas*. The latest epigraphical instances giving similar dates belong to about the 6th century A.D.⁴

From the Rāmātirītham and the Chikkulla plates we get four generations of kings, viz., Mādhavarman I, his son Vikramēndravarmān I, his son Indrabhaṭṭārākavarman, his son Vikramēndravarmān II. In both the records Mādhavarman is described as a performer of one thousand *Ayāśāṣṭa* and eleven *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. The Ipūr plates (set II) furnish us with the genealogy: Mādhavarman I with the above epithets, his son Dēvavarman, his son Mādhavarman II, the lord of Tukūṭa and Malaya. On account of the common epithets and the relatively early script of the record, Mādhavarman II may be supposed to be the grandson of Mādhavarman I through his another son Dēvavarman. The Ipūr plates (set I) and the Pulichēduru grant should be studied together. The former supplies the pedigree for two generations only, viz., Gōvīndavarman and his son Mādhavarman, while the latter supplements it by adding Gōvīndavarman's father Vikrama[ma]*jāndravarmān.⁵ In both the inscriptions, Mādhavarman is given the additional adjunct *Trivara-nagara*, etc.,⁶ which distinguishes him from the homonymous king Mādhavarman I, mentioned above.⁷ Trivara is evidently the Sanskritised form of Tivara, a Sōmavadhī king of Mahākōśala who flourished about this period and who is the only king of that name known to Indian History. He is also mentioned under this Sanskritised name in the Kōṇḍēḍa and the Nivīnā grants⁸ of the Śaṭṭiḍbhava king Dharmarājādēva. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti who has edited the Nivīnā grant is inclined to think that Tivaraḍēva of Mahākōśala was a contemporary of Dharmarāja, grandson of Mādhavarāja II whom he has identified with Mādhavarāja Sainyabhita of the Ganjīm plates dated in the Gupta Era 300 (A.D. 619-20).⁹ The only known regnal year of Madhyamatāja, son of Mādhavarāja II, being twenty-six, Dharmarāja may have to be placed in the middle

¹ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 324.

² *Ibid.*, p. 337.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 193.

⁴ The Hoai plates of the Kadamba king Harivarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 25). See also above, Vol. XVII, p. 337, l. 2 and Vol. IV, p. 193, l. 2.

⁵ Vikrama[ma]*jāndravarmān is presumably the Vikramēndravarmān II of the Chikkulla plates.

⁶ I find from the impression of the Pulichēduru grant, and of the Ipūr plates (set I) that the *l*-sign in *Trivara* is distinctly long.

⁷ This descriptive clause does not occur in connection with Mādhavarman of the Chikkulla, Rāmātirītham and Ipūr (set II) plates. This is significant and I take that it is a *vyavasthāna* dharmo, which differentiates him from his namesake though there are other adjectives common to both.

⁸ Above, Vols. XIX, pp. 267ff. and XXI, pp. 24 ff.

⁹ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 30.

of the 7th century A.D. and accordingly his opponent Tivaratēva would belong to that period.¹ It is thus clear that Mādhavaravarmā of the Ipūr plates (see I) and the Pulchēnkōru grant, who was a contemporary of Tivara, must be considered to be one and the same person and that he was a later member of the family, in spite of the fact that he bore some of the epithets of Mādhavaravarmā I.² It is noteworthy that the alphabet employed in both the charters belongs roughly to the same period and from the examination of individual letters, it does not appear to differ much from that of the Rāmatirtham and the Chikēnalla plates, whereas the script of the second set of the Ipūr plates is undoubtedly more archaic as remarked by Dr. Hultzsch.

Since Vikramādityavarman is described as an ornament of the Vishnukūṇḍin and the Vākātaka families, his mother must have been a Vākātaka princess. According to Mr. Dubreuil, this Vākātaka princess was the daughter or the grand-daughter of Rudrasēna II whose son Pravarasēna II placed his relative Vishnukūṇḍin Mādhava (I) on the throne of Vēngi by uprooting the Śālanakāyanas in the 6th century A.D.³ But neither Rudrasēna II nor his son Pravarasēna II is known to have conquered any of the territories in the East Coast. On the other hand Harishēna, the last Vākātaka king (c. 599 A.D.) is stated in the Ajantā inscription to have conquered Kuntala, Avanti, Kābhāga, Kōśala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa and Āndhra, and it is very likely that he contracted some matrimonial alliance with Mādhava I and with his help defeated the kings of the East Coast as stated above.

Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman, who has been identified with Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Gōḍāvari plates of Prithivīmūla,⁴ was an opponent of Adhirāja Indra who may possibly be the same person as the donor of the Jirūṅgi plates⁵ dated in the year 39 of the Ganga era. If the view of some scholars⁶ that the era was started in about A.D. 496 be correct, the date of this grant would be about A.D. 535. According to the Chikēnalla plates Indrabhaṭṭāraka defeated all the *śiṅḡas* in battle. We do not know of any *śiṅḡas* excepting the members of the collateral branch, viz., Dēvavarman and his son Mādhavaravarmā II. Since, as shown below, the Vishnukūṇḍins ceased

¹ Fleet and Kishore have placed Tivara in about the 8th century A.D. (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 255; above, Vol. IV, p. 239). The Sripur Lakshmana Temple inscription of Mahādīvagupta (above, Vol. XI, p. 184) is written in characters of about the 6th century A.D. Hence his grant-uncle Tivara would belong to the middle of the 7th century A.D. More likely, he lived to the beginning of the 8th century. Tivaratēva appears to have had a long reign, since there is a reference to Tivara-angura in the Ipūr plates (set I) dated in the 37th regnal year (i.e., A.D. 616) of Mādhavaravarmā III whose 18th year has been equated with A.D. 621. This date would no doubt be too early for him if it is assumed with Prof. H. H. Bhattacharya (above, Vol. XVIII, p. 240) that Chandragupta mentioned in the Sūrya plates of Amoghavarsha as the contemporary of Gōvinda III (A.D. 760-814) was the son of Nannayana, and brother of Tivaratēva of Mahākūṇḍa. But for reasons stated above, he cannot be identified with the brother of Tivaratēva.

² The late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastry has expressed a similar opinion in *M. E. R.* for 1913-14, pp. 6 and 162. [But the inscription of Mādhavaravarmā in these two sets of plates as a 'performer of eleven āśvamedha sacrifices and one thousand brahmarakṣas or *svayambhūtas*' seems to show that he may not be different from Mādhava I of the other Vishnukūṇḍin charters. It may also be pointed out that, according to Dr. Hultzsch, the palaeography of the Ipūr plates (first set) is earlier than those of the Rāmatirtham and Chikēnalla plates (above, Vol. XVII, p. 334).—Ed.]

³ *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 74. We know that the principality of Vēngi and Kandrakūṭa was held by the Śālanakāyanas up to the 6th century A.D. (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 29 ff.)

⁴ *O. R. I. S. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 114 ff. and above, Vol. IV, pp. 193 ff.

⁵ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 40 ff.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 237.

to be an independent ruling power before A.D. 631,¹ all the kings of the family must be accommodated in the interval of about 131 years (circa 500-631). According to our scheme of the genealogy there will be only six kings in the main line who can be very reasonably fitted in in this period. But if the kings Dēvavarman and Mādhavavarman II are also to be included, there will be in all eight kings among whom the regnal years 10, 27, 48 and 47 are so far known for four kings. Granting that these are the last regnal years of the respective kings, the periods of their reign will cover at least 132 years which is in excess of the allotted interval and we will be driven to the contingency of eliminating the remaining four kings from the family. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Dēvavarman and his son Mādhavavarman II belonged to the collateral branch and held a small principality in the Vishnukundin territory.

Vikramādityavarman II, the eldest son of Indrabhāgāraka, as stated in his Chikkalla plates, appears to have become king even as a child, which perhaps indicates that his father died young leaving his eldest son only a child and consequently his rule might not have extended beyond 27 years. The next king was Mahārāja Gōvindavarman who bore the *brhade* Vikramāditya. Lastly his son Mādhavavarman III was the most powerful king of the family who bore the distinguished *brhade* Janāśraya-Mahārāja.

Mādhavavarman III, Janāśraya-Mahārāja, must have been the last crowned king of the Vishnukundin dynasty from whom the Eastern Chālukyas conquered portions of their eastern possessions. He must have lived some time after Bhāravi, the celebrated author of *Kirātārjunīya*. For, there is an ancient work on prosody called *Janāśrayi Utkandāśicāt*² which quotes the verse **अथ वासवस्य वचनेन**, etc., of Bhāravi³ under the *Udgatā-prakaraṇa*. The work must have been named after Janāśraya-Mahārāja of the Vishnukundin family, who is the only king of that name in the whole range of Indian History.⁴ We know from the *Arantamandorikāśā* that poet Dāmodara was introduced to the presence of prince Vishnuvarddhana by Bhāravi.⁵ Consequently Bhāravi must have lived in the Court of Vishnuvarddhana who is no other than Kubja-Vishnuvarddhana, the younger brother of Pulikēsin II.⁶ Since Ravikīrti compares himself to Kālidāsa and Bhāravi in the Aihole inscription of A.D. 634, Bhāravi must have been well known as a great poet by A.D. 634. It is probable that he flourished about 600 A.D.⁷ and Janāśraya-Mahārāja lived some time after that date. This date can be determined to some extent by the following synchronism. The king is stated in the Pulimūrta grant to have endowed the village Pulimūrta in Guddavādi-*śikṣaya* upon Śivadarma, son of Dāmadarma and grandson of

¹ [In spite of the arguments of the author, it is not impossible that the Vishnukundins were struggling hard to maintain their independence in some portion of their territory even after A.D. 631. The description of Indravarmān in the Rāmavarmān and Chikkalla plates as 'having gained victories in several *chāturvakra* battles' might also indicate the same state of affairs.—Ed.]

² The work is published partially in the *Pirumalai Śrī T-sāhitya* by Mr. M. Ramakrishna Karj, M.A.

³ *Kirātārjunīya*, XII.1.

⁴ The opening verse in the work describes the king with the *brhade* Janāśraya, as having celebrated several sacrifices. This is in keeping with the account given in the Pulimūrta grant and the Ipūr-plates (*first set*). See *A Tricentennial Catalogue of Manuscripts 1925-26 to 1927-28*, Madras, Introduction p. 1 and P. No. 3042. [From the information available at present it is not certain whether Janāśraya refers to a different ruler or is an abbreviation of Aram-Janāśraya which was a surname of the Gujjarī Chālukya king Pulakēśvara.—Ed.]

⁵ See the correct text of the relevant passage of the *Kāśhā* in *J. Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. III, p. 169.

⁶ As Vishnuvarddhana is called merely *śikṣa-sena* in the *Arantamandorikāśā*, p. 6, it is probable that he had not yet become king.

⁷ This date is rendered plausible by the fact that Dāmodara, after staying with Vishnuvarddhana for a short period, went to the court of the Gujja king Durvīkita, whose last date in the Ośga chronology cannot be beyond A.D. 600.

Rudrāśarma of the *Gautama-gotra* and *Taittirīka-śākhā*. The same village was granted by the Eastern Chālukya king Jayasimha I in his 15th regnal year (A.D. 648) to the *pūrvāgrahārta* Rudrāśarma of the *Gautama-gotra*, who was the son of Śivāśarma and grandson of Dāmanāśarma. It is evident that this Rudrāśarma was the son of Śivāśarma, the donee of the Pulcūbhūra grant. The word *pūrvāgrahārta* indicates that he was in the enjoyment of the village for some time after his father, and that he had lost it during some troublous period, or his title to the village was contested and confirmed by a fresh order after the change of political power from the Vishnukundins to the Eastern Chālukyas. This latter event took place probably some time before A.D. 631 when the Koppuram plates of Pulikēśin II were issued. For, we learn from this copper-plate grant that Kummārāśhṭra, which had been included in the Pallava and the Vishnukundin kingdoms formerly, formed part of the Chālukya country at the time. A study of the political history of the Kālīṅga kingdom at this period would help us in fixing the date more precisely. The Chitpurupalle grant¹ of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana records the gift of land by the king from his camp at Chitpurūra in *Plakī-śāhya* to two Brahmins, Viśhṇuśarma and Mādhanvāśarma, sons of Durgasarma, who belonged to the *Gautama-gotra*, in his 18th regnal year, i.e., A.D. 632. In the Achyutapuram plates² of the Eastern Gaṅga king Indravarman bearing a date in the year 87 of the Gaṅga era, the donee is stated to be Durgasarma of the *Gautama-gotra*. This date may be equated with A.D. 581 provided the initial year of the Gaṅga era is accepted to be A.D. 496. It is very likely that the donees of the Chitpurupalle grant were the sons of the donee in the Gaṅga record.³ If this is correct, the southern portion of the Kālīṅga country must have been conquered and annexed by the Chālukyas some time between A.D. 581 and 632. This period is brought into a narrower compass by the statement in the Aihole inscription (A.D. 634) that kings of Kālīṅga and Kōśalā submitted of their own accord, to the increasing power of Pulikēśin II (A.D. 619). It may be noted that the *Varāhavarpuṭ-śāhya* of the Gaṅga grants was situated close to the *Plakī-śāhya* (or *śāhīra*) and that the latter district had been a debatable ground between the Vishnukundins and the Eastern Gaṅgas for a long time. The Eastern Gaṅgas appear to have occupied it for some time after the date of the Rāmātrītham plates of Indravarman (*cir.* 535). It is probably to west back this province that Mādhanva III started on an expedition to the Eastern region (*prāpāṭik*) as recorded in his Pulcūbhūra grant, the result of which is, however, not known. The conquests of South Kālīṅga and the territory of the Vishnukundins must possibly have been effected in one and the same campaign by Pulikēśin II. Since Tivradēva lived, as shown above, in the middle of the 7th century⁴, it is possible that Mādhanvavarman⁵ of the Vishnukundin

¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 287-8.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 10.

³ Above, Vol. III, pp. 127-8.

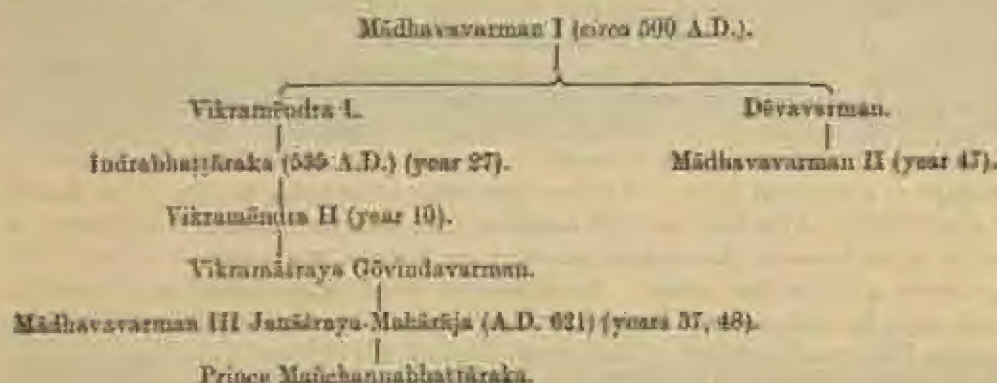
⁴ [But it may be noted that while the two sons of Durgasarma of the Chitpurupalle plates were followers of the *Taittirīya-śākhā*, which is a branch of the *Yajurvēda*, Durgasarma of the Achyutapuram plates was a Belharsa of the *Chhandoga* school which is a *śākhā* of the *Sāmaveda*.—Ed.]

⁵ Prof. V. V. Mirashi postulates two Tivradēvas in the *Somavamsi* family and thinks that Tivara who was a contemporary of the Vishnukundin Mādhanva was an earlier member and lived between A.D. 525-568 (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 15-8). But among the *Somavamsi* kings there is only one Tivradēva known so far (above, Vol. XI, p. 167). And such an early date is not possible for Mādhanva who must have been an immediate predecessor in time of the Eastern Chālukya king Jayasimha I (*ibid.*, p. 21, l. n. 3 and Bhanderkar's *Northern List*, p. 295, l. n. 3).

⁶ The Kōṣṭhāṭṭha and Nirmā grants of Bharmarāja mention a certain Mādhanva, who contemplated to oust the elderly relations (*prachīnāśāhīn*) from the country, but being failed in his attempt took shelter under Tivradēva and was ultimately defeated along with his master at the foot of the Vindhya hill. Since this Mādhanva is supposed to be a prince of the Śālīṅghara family, he cannot be identified with the Vishnukundin king of that name, though it happens that the latter had also contracted some political or matrimonial alliance with Tivradēva.

family ruled for some time after A.D. 619, the date of the Ganjām plates, and was subsequently defeated by Pulikēsin II or Kubbja-Vishnu. As we have shown above that the date of the Pulombūru grant would fall in A.D. 621, we may conclude that the Chālukya conquest of the Vishnukundins was accomplished between A.D. 621 and A.D. 631.

With the facts set forth above, the genealogy¹ of the family with known regnal years and approximate dates for a few kings is given below for easy reference :



The name of Vikramāditya, the father of Prithivi-Mahārāja of the present record may perhaps suggest some relationship with the Vishnukundins among whom that name is found twice. It is not impossible that Prithivi-Mahārāja's father Vikramāditya was a subordinate of Vikramādityavarman who was the grandfather of Mādhavarman, the donor of the Pulombūru grant. This surmise finds support from the fact that Pishāpura, the capital of Prithivi-Mahārāja, was situated within the limits of the Vishnukundin dominions which comprised the country to the south of Kāliṅga up to the present Guntur district which was the northern limit of the

¹ Dr. Hultzsch's arrangement of the genealogy (above, Vol. XVII, pp. 334 and 337) comes into conflict with the pedigree given in the present record. According to him, Gōvindaharman's father would be Mādhavarman, whereas his name is given as Vikramāditya in the Pulombūru grant. A recent writer on the subject (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IX, pp. 275 f.) thinks that Mādhava III of the Pulombūru grant is identical with Mādhava I as both are stated to have performed eleven *Aśvamedhas* and one thousand *Agnihōtra* sacrifices. He holds that the family rose to political power in A.D. 300 under Vikramāditya, grandfather of Mādhava and continued to rule till the 6th century A.D. when it was completely overthrown by the Chālukyas. This view is not tenable. For, he has not taken into account the palaeographic evidence of the charters while constructing the history of the family. According to him, Ipūr plates (set I) and the Pulombūru grant would be earlier than the Ipūr plates (set II) whose script has been declared by Dr. Hultzsch to be more archaic than that of the other charters of the family (see also *Madras Epigraphical Report* 1913-14, pp. 6 and 102). Further, he has not considered the important synchronism with the Mahākāśala king Tivradēva in the time of Mādhava (III) and the reference contained in the *Janāraya Chāndēśikā* mentioned above. And we find from the records of Pulikēsin II, Kubbja-Vishnuvardhana, Jayasinha I, Tyāgadhēna Indravarman and his successors that portions of the Vizagapatam, Godavari, Kistna and Guntur Districts, which comprised the Vishnukundin territory, were held by the Chālukyas since the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. and it is impossible that the Vishnukundins could have ruled as independent kings in that region after A.D. 631 when, according to the Koppāram and the Timmāpūram plates, the Eastern Chālukya rule had been fully established. [See note I on p. 93.—Ed.]

Pallava territory, as can be gathered from the situations of villages or divisions mentioned in the Rāmatirtham, Chikkulla, and Ipūr plates (see I) and the Pulombūru grant and also from the stone inscription of Vishvakupḍin Mādhavarvarman at Vēlpūru in the Sattansapālē Taluk of the Guntur district. Simultaneously with the subjugation of the Vishvakupḍins by Pulikēśa II and occupation of their territory by his brother Kubja-Vishnavarddhana, Prithivī-Mahārāja, the ruler of Pishāpura, appears to have held out against the Chālukyan attack for a while and finally to have sustained a crushing defeat in the fight. For, we definitely know from the Tinnāpuram-plates that Kubja-Vishnavarddhana was in possession of Pishāpura which is mentioned as his secondary capital (*śaṅkha*). It is, therefore, quite plausible that Pulikēśa II captured the fortress of Pishāpura from the hands of Prithivī-Mahārāja who must have lived in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. This period perfectly agrees with the palaeographical evidence of the record.

It is noteworthy that the present inscription is the only early record that makes mention of **Raṇadurjaya** as a historical person. We know that many of the ruling families in the Eastern Deccan, who flourished in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D., trace their descent from Durjaya or Raṇadurjaya whose name and place in their genealogy are, however, not certain on account of the varying accounts given in their records. The Kākaiyās,¹ the Konjāpādumapī² and Velanāḍu³ Chiefs each claim for their ancestor Durjaya or Raṇadurjaya. The Ganavapūḍi grant⁴ of Gāpāpati mentions Prōla as a descendant of Raṇadurjaya-Durjaya who belonged to the Karikāl-*śreṅga*. The most important document of this later period, which gives a glimpse into the period of Raṇadurjaya, is the Tāndavōḷi inscription⁵ of Buddharāja which appears to embody a genuine historical tradition. It is stated in it that the Konjāpādumapī chief Buddharāja was the lion of the mountain, the Durjaya family—which shows that Durjaya was the originator of his family—and had for an ancestor one Buddharvarman who belonged to the fourth caste and was a servant of king Kubja-Vishṇu of the lunar race who conferred on him the country west of the hill, which contained 73 villages. Kubja-Vishṇu is, evidently, the brother of Pulikēśa II, who ruled from A.D. 615 to 633 in the Vēṅḷ country. Buddharvarman's date, accordingly, falls in this period. Durjaya, who was his ancestor, must have lived some time before the 7th century A.D. Since Karikālā is said to be his limal ancestor whose date has been approximately fixed to fall in the 5th century A.D.,⁶ it is possible that Durjaya lived in the intermediate period and most probably in the 6th century A.D.; and his grandson Prithivī-Mahārāja, who had a long reign of at least 46 years, must have begun to rule in the latter half of that century.

The record does not disclose the name of the **dynasty** to which Prithivī-Mahārāja belonged. It only states that he belonged to the Kākāyapa-*gētra*. It is clear from the foregoing discussion that Durjaya was a descendant of Karikālā-Chōḷa. The Chōḷa king Puṇyakumāra of the Gūddapāl District belonged to the Kākāyapa-*gētra* and Karikāl-*śreṅga*.⁷ The Chōḷa Satyōditya, son of Vikramāditya, was of the same *gētra* and family.⁸ The Chōḷas of Tanjore also are known to have

¹ Above, Vol. V, p. 142; *ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 248 ff.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 892; above, Vol. VI, pp. 268 ff.

³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 23 ff.; the pedigree given in the Pithāpuram Pillar inscription is a jumble of confused traditions. It contains two Raṇadurjayas among the ancestors of Prithivīśvara.

⁴ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 346.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 268 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 340.

⁷ Above, Vol. XI, p. 245.

⁸ *Ibid.*

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[illegible]

10.
 26
 28
 28

belonged to the Kāśyapa-gotra.¹ It is therefore very likely that Rāṇadurjaya was a Chōja and his ancestors had settled in the Eastern Deccan, like their brethren in the Rānāṇḍu country, in some early period. It may be noted that Rāṇadurjaya was a member of the fourth caste as can be gathered from the Tandavōlu inscription referred to above.

Of the places mentioned in the record, **Piṣṭapura** is well-known as the ancient name of Piṣṭapuram in the East Godavari District. **Pāṇupāra-vishaya** in which the village Tāṇḍivāḍa was situated is the same as Pāṇavāra-vishaya of the Vādarani plates² of Ammarāja II, Pāṇavara-vishaya occurring in a grant³ of Bhīma II, and Pāṇavara-vishaya of a record⁴ of Viśhṇuwardhana V. This *vishaya* appears to have comprised the modern Tanuku Taluk of the Kistna District as can be seen from the stone inscriptions at Juttiga in that Taluk.⁵ **Tāṇḍivāḍa** might be identical with Tāḍiparru in the Tanuku Taluk.⁶ **Kōṇḍamañchi**, where the donee resided, I am not able to identify.

TEXT.⁷

First Plate.

- 1 स्रक्षि⁸ [1^{*}] चौमपिष्टपुरावकनजगदशनसमुद्रुतकीर्ति-
- 2 चारुचन्द्रिकासमुद्यो⁹(द्यो)तितदिगत(त्त)रस्य म-
- 3 हारजरणदुर्जयस्य सूनोक्षमति-
- 4 शवितशक्रविभूतेर्बिकमेन्द्रस्य प्रियतनय[:^{*}]

Second Plate; First Side.

- 5 प्रवर्द्धमानप्रतापोपनतसमस्तसामन्तमण्डल(की) निज-
- 6 भुजविजयोदयाधिगतयशोविशेषभूषणः श्रीरम[:^{*}]
- 7 काश्यपसमीपः परमब्रह्मणो मातापितृपा-
- 8 दानुष्मात[:] चौमिषिवी¹⁰महाराजः पाणुणारविषये ताण्डि-
- 9 वाडपासमधिवसतसे(सतस्र)ब्धसमवेताब्जटि(टु)म्बिनस[मा]त्राय-

¹ See the Tiruvāṅkōḍi plates and the Kanyākumārī inscription and the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1903, p. 40.

² Above, Vol. IX, p. 133.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 213.

⁴ *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1913-14, C. P. No. 6.

⁵ Nos. 734 and 736 of 1920 of the *M. E. R.* for 1921.

⁶ *List of Villages in the Madras Presidency*, p. 344.

⁷ From an ink-impression.

⁸ This word is engraved in the margin to the left of the ring hole near the third line of the text.

⁹ [There is also a root *yut*.] *Madras*,—B. C. C.]

¹⁰ Read 'चौमिषी'

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 10 यति यथा। अतिम्ह(म्ह)तिपारद्वनः यथावदनुहिताम्ह(म्ह)टी-
 11 मादिक्रियापूतात्मनो विष्णुशर्मणः पुत्राय पसकदिज्या-
 12 प्रयोगपरायमाष्टविंशतित्विक्क-
 13 दस्यसम्हः विसहस्रविद्याध्ययनप्रवचनव्याख्यान-
 14 गौलिनः त्रिविधो(पुत्रिवी)शर्मणः पुत्राय वेदवेदाङ्गन्याय(यो)प-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 15 निययोग(गा)ववोधनिर्भलीकृतवृद्धये त्रिविधाध्वरावमुद्या-
 16 आपवितीकृतविषहाय देवपितृमनुष्यसमर्चन-
 17 समानोतराचिन्दिवाय कोण्डमञ्चियामनिवासिने
 18 विसहस्रविद्याय विंशतिव्याख्यानाय कामकायनम-
 19 गोत्राय द्व(म्ह)त्योमस्रज्जाचारिणे भवशर्मणे अस्मदाय-

Third Plate; Second Side

- 20 रारा(रो)ष्ययशोभिहृदये सर्वकरपरिहारणासहारी-
 21 कृत्य शर्मोयन्दराः न कैचिदपि वाचा करणीया [1^a] प्र-
 22 [व^a]र्हमानविजयराजमवसरे यद्वत्पारी(दि)मि
 23 कार्त्तिकपोर्णमास्थान्मर्मप्रदानमेतत् [1^a] याज्ञति[1^a] श्रीराम-
 24 लेण्टराजः [1^a] यत्र व्यासगौता[1^a] लोकाः [1^a] बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता

Fourth Plate.

- 25 बहुभिचानुपाजिता [1^a] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमित(स्त)स्य तस्य
 26 तदा फलम् [1^a] स्वदत्तां परदत्ता(त्तां) वा यज्जाद्वय सुधिभि(हि)र ।
 27 मर्हो मर्होमतां येष्ट धर्मोच्छेदीनुपासनं [1^a]
 28 चास्फोटयन्ति पितरो वलान्ति प्रपितामहाः² ॥(1)
 29 भूमिदाता कुले जातः (1) स नलाता भविष्यति ॥

¹ Read दीशम.² The reverse is faintly visible in the impression.³ Generally the reading of this plate is *pravalgani pitamahā*.

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-8.) Hail! From the illustrious Pishtapura, **Sri Prithivi-Mahārāja**—who has meditated on the feet of his parents, who is extremely pious, who belongs to the **Kātyapa-gotra**, who has subdued the whole circle of the **Sāmantas** by his ever increasing prowess and has as his ornament the distinguishing fame acquired by the rise of victory of his arms, who is the lord of wealth¹—dear son of **Vikramēndra** who had excelled India in prosperity, who was the son of **Maḥārāja Rājadurjaya** who had lighted the whole region of the quarters by the beautiful moonlight, the fame arising from the protection of the whole world,

(Lil. 8-10.) commands all the **śūpas** assembled together, who are the residents of **Tāpdivāḍa** in **Pāgunāra-viśāḍa**, that

(Lil. 10-21.) this village (i.e., **Tāpdivāḍa**) has been made into an **agrahāra** and conferred, free of all imposts, for the increase of our life, health and fame, upon **Bhavaśārtman**, who is a student of **Chhandōga** (school), belongs to the **Kāmatāyana-gotra**, has studied three thousand sciences and (written) twenty commentaries, a resident of the village **Kōṇḍamañchi**, is spending days and nights in worshipping the gods, the *pitṛs* and mankind, whose body has been purified by the water of sacred ablution in various sacrifices, whose intellect has been clarified by the knowledge of the **Vēdas**, **Vēdikāgas**, **Nyāya**, **Upaishāda** and **Yōga**—son of **Prithivīśārtman** whose habit it was to study, teach and comment on the three thousand sciences, and whose prosperity was revealed among the priests (*ṛitvīḥ*) and assistants (*śulāḥ*) by the riches given away in sacrifices frequently performed (by him)—grandson of **Viśvashārtman** whose mind had been purified by the due performance of *āgnihōtrā*, and other (sacrifices) and who had mastered the **Śruti** and **Smṛiti**.

(Lil. 21-24.) No one should create any distraction (to this). In the 45th year of the ever prosperous and victorious reign on the full moon day of **Kārtika**, this religious gift was made, **Sri Rāmaleggarāja** was the executor (of the order).

(Lil. 24-29.) Here are the *ślohas* sung by **Vyāsa**. (Then follow three of the customary verses.)

No. 16.—A NOTE ON THE BHOR STATE MUSEUM COPPER PLATE OF KHAMBLA II.

By RAO RAHADUR K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A.

On page 180 of part IV, of Volume XXII of the *Epigraphia Indica* Dr. Aitken has published an article on the Bhore State Museum Plates of Khambla II of the Chālukya dynasty, dated in the Śaka year 1001. There is no facsimile of the original attached to the article, but as the editor of the Plates has remarked, the order in which the different parts of the grant occur, is topsyturvy. Thus after specifying the date, the writer at once proceeds to the specification of the donor and the village granted without mentioning the donors. Then are mentioned certain dignitaries followed by some verses describing exploits of the dynasty of the donor. After the imprecatory verses, the grant closes with the bare names (without specification of *gotras*, etc., of the donors) clearly as an after-thought. It is thus evident that the grant is not a regular and officially issued

¹ *Sūtrama* may also be taken as the *śloka* of the King. Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari whom I consulted thinks that *Maṇa-Kātyapa* ought to be one of the subdivisions of the *Kātyapa-gotra* in which case, the expression will have to be rendered 'who belonged to the illustrious Maṇa-Kātyapa-gotra'.

charter, and cannot be considered as indicating the existence of a feudatory Chālukya king in the Śaka year 1001 for reasons given below :—

In the first place it is very unlikely that an inscription dated in the 4th year of the powerful Chālukya Emperor Vikramāditya VI, who had already started his own era (named the Chālukya-Vikrama Era) should be without any mention of this paramount sovereign. In fact the first line specifying the date appears to have been written in smaller characters than the other lines and may possibly have been inserted later. The most important reason why the inscription appears to me to have been written somewhere in the middle of the 12th Century is the mention of certain officers and queens in lines 12 to 15. The two queens mentioned in line 14, namely, Siriyā Dēvi and Dēvalā Dēvi appear to be identical with the queens Siriyā Dēvi and Dēvalā Dēvi of the Śinda King Chāvuṇḍa II referred to on page 111 of the Vol. XX of the *Epigraphia Indica*. It is interesting to see that one Munijaya Sāhasi also occurs in the Benachamatti inscription referred to above, while in the present inscription the same Munijaya appears to have been referred to as the minister (*amātya*) of the Mahārāṣi Siriyā Dēvi. There are at least two other Sāhasis (Prakrit form of Sādhani, a counsellor). It is therefore incorrect to take with Dr. Altekar that Siriyā Dēvi was called Munijaya Mahārāṣi because she was a daughter of Muñja. The intended reading of the end of line 14 and beginning of line 15 should be " *Rāṣi Mahalā Dēvi(ca)ṣyā dāni/auṣyaka Sindhā*". There seems to have been some confusion here in the name of the queen. The name Mahādēvi being that of the step-mother of Chāvuṇḍa II himself, the writer probably confused it with the name Dēvalā, of one of his queens.

As regards the language, there appears to have been some mixture of words in Marāṭhī which again may indicate a later date. The word *maṣṭa* in line 9 and *śarakaśṭrēṣa* in the same line are clearly Marāṭhī. The sense of the whole phrase from *śarimāṣa*¹ is that all dues including the dues from artisans and oilmen were to be given to the dancers. The phrase *agunīkṣitapushpā* (not *pushyini*) *rājadarma(rā)man* in lines 10 and 11 is explainable only in the light of the subsequent verse in lines 28 to 30 and means that an interview with the king should be with unstrung flowers, the stem *guṭh* being a Marāṭhī adaptation from *gūṭh* in Sanskrit. The propriety of such a reference is shown in lines 28 to 30 where it is mentioned that 'any future king of my family should be interviewed by you with flowers not strung (*into a garland*) and requested on my behalf that he should maintain his religion (*and continue this gift*)'. There are passages in Sanskrit literature², which support the existence of this custom of approaching a king with an offering of unstrung flowers.

On the whole I am inclined to think that the grant belongs to the middle of the 12th century A.D. and was probably forged in the interest of the persons mentioned in the postscript of the grant. It is, however, not understood how the names of queens and ministers in places over 200 miles away are included, unless we suppose that the Śinda Queens had some private estates managed by their ministers in the locality of Bhor³.

¹ Cf. *Māhātmyaśāstra*, Art IV, where Viśvadeva pretends to have been bitten by a snake, while spreading out his hand for a bunch of Aśoka flowers, as he wanted to see the queen with the customary flower offering.

² [There is certainly room for suspicion about the genuineness of the Bhor Museum Plates of Khumbha. But a great difficulty in accepting the identification proposed here is that the name of the husband of the queens Siriyā Dēvi and Dēvalā Dēvi is expressly mentioned as Khumbha in these plates. Neither the name nor the genealogy of this ruler has any similarity with that of the Śinda chief Chāvuṇḍa II. It seems unlikely, even considering the grant to be a forged one, that the forger would make use of the names of the two Śinda queens alone. If they were aware of the names of the queens one would expect them to know the name and family of their husband as well, who was the governor of a number of districts.—Ed.]

No. 17.—THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAONRI.

BY RAO BANABHAI K. N. DIXSUIT, SIMLA.

These plates were discovered on 20th June 1931 at the village Gaonri three miles to the north-east of Narwal (the Nathwal of the maps), the headquarters of an estate of the same name, eleven miles to the south-east of Ujjain, on the Ujjain-Dewas Road. They were discovered in the course of cutting the channel or sluice of a tank at the village, and found their way into the hands of the Raoji Sahab of Narwal Estate. Having come to learn of their existence from Pandit Surya Narayan Vyas of Bharati Bhasvan, Ujjain, I approached the Raoji Sahab, who very kindly sent the plates to me for decipherment and publication.

The plates, which are five in number, consist of two sets of which three constitute one grant (marked B) and the other two another (marked C). The plates of the set B measure 15" to 15½" by 10½" to 10¾". Each of the plates is ½" in thickness. The rims have been raised to protect the writing and there are two holes ¼" in diameter on one side through which rings were passed. The set C consists of two plates measuring 12½" to 13½" in length and 9½" to 10" in breadth, which have holes similar to those in the plates of the set B for passing the rings. The first set weighs 552 tolas and the second 215. The rings of the first set are still with the Raoji Sahab, but those of the second set were in a very fragmentary state of preservation when discovered and are stated to be made of iron, but it is likely that they were of copper. No seal appears to have been found with them. It appears that the labourers who found the plates considered them to be of iron and they thought of making blades of shovels out of them, but the Rao Sahab, having come to know of this, ordered them to be brought before him and had them cleaned with chemicals. On receiving them at the Indian Museum, I had them cleaned again, when I discovered the most interesting fact that the outer side of the first plate of the bigger set (marked A) was a palimpsest and contained regular lines of writing which in spite of the attempt made by the Paramāra engravers to obliterate it by rubbing were still quite legible. Much of this older inscription can be read from the original plate, and the inked impressions are sufficiently legible, in spite of the thinness of the letters. It shows an earlier record of the Rāshtrakūṭa preceding the date of the Paramāra grant by 54 years. It has been seldom¹ found that one and the same copper-plate bears the inscription of two different kings, particularly as the injunctions which one ruler caused to be recorded and expected his successors to respect them could not with propriety be broken by himself in respect of the donations of previous rulers. In the present case, however, the occurrence of a fresh grant on an old copper-plate record after obliterating the writing can be explained by the state of warfare between the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom of the Deccan and the Paramāra rulers of Mālwa in the latter half of the tenth century A.D. It seems probable that the Rāshtrakūṭa charter was either snatched away from the possession of the donors or, being an office copy, seized from the Rāshtrakūṭa treasury in course of the invasion of the Deccan²

¹ Dr. Fleet remarks a palimpsest in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, pp. 251 ff., but the unaltered grant is practically identical with the renewed grant, which was necessitated by some flaw in the original. (Similar instances are found in the Kākā Copper-plate Inscription of the Maṅgala Varman of the year 103 (C. I. L., Vol. III, p. 126) and the copper-plate of the Eastern Chalukya ruler Maṅga Varman noticed in the *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1908*, pt. II, paragraphs 12-12. I was also given at least one example where the plates belonging to an earlier ruler were made use of by a later king of the same dynasty by obliterating the original record, cf. C. I. L., No. 6 of 1924-25, 139, *Rep. on S. I. L.*, 1924-25, pp. 78-79) of the time of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Udayaditya which originally contained an earlier grant of his grandfather Vajrahasta. What necessitated the obliteration of the original grant or if it was at all issued is not known.—Ed.]

² This event must have occurred sometime about 975 A.D., as Dharmapāla mentions in his *Tāgysakāśā*, that the work was written at Kanaujika when it was looted by the people of Mālwa.

by the Paramāra King Siyaka and consigned to the Mālwa treasury along with other treasure and booty brought back from the campaign. Subsequently Siyaka's son Vākpati-Munja utilised the plates for engraving a fresh inscription after obliterating the Rāshtrakūṭa record. It is thus that we can explain the find of a plate granting a village in the Doconn carried away about five hundred miles from the place of its origin.

The characters of the Paramāra grants (B and C) are Devanāgarī, regular for the period and locality of the inscription. There is little to record about the Rāshtrakūṭa grant (A) as well, except that the characters are of the northern instead of the southern type to which most records of this dynasty are to be attributed. As regards orthography, no distinction has been observed between *sa* and *śa* and *sa* is often confused with *śa*.

The Paramāra records (B and C) open each with two verses one in praise of Siyaka and the other in that of Viśaṅga. Then follows in prose the genealogy of Vākpatirāja. As in other records of Vākpati such as the Dharampurī plates only three predecessors of his, viz. : *Kṛishṇarāja*, *Vairisimha* and *Siyaka* are mentioned but not others known from other stone inscriptions. Vākpati is said to have *Amoghavarsha* as 'another name' of his, which is interesting in view of the fact that in the Harola grant¹ of his father Siyaka the latter is probably to be credited with the epithet *Akalavarsha*. Then follows the specification of the villages granted, which in grant B is said to be *Vaṇikā* in the *Āvaraka-Bhōga* and *Hūga-Maṇḍala*; while in grant C it is stated to be *Kaḍahichchhaka*² in the *Bhūti* of *Madhuka*, in the east *Paṭṭaka* of the *Ujjayini-Paṭṭaka* and the *Avanti-Maṇḍala*. The latter village can be easily identified, as its situation can be located with certainty, being to the east of Ujjain. The village *Karaka* or *Kaḍacha* three miles to the north of Sarwal and a similar distance to the north-west of Gaonri can be confidently identified with *Kaḍahichchhaka*. The *Madchuka-Bhūti* in which the village granted was situated may perhaps be identified with *Mahā* or *Mhor*, the well-known encampment near Indore which would be about 40 miles from Sarwal. As the *Hūga-Maṇḍala* of the first plate must evidently refer to the country ruled over by the *Hūgas*³ in Mālwa, it must be taken as the northern part of the Mālwa plateau. The queen *Āvallādevī* of the *Kalachūri* King *Karim* is said to have been the daughter of a *Hūga* king. The *Āvaraka-Bhōga* may possibly have been identical with the country round the town of Agar, north-east of Ujjain, close to which there is a place called *Awār*. *Vaṇikā* is to be identified with the village of *Baukī*, 15 miles north-west of *Awār*. The place of the king's encampment is specified in the second set as *Pārṇava-Paṭṭaka*, which appears to have been situated on a river named *Puṇyābhara*, which I am unable to identify. The officer who conveyed the grant in the first set was *Rudraditya*, who is also mentioned in the Ujjain plates of 1036 V.S.

The donees in the set B are stated to be 26 *Brāhmaṇas* who received portions of the village of *Vaṇikā* out of an aggregate of 78 parts. On an average, thus, each *Brāhmaṇa* received three parts, although two *Brāhmaṇas* seem to have received only one part each and as many as 9 of them two parts each. The *Brāhmaṇas* belonging to the *Śig-Pada* seem to have received special preference, inasmuch as four of them received as many as 12 shares. The first-mentioned person is a *Brāhmaṇa* named *Sarṅkanda* hailing from the village of *Kaḍūpā* in the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 42-3.

² Above, Vol. XIX, p. 238.

³ See p. 112, note 1 below.—Ed.]

⁴ The *Bhūti* set said to have been obtained from Siyaka, the father of Vākpati (above, Vol. I, p. 232), and by Vākpati-Munja himself (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 180).

⁵ This place should be looked for in the modern *Patna* Division, particularly in the *Mithilā* District of Bihar, its present equivalent being something like *Kumpā* or *Kumra*.

country of Magadha who received as many as eight parts. It is worthy of note that the sole recipient of the second grant which is dated about five years later is the identical Sarvānanda. It is therefore likely that the Brāhmana settled down in the village of which he was the sole proprietor and carried with him the charter which conferred on him the title of the second village as well as that of the other grant of which he was the sole partner. It is noteworthy that the provenance of the plates is within three miles from the second village, while its distance from the first is about 40 miles.

✓ The most important information contained in these plates is regarding the migration of Brāhmanas from various parts of the country to Mithā where they were recipients of donations at the hands of the Paramāra prince. In several instances the donors seem to have migrated all the way from Bengal, which (contrary to the current belief that there were no Brāhmanas left in Bengal in the 12th century A.D.) appears as a country where Brāhmanas studying different Vēdas were flourishing. Thus we find a Brāhmana named Dōnāka, hailing from Vilvaguṇas falling within the southern Rājha-country, who received as many as five charters. Another person is said to have migrated from Kulāśchā, which in the form of Kōlāścha and Kōlāścha occurs as the original place of Brāhmanas who received grants in Assam, North Bihār and Orissa. I propose to identify this with Kulanch in the Bogra District of North Bengal. Another locality mentioned in these plates is Śrāvasthīdēsā or Śrāvasthī which is most likely the tract more or less corresponding to North Bogra and South Dinājpur in Bengal. An inscription of Indrapāla,¹ a king of Assam, refers to this Śrāvasthī (which is apparently the same as Śrāvastī) and mentions the presence of a place called Vaigrāma in it. The identity of the latter has now been completely established by the find of a copper-plate of the Gupta period found at Balgrām at the north-west corner of the Bogra District, in which the place is mentioned as Vāyigrāma. There can be no doubt that Śrāvasthī, Śrāvastī or the Śrāvasthīdēsā included the northern part of Bogra District. In the present case the two villages in this tract are Dardurikā and Mitula-pāuka which it is possible to identify with Dadra in Panchibi Thana of the Bogra District and Mitāl or Matlapurā both of which are in the Bogra District. Most of the Brāhmanas mentioned in the plates from Bengal just referred to are stated to have belonged to the Chhandōga-kūṭa (of the Sām-Vēda), which is significant in view of the preponderance of the adherents of this Vēda among the Brāhmanas of Bengal. Madhyadēsā which is roughly equivalent to the United Provinces is the original home of at least three of the donors but the place-name Yaka or Ayaka stated to be included within the Madhyadēsā cannot be identified. Uttarakuladēsā in which the village Paupgarika was the home of a Brāhmana must be some tract to the north of the Ganges. Śrāvasthīdēsā, stated to be the home of two Brāhmanas, also occurs in the plates of Khōja found at Tilak-wādī² near Baroda and must be some place in northern India, near Kanauj, as the family of Śraddhitya in the Tilak-wādī plates is stated to have come from Kanauj. It is also mentioned as Sōphhadra in the Madhyadēsā in the Sarkh³ plates of the Kalachuri Ratnadeva III, being the original home of a family of Brāhmanas also of the Vata lineage. Khētaka is undoubtedly the modern Khēl in Gujarāt, while Nāndipura in the Lāta country is certainly the modern Nāndod on the Narmadā. Khēdāpalika and Khaḍupalika may indicate a place-name like Khedāvala or Khedāvala, being perhaps the original place of the modern Khedāvala Brāhmanas. Other places like Kharjūrikā, Sōpara, Dapura, Anōha, Avvā and Rājakiya-grāma may be found in the neighbourhood or within the province of Mithā. The

¹ *Kāśmirīya-Chandell*, p. 137.

² *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona*, pp. 324 f.

³ *Abercrombie*, Vol. XXII, pp. 129 f.

name *Khajuriya* is very common around Ujjain. *Madhupālikā* may be same as *Majhewli*, a village-name common to U. P. There is thus a vast amount of information regarding the original places of Brāhmanas in the present plates which will be of great importance to the social history of this period.

The date of the donation of the grant *B* is mentioned as the full-moon day of *Kārtika* in the (Vikrama) year 1035, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, which is equivalent to Sunday, the 16th October, A.D. 981. The date on which the grant was actually written and conveyed appears to be nearly nine months later, being mentioned as the tenth day of the bright half of the second *Āshāḍha* of V. S. 1038. Obviously the year is to be considered as *Kārttikādi* or Southern and the equivalent date accordingly is July 3, Tuesday, A.D. 982, as there was no intercalation in the month of *Āshāḍha* in Śaivrat 1038 according to the Northern reckoning. The second grant (*C*) was made at the winter solstice (*Udagayana*) in the year 1043 V. S. which fell on 22nd December, A. D. 988, while the charter was issued on the thirteenth day of the dark (half) of the month of *Māgha* which is equivalent to Friday, the 31st December, A.D. 988 taking the month to be *Pāṇḍarāṣṭya*. Two dates of these plates slightly advance our knowledge of the reigning period of *Vākpatarāja* for whom we already have 1031 and 1036 V.S. as the dates of his *Dharmapuri*¹ and *Ujjain*² plates; but the tragic end of *Vākpatarāja* in the Chālukya capital must be dated several years later than the date of the second grant.

The dates are all engraved only on one side, the last plate in grant *B* containing on the back only the words *Yapikā grāma-bhāgāni Kharaputratilāna prutiripi* stating that the plates of the charter for the village *Yapikā* were three in number. On the first plate the obliterated *Rāshtrakūṭa* inscription (*A*) consists of 22 lines. The inscription fortunately contains all the most important information about the record, although there must have been at least two more plates in the beginning, one giving the genealogy and possibly one more at the end containing the concluding portion and the imprecatory verses. The donor *Savarṇavaraha-dēva* (*Gōrāṇḍa* IV) is stated to be the son of *Nityavaraha* (*Indra* III). The date of the grant is mentioned in detail as Sunday the full-moon day of *Māgha* in the Śaka year 851 *Vikrīta-samvatsara*, when the moon was in the constellation of *Āślāśā* and there was an eclipse of the moon. This date is identical in every particular with that of another *Kanva* inscription of the same ruler, viz., the *Kalar*³ inscription and is equivalent to Sunday, the 17th January, A.D. 930, when there was an eclipse of the moon. The inscription records that on the great occasion of the lunar eclipse, the king after having made grants of land, learning, food, desire fulfilling tree, medicine, etc., and having weighed himself (against precious commodities) ordered the donation of the village of *Payalipattana* situated in the western boundary of *Manyakhōṭa* or *Malkhed* the *Rāshtrakūṭa* capital. The object of the donation was to establish a *ratna* or charitable feeding house where a thousand Brāhmanas belonging to different denominations were to be fed; thus 300 were the *Karpāsika* Brāhmanas of *Malkhed*; 300 belonged to the *Kaṅga-sūktā*, 240 were Brāhmanas from *Katāhā-jaka* (apparently those now known as *Karkhāḍi* Brāhmanas in *Mahārāṣṭra*); 72 were Brāhmanas of the *Chatur-Charaṇa* or all the four *Charaṇas*, and 28 Brāhmanas are mentioned as *Sahasraśrīmāṇa* or common to the thousand. The reference to the donations of this king in the phrase *prati... prayachchhatā* = 'daily giving away (to Brāhmanas, etc.) incessantly

¹ *Jed. Asst.*, Vol. VI, pp. 48 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 169.

³ *Above*, Vol. XIII, pp. 329 ff.

charters of villages respected (by all) by the hundred' is borne out by his Cambay Plates¹ issued about four months later, when he granted 600 villages and 3 lacs of gold coins to Brāhmanas and 800 villages and 4 lacs of gold coins to temples. The arrangement of the donor is stated to be that the proceeds of the village granted were to be utilised for the feeding of a thousand Brāhmanas every day (apparently at Mānyakhōta). There is mention of some ceremonies on the *Abhaya-pūrṇimā*, which is probably the same day as the full moon of Māgha, the date of the present grant.² The boundaries of the village granted beginning from the east were the villages Karigrāma, Maṇḍavaka, Nandaurā, Nandalagrāma, Nāsapura, Yamala-grāma, Vīlāyala, Dharmapagrāma, Śālayi and Kapitthakhṛḍa. None of these localities I have yet been able to identify, but they are apparently to be looked for in the western part of the Deccan plateau.

Table of the Brāhmana donors of the Gaonri Plates of Vākpati Muṣṭja: F.S. 1035.

Serial No.	Name of Donor.	Father's name.	Original place.	Vēda and Śākhā.	Gōtra and Pravara.	Parts of village granted.
1	Sarvānanda .	Dhaddha Lakṣmanada .	Kaṇḍā in Moga-dha .	Yajurveda, Bakh-yidha .	Sāmbharya . 3	5
2	Mūlāsāhū .	Brāhmapaṇḍita .	Ayaka in Maṭhyadha .	Sāmaveda, Chhan-dāga .	Vātsahya . 3	3
3	Lohiya .	Īvaca .	Kāveda .	Yajurveda, Vāj-mādhyaṇdina .	Gautama . 3	3
4	Chandraditya .	Phavāsa .	Chauruṇḍa .	Sāmaveda, Chhan-dāga .	Śaṅḍhya . 5	4
5	Śābara .	Raṇḍitya .	Kolāṇḍā .	Do .	Do . 5	2
6	Agnihōtrīn Lakṣa .	Vāṇḍitya .	Arivā in Anurāmaṇḍala .	Do .	Vata . 5	4
7	Dhāḍka .	Gōṇṭana .	Vīrugaṇḍa in Pakalāna Pāṭha .	Do .	Pāṇḍara . 5 ³	3
8	Anantāditya .	Surāditya .	Khaṇḍapāṭhā .	Yajurveda, Vāj-mādhyaṇdina .	Mandalya . 5	2
9	Vāmanaśrāmīn .	Dhaddha Hari .	Paṇḍarika in U-tarakula .	Sāmaveda, Chhan-dāga .	Gārgya . 5	3
10	Ātaka .	Raṇḍā .	Imvarichāra .	Yajurveda, Vāj-mādhyaṇdina .	Agastyā . 3	1
11	Purnadhātama .	Likā .	? in Maṭhyadha .	Do .	Maitrēya . 5	4
12	Gōvindhavāṇḍin .	Dēvaśrāmīn .	Maṭhapāṭhā .	Sāmaveda, Chhan-dāga .	Kātyāya . 3	3
13	Śibata .	Mitrānanda .	Śārapabbudra .	Yajurveda, Bakh-yidha .	Vata . 5	4
14	Śānkara .	Devāditya .	Dardurikā in Śāvatāṭhā .	Sāmaveda, Chhan-dāga .	Śāṅkara . 3	2

¹ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 28 ff.

² [See p. 106, note 1 below. -Ed.]

³ This is apparently a mistake for 3, as this place is never found to have five prasthas.

Table of the Brāhmaṇa donors of the Gaouri Plates of Vākpaṭa Muḍja: V. S. 1038—contd.

Serial No.	Name of Donor	Father's name	Original place.	Vēda and Śūktā.	Gāṇa and Pravarā.	Parts of village granted.
15	Middhmathana	Arbata	Middhapaṭaka in Saptakūṭa.	Yajurveda, Vāj-mādhyaṇīna.	Parkara . 3	2
16	Wrayantapa	Śrīnirāṇ	Khōḍḍāpāṭhā	Do.	Mama . 3	4
17	Nānāyaka	Madhu	Khāṭaka	Yajurveda, Bah- vricha.	Bhāradvāja . 5	4
18	Jānata	Vijaya	Ānātha	Yajurveda, Vāj-mādhyaṇīna.	Bhārgava . 3	2
19	Dādāka	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do. . 3	2
20	Ānāthika Śar- vadāsa	Lohata	Sōpara	Śāmarvāda, Kau- thuma.	Śāndilya . 3	2
21	Varāha	Śrīdhara	Kharjūṭikā	Śāmarvāda, Chhan- dōga.	Māhala . 3	4
22	Ānāthiya	Māhala	Impara	Yajurveda, Bahvricha	Varāha . 3	4
23	Bāṭha	Hari	† in Lātādāsa	Yajurveda, Vāj-mādhyaṇīna.	Kāṭyapa . 3	1
24	Dēvāditya	Ilāditya	Bāpāṭiya	Śāmarvāda, Chhan- dōga.	Vaṭsa . 5	2
25	Munijāla	Īvama	Mānūṭipara in Lātādāsa.	Yajurveda, Vāj-mādhyaṇīna.	Bhāradvāja . 3	2
26	Anātha	Gundakara	Śrāvasthādāsa	Do.	Vaṭsa . 6	2
Total						73

A.—Fragmentary grant of the Bāṣṭrakūṭa Suvarṇavaraha (Gōvinda IV):
Saka 851.

TEXT.

- परमेस्वरयोमसिख्यवर्षदेवपादानुष्मातपरमभारवमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्वरयोमकुत-
- वर्षवर्षदेवपुष्पीवज्रभयोमहज्जभनरेन्द्रेवः कुशनी मन्वन्तिव [यदा]मन्व(स्व)ध-
मानकान्वाद्धपति-
- विषयपतिवामकुटमहत्तरावुककोपयुक्तकाधिकारिकान्वादिगलन्त वः संविदितं
यदा मा-
- नखेटराजधानीस्त्रितरावज्जानेन मातापितोरगलन्तव पुत्रययोभिद्वयये पूर्वन्तु-
[मान]

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAONRI.

A.—FRAGMENTARY GRANT OF THE KASHITRAKUTA SOVARNNAVAESHA (GOVINDA IV); SAKA 851.



- 5 पि देवभोगाचकारान्प्रतिपालयता प्रतिदिने च निरवधि नमस्त्वयामशान्तानि
ग्रतसः(श) प्रवच्छ[ता]
- 6 मया शकनूपकालातीतसर्व[क्षर]शतैश्चटश्रेकपंचागदधिकैश्चकतीपि सम्प्रत्यराणां
८५१ प-
- 7 वर्तमानविकृतमस्त्यकरान्तर्गतमाद्यपौर्णमास्यां रथा साक्षेयानचवर्त्त[स्वानि] ग्रसि-
(ग्रि)नि सौ-
- 8 म[ग्रह]णमहापर्वणि पृथिवीदानविद्यादानाहारदानकल्पयुचना(दा)नभूषणदाना-
नानि(दानानि) दत्वा(त्वा)
- 9 तुक्तापुरुषाद[नृ]त्तरता मया प्रथमं करोदकातिसर्गेण सहस्रप्रमाणमहाजनाय
सत्त्वः(सार्थ)
- 10 '[मान्य]ष्टेष्ट[कणां]टकप्रमुखब्रा(त्रा)ह्मणानां श(ष)ष्टप्रधिकयतत्रयं वाजि-
कणधप्रमुखब्रा(त्रा)ह्मणानां
- 11 शतत्रयं करदाटकप्रमुखब्रा(त्रा)ह्मणानां चत्वारिंशदधिकं शतत्रयं चतुश्चरणसा-
मान्यमष्टि-
- 12 वर्त्तब्रा(त्रा)ह्मणानां द्विसप्ततिः सहस्रसामान्यब्रा(त्रा)ह्मणानामष्टाविंशतिरेवं
सहस्र(स)ब्रा(त्रा)ह्म-
- 13 जेभ्यः श्रीमान्यष्टेष्टपश्चिमाष्टाष्टवस्थितपयलोपत्तने सहस्रमात्राकु[र्त्त] सधान्यद्वि-
ष्टादये
- 14 सदण्डदोश(व)न्दशापरार्धं समस्तो[त्प]त्तिशक्तीत्यत्तिमर्जितं पूर्वप्रभिदचतुश्चोम-
पर्यन्तमाचन्द्रार्क [चण]प्रतिपाल[ः]
- 15 श्रीया'शान्य पूर्वदिवसं[सा]दि(?) प्रा[स्त्र]चिष्टेन करिषामः मण्डवकनन्दसुर-
नन्दलशामयः
- 16 ना[स]पुरयमलशामवेजयशचक्षुषामसैत्रविकपित्थखेडशामाः एवं श(स)श्रीवाट-
वित्तुदपर्यलोप-
- 17 तन रा(स)हव(स)महाजनस्य कृपतः कर्षयती भु(भू)जती भोजयती वा न
शौचि(कैषि)द्वाराघतिः(घातः) भूयः आ[?]न्याकर्त्त[व्या*]
- 18 ब्र(त्र)ह्मणसः [पुण्यदिध]वैजानि च भवन्ति । स(रा)मवचनं । सामान्योर्ध
धर्मैतनुपाणां काले काले त्या(पा)ननी-
- 19 दो भवद्भिः[?] सन्निविताग्नाग्निः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयी भूयी कुरुते रामभटः ।
अवस्था वास ॥ श्रीमत्सुवर्णवर्जदे-

* The reading of the last five letters is doubtful.

* Probably the intended reading was *apya/hall* ५६५—*Especially* *hurry* ५६५.

- 20 वस्त्रालय[पूर्ण]मास्या [देव]प्रौढ्यर्च[¹] शिष्टिरस्त्रित्येतेन येयोर्धन(व)अमाता-
प्रसाद(दा)शकविस्तीर्णवामां स्वर्चतो
21 [परिवर्णितविशेष...] श(म)हमवा(त्रा)अभोजनं प्रतिदिनं प्रवर्त्तनीयनिनि
(मिति) ॥ वचाभिद्वये तेन
22 यच...वण मया...कीयस्य...स निन च...

B.—Plates of Vākpati-Muñja : V. S. 1038.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 शो² [³] याः स्फूर्जत्फणभृदिपानकमिलहृन्व[⁴]भाः प्रोक्तसकूर्वाव(व)हमशाङ्-
कोटिघटिता याः सैङ्गि(सैङ्गि)केयोपमाः [⁵] याश्चव(च)द्विरिजा-
2 कपोललुलिता[⁶] कस्तूरिकाविभ्रमास्ताः श्रीकण्ठकठोरकण्ठवधयः येयान्मि-
(यांसि) पुण्यन्तु वः ॥ यज्जम्बीवदनेदु(न्दु)ना न सुखितं यथा-
3 द्वितस्वारिधेर्वरा यथ निजेन [ना]मिसस्सीपद्येन गान्तिहने [⁷] यच्छेषा-
क्षिफणासहस्रमधुरयासैर्च चाद्यामितं तटाधाविरडा-
4 तुरं सुररिपोर्वैजदपुः पातु वः ॥ परममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर्यो-
क्षणराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरममहार-
5 कमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर्योवैरिमिदु(सिंह)देवपादानुध्यातपरममहारकमहाराजा-
धिराजपरमेश्वर्योसीयवदेवपादानु-
6 ध्यातपरममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर्योमदमोचवधेदेवाणामिधान्योमहावपति-
राजदेवपुत्रीयज्ञम-
7 योवज्जमनरेन्द्रेवः कुमलो ॥ यथा हणमंडले चावरकभोगसम्ब(स्व)हपुर्व-
भोजुमिभुक्तभुक्तिरुमेण यथासम्ब(स्व)[⁸]मा-
8 न[⁹] समस्ततलकैः सञ्चित(ते) वणिकायामि समुपगतानाममहाराजपुरुषां(या)न्या-
(न्ना)अशोत्तरान्प्रतिवांसि[पट्ट]किल्लनप(दा)-
9 दीक्ष शो(शो)घयस्यन्तु वः सस्वि(संवि)दितं यथा धर्तीत(ता)दत्तुंम(सिंह)दुत्तर-
साहसिकसम्ब(संव)करेस्मिन् कार्त्तिक[¹⁰] सोम[¹¹]घटवपर्वणि-
10 स्त्राज्ञा चराचरगुहं भगवन्तं भवानीपतिमभ्वर्य सन्वा(संसा)रण्यासारतां
दृष्ट्वा ॥ वाताम्बतिभ्रममिदं वसु[¹²]धिपत्यसापातमाच-

¹ (The reading appears to be—*śaṅkha-jagmā—dāt—śaṅkha-jagmā*—Ed.)

² Expanded by a vowel.

³ First *śi* was written then the scribe put the *ś* sign without deleting the *i* sign.

१. एवाम्पुनस्तत्पणमृदिषाकलमितइममण्योलुमभूहोवइइहाहालाटिघटितायाःसिद्धिवाद्यापमायाशरतिरिना
 २. कोपाम्बलतावमृरिकावेकुमासाःहीकोपकोठारकाठरवयःपुयाकिमुपुखुवरायध्वोवरवकुनावमृरिगयध्वो
 ३. दिवृगासववोरायकुलकमरिसरमीण्योवडाकिन्नतयवृयादिपणामदमभरइयाखिद्वोवादिवासिततयागतिरदा
 ४. नुरमृरियावेसुहपुःयाउवःपरमदहारकमदारोहविराहुपरमभूयइसीवाधुराहुरवपादाभूगतपरमममृर
 ५. कभदारोहविराहुपरमभूयइसीविरिस्मिददवयादोभूपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसी
 ६. गीतपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसी
 ७. हीवध्वोवरवकुनावमृरिकावेकुमासाःहीकोपकोठारकाठरवयःपुयाकिमुपुखुवरायध्वोवरवकुनावमृरि
 ८. गीतपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसी
 ९. हीवध्वोवरवकुनावमृरिकावेकुमासाःहीकोपकोठारकाठरवयःपुयाकिमुपुखुवरायध्वोवरवकुनावमृरि
 १०. गीतपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसी
 ११. हीवध्वोवरवकुनावमृरिकावेकुमासाःहीकोपकोठारकाठरवयःपुयाकिमुपुखुवरायध्वोवरवकुनावमृरि
 १२. गीतपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसी
 १३. हीवध्वोवरवकुनावमृरिकावेकुमासाःहीकोपकोठारकाठरवयःपुयाकिमुपुखुवरायध्वोवरवकुनावमृरि
 १४. गीतपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसी
 १५. हीवध्वोवरवकुनावमृरिकावेकुमासाःहीकोपकोठारकाठरवयःपुयाकिमुपुखुवरायध्वोवरवकुनावमृरि
 १६. गीतपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसी
 १७. हीवध्वोवरवकुनावमृरिकावेकुमासाःहीकोपकोठारकाठरवयःपुयाकिमुपुखुवरायध्वोवरवकुनावमृरि
 १८. गीतपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसी
 १९. हीवध्वोवरवकुनावमृरिकावेकुमासाःहीकोपकोठारकाठरवयःपुयाकिमुपुखुवरायध्वोवरवकुनावमृरि
 २०. गीतपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसी
 २१. हीवध्वोवरवकुनावमृरिकावेकुमासाःहीकोपकोठारकाठरवयःपुयाकिमुपुखुवरायध्वोवरवकुनावमृरि
 २२. गीतपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसीविराहुपरमभूयइसी

वर्द्धय रत्नमालादशाकपा

[illegible]

- 11 मधुरो विषयोपभोगः [१*] प्राणास्तृणाप्रजलवि(वि)न्दुममा नराणां धर्मः सखा
परमहो परलोक्याने [१*] भूमलन्मा(जंसा)श्चक्रा-
- 12 संधाराधाराभिमां चियं [१*] प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः परं फलं ॥
इति जगतो विनश्चरं सकलमिदमाकलन्वा(स्यो)परिलिखि-
- 13 तयामः स्वधीमादृणकाष्ट(ष्ट)यूतिगोचरपर्यन्त(न्तः) सवृक्षमालाकुल(लः) स-
चिरण्यभागभोग(गः) मीपरिकरः सर्वदायममेतः उ-
- 14 परिलिखितग्रामेभिन् कल्पितांश्च अष्टसप्ततैर्मध्यात् मगद(ध)देशान्तःप्रातिकर्षी-
पामदयामविनिर्गतसांक्रलसगोचतु(चि)-
- 15 प्रवरव(व)हृचशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणमूलस्थानाय पण्डितदोषि[त*]नीकानंदसूनुवे
अंश[१५] ८ मध्यदेशान्तःप्रातिकर्षमहधाम-
- 16 विनिर्गतवासिष्ठसगोचतु(चि)प्रवरवृ(वृ)न्दोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणमूलस्थानाय भाव-
स्थिकव(व)हृपण्डितसूनुवे अंशचयं
- 17 ३ कायडभट्टग्रामविनिर्गत(ग)तमौतमसगोचतु(चि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)-
ह्मणलोहिणाय इ(ई)श्वरसूनुवे अंशद्व-
- 18 यं ३ चौरमत्र(म्व)भट्टग्रामविनिर्गतमा(मां)डिकसगोचतु(चि)प्रवरवृन्दोगशाखिने
ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणचंद्रादित्यपि(पी)तवामसूनुवे अंशचतुष्टयं ४
- 19 कुलांचायामविनिर्गतसां(सां)डिकसगोचतु(चि)प्रवरवृ(वृ)न्दोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण-
भाव(व)राय रमा(णा)दित्यसूनुवे अंशद्वयं २ अश्वरममंडलान्तःपा-
- 20 ति अविवायामविनिर्गतवत्ससगोचपंचप्रवरवृ(वृ)न्दोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणपंडिता-
ग्निहोतु(चि)कलोहपाय वासुदेवसु(सू)नुवे अंशचतुष्ट-
- 21 यं ४ दक्षिणराटान्तःप्रातिविश्वगवामविनिर्गतपारास(श)रसगोचपंचप्रवरवृ(वृ)न्दो-
गशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणदीनाकाय मी-
- 22 मरवसु(सू)नुवे अंशपंच ५ खडुपट्टिकाया[म*]वि[नि*]र्गतमौलसगोचद्व(चि)-
प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणधनन्तादित्या-
- 23 यं मुगादित्यसु(सू)नुवे अं-

Second Plate.

- 24 गदयं २ उत्तरकुलदेशान्तःप्रातिपौष्टरिकमहधामविनिर्गतगार्ग्यप्रमोवपंचप्र-
वरवृ(वृ)न्दोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणवाम-
- 25 नवा(वा)मिने दीक्षितहरिसूनुवे अंशचयं ३ उम्पराचरविनिर्गत अगमन्वस-
गोचद्व(चि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्म-

* Read अंशद्वयं.

* Read अंशपंच.

- 26 षा भातुकाय रिसिउलसूनवे अंगमेकं १ मध्यदेशान्तःपातिमैत्रेयसगोचल(चि)-
प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशास्त्रिने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणपुरुषोत्तमाय
- 27 लीलासूनवे अंगचतुष्टयं ४ मधुपालिकायामविनिर्गतकास्य(श्व)पसगोचल(चि)-
प्रवरहं(च्य)दोगशास्त्रिने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणगीविन्दवा(स्वा)मिने देवशा(स्वा)मि-
- 28 सूनवे अंगचयं ३ श्वणभद्रविनिर्गतवत्ससगोचलप्रवरव(ध)हृचशास्त्रिने ब्रा(ब्रा)-
छाणसिद्धाय मिचामंदसूनवे अंगचतुष्टयं ४
- 29 शायधिकान्तःपातिदुर्दुरिकायामविनिर्गतभागवतसगोचल(चि)प्रवरहं(च्य)दोगशास्त्रिने
ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणसं(शं)कराय देवादित्सूनवे अंगद्वयं
- 30 २ सावधि[का*]देशान्तःपातिमितिलपाटकविनिर्ग(र्ग)तपराशरसगोचल(चि)प्रवरवा-
जिमाध्यन्दिनशास्त्रिने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणमधुमदनाय अ-
- 31 चलसूनवे अंगद्वयं २ खेडापालिकाविनिर्गतमौनिसगोचल(चि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्य-
न्दिनशास्त्रिने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणस्वर्यतपाय श्रीनिवास-
- 32 सूनवे अंगचयं ३ खेटकविनिर्गतभारद्वाजसगोचल(चि)प्रवरव(ध)हृचशास्त्रिने
ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणनेनेयकाय मधुसूनवे अंगचतुष्टयं ४ अ-
- 33 नोहभद्रायामविनिर्गतभार्गवसगोचल(चि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशास्त्रिने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणजाम-
टाय विष्णुसूनवे अंगद्वयं २ तथा तस्यैव भा-
- 34 चे ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणदेदेकाय अंगद्वयं २ सोपुरविनिर्गतगांडिससगोचल(चि)प्रवरकौवु-
मशास्त्रिने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणभावस्त्रिकस(श)र्वदेवाय लोहटसून-
- 35 वे अंगद्वयं २ खर्जूरिकायामविनिर्गतमाहुलसगोचल(चि)प्रवरहं(च्य)दोगशास्त्रिने
ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणवराहाय श्रीधरसूनवे अंगचतुष्टयं ४
- 36 दपुरविनिर्गतवाराहसगोचल(चि)प्रवरव(ध)हृचशास्त्रिने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणभामादित्याय
माहुलसूनवे अंगचयं ३ [ला]टदेशविनिर्गत-
- 37 कास्य(श्व)पसगोचल(चि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशास्त्रिने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणमादलाय हरिसूनवे
अंगमेकं १ राज[कौययाम]विनिर्गतवत्स-
- 38 गोचर्यचप्रवरहं(च्य)दोगशा[चि*]ने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणदेवादित्याय लीलादित्सूनवे
अंगद्वयं २ लाटदेशान्तःपातिनाम्दिपुरविनिर्गतभार-
- 39 हायसगोचल(चि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशास्त्रिने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणमुंजानाय इ(ई)शरसूनवे
अंगद्वयं २ श्वणभद्रविनिर्गतवत्स-
- 40 सगोचपञ्चप्रवरवाजिमाध्या(ध्य)न्दिनशास्त्रिने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणामात(त्वा)गुणाकरसु(स्)न-
वे अंगचयं ३ एवमसुना क्रमेण उ-

[illegible]

- 41 परिनिश्चितशामोय उपरिनिश्चितवा(त्रा)कान्ध्याः पार्श्व(विं)जतिभ्यः मातापित्रोराज-
तश्च पुण्यवशोभिह्वयेऽदृष्टफल-
42 महीकृत्वाचमुपाकर्त्तव्यजितिभमकालं परया भक्त्या शासनेनोदकपूर्वकं प्रति-
पादित इति मत्वा तंनि(तन्नि)वासिप-
43 द्वि(द्व)किलजनपदैर्ययादीयमानभागभोगः(त)करहिः(ह्य)दिकं सर्वमात्राश्वपविधे-
यैर्भूत्वा सर्वदा एतेषां उ-

Third Plate.

- 44 परिनिश्चितनिव(व)दक्रमेण समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं उ(उ)डा[ड]क-
दंशजैरन्वैरपि भा-
45 विमोक्तुमिरत्नप्रदत्तधर्मदायोय(य)मतुमन्तव्यः ॥ पातनीयव । उक्तव ।
व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा मुक्ता राजभिः
46 सगरादिभिः [१*] यत्न यत्न यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ यनीह
दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रीनानि धर्मार्थय-
47 शस्त्रराशि [१*] निष्काल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम शा(सा)धुः पुन-
रा[द*]दीत ॥ अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरदिर-
48 न्यैव दत्तमिदमभ्युत्थोदनीयं [१*] लक्ष्म्यास्तद्विकलितपुद्गु(उद्गु)द्वेषेचलाया दानं
फलं परवशपरिपालनं
49 च [१*] सर्वानेतान्माविनः पार्श्वेवेन्द्राभूयो भूयो याचते रामभट्टः । सामान्योयं
धर्ममेतुनृपाणां
50 काले काले पातनीयो भवति ॥ इति कमलदत्ताभुवि(भुवि)न्दुलीनां
त्रियम्-
51 नुचितस्य मनुष्यजीवितस्य । सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च उ(उ)डा नहि पुर्यै-
पर-
52 कीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ इति मय्य(संवत्) १०३८ विराषादशदि १० स्वय-
माप्ता-
53 दापकथाव शौराद्रादित्यः ॥ अक्षमोयं श्रीवावपतिराजदेवस्य ॥

C.—Plates of Vākpatī(-Mudja) : V. S. 1043.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 श्री[१*] याः स्फूर्ज्जत्फलसद्विधानममिलभूम(स)पभाः प्रोदसद्वाव(व)दशमांकको-
टिचदिता याः

- 2 सैहिकेयोपमाः । वाद्यं च द्विरिजाकपोलनुलिताः कस्तूरिकाविध्वमास्ताः शौकण्ड-
कठो-
- 3 रकण्डकचयः श्रेयामि पुष्पान्तु यः ॥ यज्ञश्चोषदनेन्दुना न सुखित(तं)
यन्नादितं वारिधेर्वारा यज्ञ नि-
- 4 जिन नाभिमरसौपत्रेन शान्ति(ति) गतं । यच्छेधाहिफणाम्रहसमधुरद्यामैवं
चास्त्रासै(सि)तं तद्राधाविरहा-
- 5 तुरं सुगरिपोर्वैल्लहपुः पातु यः ॥ परमभहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकाय-
राजदेव-
- 6 पादानुध्यातपरमभहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवैरिसिद्ध(सिंह)देवपादानुध्यातप-
रमभ-
- 7 हारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसौविकदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभहारकमहाराजाधिराजप-
- 8 रमेश्वरश्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवापराभिधानश्रीवाहतिराजदेवहवीवज्जभर्चीवज्जभनरेन्द्रदेवः
- 9 कुशलो ॥ चवनीमण्डले श्रीमदुज्जयनीविषयपूर्वप्रवक्तव्य(व्य)ध्वमानमङ्कमुस(क्तो)
कडहिव्यक-¹
- 10 ग्रामे समुपगतान्समस्तराजपुरुषान्वा(ग्ना)ङ्गानोत्तरान्प्रतिनिधामिपट्टकिलजनपदादींश्च
वो(वो)-
- 11 धवस्वस्तु यः सन्निव(संवि)दितं यथा । पूर्वपथकावास्तितैरन्नाभिस्त्रिचत्वारिस-
(रिंश)मन्वा(संव)त्सरसहस्रे² माघे मासि
- 12 उदमयनपर्वणि । पुष्पाभ्यसनिति स्नात्वा चराचरगुहं भगवत(न्त)मभ्वि(मि)वा-
पतिमभ्यर्च्य स(सं)सारस्थासा-
- 13 रतां दृष्ट्वा ॥ वाताभ्यविश्वमभिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमाजमधुरो विषयोपभोगः ।
माणास्तृणा-
- 14 यज्ञलवि(वि)दु(न्दु)सभा नराणां धर्मः सखा परमशो परलोकयाने ॥ भवम
त्संसारचक्राद्यधाराधाराभिर्मा
- 15 त्रिवं । प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पथात्तापः परस्कलम् ॥ इति जगती
विनखरं सकलमिदमाकल-
- 16 य्य । अयमुपरि समारोपितधामः । स्वामीमादणगोचरगीयूतिपय(र्य)न्तः स-
हजमालाकुल-

¹ The reading appears to be *Kadhatihula*.—Ed.]

² Read त्रिचत्वारिंशदतिके संवत्सरसहस्रे-

ट्याः स्यात् कृत्वा त्रिषा न लभ्यते मय नः यत्न मभूदु वै इ मभू कं काटि घटि नायाः
 समं किं लाय माः या शुभं दि रि का क ला न लु नितः के प्री क वि न मा माः श्री के म क ठा
 र क पं र र दः क्षया सि यु पु नु नू दानु नू वि र नि नू न म सु गि त द नू दि त्म रि व व रा य न नि
 इ न न नि स र मी य द न म नि ग ते द नू षा दि षा र्ग स द म भु र श्वा सि नू व श्वा सि नू द ग वि स्ना
 न र म्भु र रि या व ह द यु या नू तः ॥ य र म न द्वा र क म द रा इ वि रा इ य र म श र श द्धु रा इ र त
 या द नू वा त य र म न द्वा र क म द रा इ वि रा इ य र म श र शी वि रि सि द्वा र या दानु शा त य र म
 दार व म द रा इ वि रा इ य र म श र शी म य का द या दानु शा त य र म र द्वा र म द रा इ वि रा इ य
 र म श र शी म द नू प व स द ग य रा नू व न म्भू का त रा इ र त वृ थो व ल न शी म न र न र इ र त वः
 लु म न ॥ अ व न क प ल म्भू म्भू कू द नू नि स द य द नू य थ क म नू श म न म्भू कू द नू म्भू कू द नू म्भू
 ग्रा म म्भु य रा त म्भू म्भू रा इ म्भू म्भू नू द्वा ण न रा यु ति नित सि य दू क ल न म य द र द श्रु त
 व द य म्भु वः म्भू वि त द वा य म्भू य थ का व म्भू न र म्भू नि अ व व रि म म्भू म्भू रा द म्भू म्भू म्भू
 उ र ग द न य वृ णि सु ण नू द नू त म्भू वि रा व र म्भू नू म्भू म्भू म्भू का य ति म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू
 र त द नू ता त इ वि इ म्भू म्भू द म्भू वि य ती मा या त म्भू म्भू रा वि षु टा य म्भू म्भू य म्भू म्भू
 ग क ल वि ड म्भू म्भू न रा ण म्भू म्भू म्भू य र म्भू द र ली का दानि ॥ म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू
 वि द्या वा य य न द द म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू
 द्या अ य म्भू प रि म्भू म्भू रा धि त ग म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू म्भू

Second Plate.

- 17 सतृप्तकटवि[स]ः समस्तभागभोगकरिहिरण्यादायसमेतः ॥ मगवांत>>पातिकपो-
पाद्यामविनिर्म-
18 ताय । स(सं)कृतिसमीचाय व(व)हृचे पाक्षा(म्वला)यनसा(शा)व्हाय । तिमव-
राय । दौचितलोकानन्दसु[ता]य । मा(मा)द्वय-
19 मूर्ध्यानन्दाय । पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययोगीभिर्बुद्धये षट्पदफलमङ्गीकृत्याचन्द्राकां-
कर्वचितिसम-
20 कालं परया भक्त्या सा(शा)सनेनोदकपूर्वम्स(र्वं सं)प्रतिपादित इत्यवेत्याश्वत्यज-
नपदैर्यथा(थो)त्वद्यमानभा-
21 गमोगादिकमात्रायणविधेयैभु(भू)त्वा सदा सर्वमन्मै समुपनेतव्यं ॥ सामा-
न्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुध्वा(बुद्धा) ।
22 अस्मदंश(श)जैरन्यैश्च भाविभोक्तृभिरक्षतादत्तधर्मदायोयमनुमंतव्यः पालनीयश्च ॥
व(व)हृभिर्वसुधा
23 मुक्ता राजभिः मगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तल तस्य तदा
फलं ॥ यानोह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्र-
24 ईमानि धर्माश्चैयमस्कराणि । निर्मात्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः
पुनराददौत ॥ मूर्धनेता-
25 भाविनः पार्ष्वेद्वान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयम्यमंसेतुर्नृपाणां
काले काले
26 पालनीयो भवति ॥ अकलुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्विरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यतुमोद-
नीयम् ।
27 लक्ष्म्यास्तङ्गिस्तल्लवुहु(बुहु)दचंचलाया दानं फलं परययःपरिपालनं च ॥
इति कमलदत्तावुवि(म्बुवि)-
28 न्दुत्तोल्लां शिष्यमनुचित्य मनुष्यलोचितं च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुध्वा(बुद्धा)
महि पुत्रयेः परकीर्त-
29 यो विनोभ्याः ॥ सम्य(संव)त् १०४३ माघवदि ११ मंगलं महाचीः ॥

No. 18.—MALLAR PLATES OF MAHA-SIVAGUPTA.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., AND PANDIT L. P. PANDEYA.

Mallar is a large village with a population of over 2,000 souls, 16 miles south-east of Bilaspur, the headquarters of the Bilaspur District in the Central Provinces. It was an important place in former times as can be judged by the ruins of an old fort near by, with a moat all round and a number of old tanks on all sides. It still contains numerous ruins of old temples as well as Buddhist

and Jain sculptures. Several stone inscriptions have been found there, one of which has been removed to Bilāspur¹ and another has been deposited in the Nāgpur Museum.² The place is called Mallār in these inscriptions. Two more statue inscriptions have been recently discovered at Mallār, one of which is incised in early Brāhmī characters. The present plates were discovered underground near a temple between the village and the fort in August 1936. They were first brought to notice by Mr. P. L. Gupta, Joint Secretary of the Mahākūśala Historical Society, Bilāspur, through the courtesy of Mr. Sudha Ram, Malgūraz of Mallār and a member of the Bilāspur Local Board, and have since been acquired by Mr. K. N. Nagarkatti, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Bilāspur for the Central Museum, Nāgpur, where they are now deposited.

They are **three copper plates** of which the first and the third are inscribed on one side and the second on both the sides. Their surface was corroded in some places, but, fortunately, no letter has been lost. The plates have since been cleaned by Mr. M. A. Suboor of the Nāgpur Museum, who has kindly supplied us with their ink-impressions. The letters were deeply engraved and show through in many places on the back of the first and the third plate. Each plate measures 8.4" in length, 5" in breadth and about 1" in thickness. The middle plate is somewhat thicker than the others. The rims of the plates were not raised, still the inscription is in a good state of preservation. About 1" from the middle of the proper right side of each plate there is a round hole 6" in diameter for the ring which connects it with the other plates of the set. The ends of this ring which is about 4" in thickness and 4.3" in diameter are secured below a circular seal 3.5" in diameter. The ring was not cut when the plates reached the Nāgpur Museum. The surface of the seal, which is somewhat deeply counter-sunk, is divided into three parts. The upper part bears in relief the figure of a couchant bull with a *trifido* in front. Behind the animal is what looks like a *kamekapala* with something placed on it. Below this comes the legend in two lines, which is separated from the upper device by two horizontal parallel lines. Below the legend is shown a large full-blown lotus flanked by two leaves one on either side. In form, fabric and disposition of the device and the legend, the seal of the present plates resembles those of the Rājim³ and Balōdā⁴ plates of Tivarādōva and of the plates of 'the kings of Sarabhapura'.⁵ The weight of three plates is 123½ *tolas* and that of the seal and the ring 82½ *tolas*.

The record consists of 28 lines, there being seven on each inscribed surface. The letters were neatly written and deeply engraved. Their average size is ¼". The characters are of the box-headed variety and closely resemble those on the Rājim and Balōdā plates of Tivarādōva. These are somewhat more elongated and angular than those of the plates of 'the kings of Sarabhapura' and much more so than those of the plates of the Vākātaka kings Pravarasēna II⁶ and Prithivishēna II.⁷ The only peculiarities worth noticing here are that the length of the medial *ī* is denoted by a dot in the circle which denotes its short form; see *gītā* l. 21 and *vaishāgarī* l. 22; the medial *au* is tripartite; see *śauryya* ll. 3-3; the right vertical stroke of *ch* and *kh* is lengthened below the rectangle on the left; see, e.g., *chāturdī-* l. 12, *chandr-* ll. 13-14, *su(pra)mukhān* ll. 7-8; the subscript *r* has in many places the same form as the vowel *rī*; see *irī* and *pūrī* both in l. 5; the

¹ Now deposited in the Town Hall of Bilāspur. See Hirahī, *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (Second Ed.), No. 220.

² Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions* No. 1241. The Ratnagiri inscription of Prithivishēna II and Brahmadōva (*ibid.*, No. 1240) also seems to have originally come from Mallār; for l. 22 of it reads
 मल्लारिकान्तवर्षस्य द्वादशैर्दशैः ॥

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, plate XLV.

⁴ *Above*, Vol. VII, p. 102.

⁵ See, e.g., the Thākurdiyā plates of Mahā-Pravarasēna, *above*, Vol. XXII, pp. 105.

⁶ See, e.g., *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, plate XXXV.

⁷ *Above*, Vol. IX, pp. 267ff.

From the Jaunpur¹ and Harāhā stone inscriptions we learn that the Maukharī kings Iśvaravarman and his son Iśānavarman raided the Āndhra country² and defeated the ruling king. As the country of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala (modern Chhattisgarh), where the early Sōmavamśī kings were ruling, is contiguous to the Āndhra country, it is not unlikely that the marriage of the Maukharī princess Vāsatī with king Harshagupta of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala had a political significance. It may be noted in this connection that Udayana the earliest known king of the Sōmavamśī dynasty was ruling in Central India, as a stone inscription found at Kālāñjara³ records his construction of a temple of Viṣṇu, evidently at Kālāñjara. It is not unlikely that he was a feudatory of the then Maukharī Emperor and either he or his sons invaded Dakṣiṇa Kōśala or Chhattisgarh during the campaigns of the Maukharī king Iśvaravarman against the Āndhra king who was probably a prince of the Viṣṇukunḍin family. In any case we find Udayana's grandsons Naṇḍadēva and Iśānadēva firmly established in Chhattisgarh. A mutilated stone inscription in the temple of Lakṣmīśvar at Kharōḍ in the Bilāspur District records Iśānadēva's gift of some villages evidently to the god unkrined in that temple.⁴ Iśānadēva's nephew Tivradēva is known from two sets of plates found at Rājim in the Raipur District and Balōḍā in the Phuljhar Zamindari in the old Sambalpur and present Raipur District, both the places being included in Chhattisgarh. The villages mentioned in the Balōḍā plates cannot be traced but those named in the Rājim plates can be identified in the vicinity of Rājim.⁵ As stated before, Tivradēva's grand-nephew Mahā-Sivagupta-Bālārjuna, the donor of the present plates, is known from several stone inscriptions at Sirpur. The find-spots of these inscriptions and the identification of the villages mentioned in them clearly show that these Sōmavamśī kings were at first ruling in the Western parts of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. It is not therefore unlikely that the Maukharī kings Iśvaravarman and Iśānavarman were helped in their southern campaigns by these Sōmavamśī princes of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. This also accounts for the Viṣṇukunḍin king Mādhavavarman I's invasion and occupation of the capital of Trivara (i.e., Tivradēva) as stated in his Pulōmbūru and Ipūr plates.⁶ The political alliance between the Maukharī and Sōmavamśī houses seems to have been cemented subsequently by the marriage of Vāsatī and Harshagupta.

There is one more stone inscription of this dynasty which is said to have been found at Bhāṇḍak outside the limits of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala, viz., the stone inscription of Bhavadēva Rapaḥśarin, now deposited in the Nāgpur Museum.⁷ But one cannot be certain about its find-spot; for, as pointed out by R. D. Hirālāl, no accurate record has been kept of the provenance of inscriptions collected before the establishment of the Nāgpur Museum. Besides, this inscription is fragmentary. The extant portion unfortunately contains no place-name, otherwise it may have helped us in tracing its find-spot. We have therefore to rely on conjecture in this respect. In 1873 while Cunningham was at Bhāṇḍak he was informed that "an inscription on a long red slab had been taken to Nāgpur during the time of the Rājā about 40, or 50 years previously by Wilkinson Sahib."⁸ Cunningham

¹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 228ff.

² If the Sālikas over whom Iśānavarman won a victory are identified with the Chūlas, the Maukharī king must have penetrated much further to the south.

³ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 40 and plate IX; above Vol. IV, p. 237, note 4.

⁴ Bhattacharya's *List*, No. 1651. In an inscription at Arang, the name of Rapaḥśarin occurs (see Hirālāl's *List*, No. 183), but it cannot be said if he is identical with Bhavadēva Rapaḥśarin, or with the brother of Mahā-Sivagupta Bālārjuna mentioned in the Sirpur stone inscription. (Above, Vol. XI, p. 191.)

⁵ The Rājim plates record the grant of Pimpripadraka in the Pūthāma-śāstī (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 295). These places have not yet been identified, but the former is certainly Pimpri, 2 miles north-west of Rājim and the latter may be Pāndh 6 miles north of Rājim.

⁶ See above, Vol. XXII, pp. 198.

⁷ Edited by Kishore in *J. R. A. S.* (1905), pp. 6172.

⁸ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 137.

conjectured that the stone slab containing the inscription of Bhavadēva Rāṣakṣarin must have been the one removed by Mr. Wilkinson from Bhāṇḍak on the following grounds: (1) It is a long slab just as described to him by the people of Bhāṇḍak and it is of the very same fine-grained reddish stone as that of the Wijāsan hill at Bhāṇḍak; (2) Dr. Stevenson, who has translated it, received a copy of it from Major Wilkinson who was a resident at the Nagpur Court and (3) the inscription records that it was attached to the house of Sugata (Buddha) and therefore it probably belonged to Bhāṇḍak which has ancient Buddhist caves. Cunningham's opinion was subsequently endorsed by R. B. Hiralal¹ and we find the stone inscription now relegated to Bhāṇḍak.² None of the arguments, however, on which Cunningham's opinion was based appear to be convincing. Inscribed slabs of fine-grained reddish sandstone have been found in Chhattisgarh also. The Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I.³ and the Kosgun stone inscription of Vāharēndra,⁴ which are now deposited in the Nagpur Museum, are inscribed on such slabs. As for the statement that such a slab was taken away from Bhāṇḍak we may point out that it may relate to another inscription, viz., 'the Nagpur Museum *prastāvi* of the rulers of Malwa,' as has already been conjectured in the second edition of the *Central Province Gazetteer*⁵ (published in 1870). This latter inscription was translated in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1843 and this date, curious as it might appear, roughly corresponds to the time when according to the account of both the writer in the *Gazetteer* and Cunningham an inscription was removed from Bhāṇḍak to Nagpur. There are, again, some ancient ruins of Buddhist temples and sculptures at Ārang and Sirpur in Chhattisgarh,⁶ and our present inscription, which records the donation of a village to a Buddhist monastery, shows that Buddhism continued to flourish in Chhattisgarh for at least three generations after Bhavadēva Rāṣakṣarin. What is more, if we except this doubtful case of the so-called Bhāṇḍak inscription, we find no other instance of an inscription of the Śālavahsi dynasty discovered in ancient Vidarbha in which, as shown elsewhere,⁷ the whole country from the western boundary of modern Berār to the eastern one of the Marāṭhī district of Bhandār in C. P. was included. This country was in the beginning of the sixth century under the direct rule of the Vākāṭakas. Harishāya, the last known Vākāṭaka king, mentions the king of Kōṣala among his feudatories.⁸ If the period A. D. 530-550 assigned

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 298, note 20; Vol. LXII, p. 163; Hiralal's *List*, p. 12.

² See Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1630.

³ Above, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.

⁴ Hiralal's *List*, No. 210.

⁵ 'The date of its (i.e., of the Nagpur Museum *prastāvi*) translation coincides curiously with the time at which an inscription was removed by the Nagpur Rājā from the famous Śaśka temple at Bhāṇḍak in the Chāṇḍa District.' *C. P. Gazetteer* (Second Edition) Introduction p. lii. Rai Bahadur Hiralal conjecturally relegated this *prastāvi* to Bilhārī in the Jabalpur District, because the name of the village Mōkhabhāṇḍaka granted by it sounds like Dhāṇḍapātaka, Khāṇḍapātaka, etc., mentioned in the Bilhārī stone inscription (see his *List* l. c. on p. 1). But no such name can be found in the list of villages in the Jabalpur District, while we have been able to trace one closely resembling it in the Chāṇḍa District (viz., Mōkhara, 50 miles east of Bhāṇḍak). Vyapura, the name of the *śaśka*, in which it was included, may be represented by Wurgam near Vairāgarh, 30 miles north-east of Mōkhara. These identifications would show that the *prastāvi* originally came from the Chāṇḍa District. For a Paramāra record of a slightly earlier date, found still further to the south, see the Jalnad inscription describing the victories of Jagadīśvara, a son of Udayāditya. (*Annual Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Survey* 1927-1928, pp. 23-24 and above, Vol. XXII, pp. 54-63.)

⁶ See Hiralal's *List*, No. 184.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 169 and 211. It may be noted in this connection that the *Quēlin-Pardes* (*Irāhā-Bhāṇḍa*, *addgāya* 26, st. 2) mentions the town Adāṣā (modern Adāṣ near Saoner in the Nagpur District) as situated in Vidarbha. This clearly shows that the Wardhā was not the eastern boundary of ancient Vidarbha as it is of modern Berār.

⁸ *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 124 ff.

to Tivradēva in the article on the Thākurdīyā plates¹ is correct, an inscription of his predecessor is not likely to have been found at Bhāṇḍak in the heart of the Vākāṭaka territory. We have, therefore, to conclude that the stone inscription of Bhavadēva Rāpakāśarin must have been found somewhere in Dakṣiṇa Kōśala or Chhattīgarh and not at Bhāṇḍak in ancient Vidarbha. When Kielhorn edited the inscription in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, he was informed that the inscription was found at Ratanpur,² but this information also was probably incorrect; for the present Ratanpur was founded by Ratnadēva I. of the Kalachuri dynasty in the eleventh century A.D.³ What seems to have happened is that the stone inscription was first removed to Ratanpur from some place in Chhattīgarh and was later transferred to Nāgpur where it was recorded to have come from Ratanpur.⁴

It has been shown elsewhere on palaeographical and epigraphical evidence that Tivradēva flourished from circa A.D. 530 to 550. His grand-nephew Mahā-Sivagupta Bālārjuna will have to be placed in the first half of the seventh century A. D. Either he or his successor must have been the ruling king when Yuan Chwang visited the capital of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. Though the present plates do not mention any place of issue, we know that Śrīpura in the Raipur District continued to be the capital of Sōṃavathī kings at least from the time of Tivradēva⁵ to that of Mahā-Sivagupta Bālārjuna.⁶ It would therefore be interesting to see how far Yuan Chwang's description of the capital of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala suits Śrīpura.

Several scholars have attempted in the past to locate the capital of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. Ferguson and Grant identified it with Wairāgarh,⁷ while Cunningham took it to be Chāṇḍā.⁸ But, as pointed out by R. B. Hiralal,⁹ what is missing at both these places is any trace of remains of the Buddhist monasteries and temples which Yuan Chwang so prominently mentioned.¹⁰ R. B. Hiralal himself at first identified it with Bhāṇḍak;¹¹ for he thought that the country of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala extended in the west to the eastern boundary of modern Berār. He believed with Cunningham that the stone inscription of Bhavadēva Rāpakāśarin originally belonged to a Buddhist cave at Bhāṇḍak and following Kielhorn he held that a line of Buddhist kings belonging to the Pāṇḍuvachāṭ line ruled in that place down to the 9th century A.D. Later on, after weighing all evidence R. B. Hiralal concluded that 'both the places (Sirpur and Bhāṇḍak) seem at present to have an equal claim to the honour of a visit from the great pilgrim of China, but Bhāṇḍak seems to possess more tangible evidence than Sirpur'.¹² But, as pointed out above, Bhāṇḍak was included in ancient Vidarbha and not in Kōśala and must have been under the direct rule of Pulakēśin II., who, in the Aiholī inscription, is called the lord of 'three Mahārāshṭras comprising 99,000 villages'.¹³ One of these Mahārāshṭras must have been ancient Vidarbha, since it is not separately mentioned in the Aiholī inscription. From the same inscription we learn that Pulakēśin did not annex Kōśala but only exacted submission from the ruling king. Yuan Chwang

¹ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 19.

² J. E. A. S. for 1905, p. 618.

³ See the Ratanpur inscription of Jayallatēva I. above, Vol. I, pp. 22 ff.

⁴ A similar thing seems to have happened in the case of the Ratanpur inscription of Prithvirādeva II and Brahmadēva, which originally seems to have belonged to Mallik. See above p. 114, n. 2.

⁵ Both the Rājān and Balakēśin plates of Tivradēva are issued from Śrīpura.

⁶ As stated above, there are several stone inscriptions of the reign of this king at Sirpur.

⁷ J. E. A. S. (1875), p. 260.

⁸ Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (1904), p. 594.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, p. 162.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 308, note 19.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. LXII, p. 166.

¹² Above, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.

also mentions the king of Kōśala as different from Pulakēśin II. whom he calls the king of Mahā-nishtra. So the capital of Kōśala cannot be located at Bhāndak.

From Yuan Chwang's account we learn that from Kalinga he went north-west by hill and wood for above 1800 li to Kōśala. . . . The king was a Kshatriya by birth, a Buddhist in religion and of noted benevolence. . . . To the south-west of this country, above 300 li from the capital was a mountain called *Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li*. From Kōśala he travelled South, through a forest, for above 900 li to the *An-to-lo* (Andhra) country, the capital of which was *Ping-chi-lo* (Kī-lo¹). This description suits Sirpur better than any other place in Chhattāgarh. Sirpur lies north-west of Mukhalingam on the left bank of the Vamśadhārī, 18 miles from Parākīmeḍī in the Ganjam District, which is now generally taken to be the ancient capital of Kalinga. The reigning king, who was either Mahā-Sivagupta Bālārjuna or his successor, was no doubt a Kshatriya, as the Sōmavāṁśī kings traced their descent from Pāṇḍu, the father of the Epic heroes Pāṇḍavas. Mahā-Sivagupta was a devotee of Śiva,² but the present grant shows that he patronised Buddhism also and the same can probably be said of his successor. The mountain *Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li*, which has been rendered by *Bhramara-giri*, may refer to Bhāṁgāra-Pavvato (Skt. *Bhriṅgāra-parvata*) which is mentioned in an ancient Brāhmi stone inscription at Ārang.³ It may be noted in this connection that Ārang lies south-west of Sirpur as required by the Chinese pilgrim's description. If *Ping-chi-lo*, the capital of the Andhra country, is identified with Vēṅgī (which was then the capital of the Eastern Chālukyas), it will be seen to lie almost due south of Sirpur. Sirpur, therefore, answers best to the bearings and other description of the capital of Kōśala in Yuan Chwang's account. It is true that the distance of Sirpur from Mukhalingam, Ārang and Vēṅgī does not exactly agree with Yuan Chwang's account,⁴ but this is not the only case in which the Chinese pilgrim's distances are found to be incorrect. We have, therefore, no hesitation in identifying the capital of Kōśala in the seventh century A.D. with Sirpur in the Raipur District.

The present grant is not dated, but as stated above it can be assigned to the first half of the seventh century A.D. It records the donation of a village on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of Āshāḍha. Taking the month to be *purnimānto* we find that there was a solar eclipse in Āshāḍha four times in the period A.D. 600 to 650, viz., A. D. 606, 616, 633 and 643. Of these A.D. 633 and 643 would perhaps be too late dates for Mahā-Sivagupta Bālārjuna. So A.D. 606 or 616 may be the date of the present grant. It does not, of course, admit of verification.

Unlike his ancestors Tivradēva⁵ and Harshadēva⁶ who are known to be devotees of Viṣṇu, Mahā-Sivagupta Bālārjuna was a worshipper of Śiva. The seal of the present grant has consequently Nandi, the emblem of Śiva, and not Garuḍa, that of Viṣṇu, who figures on the seal of the Rājīm and Balōḍā plates of Tivradēva. It may again be noted that like the afore-mentioned grants of Tivradēva, the present inscription does not mention the title *Trikalingādhipati* which is met with in many records of the later kings of the Sōmavāṁśī dynasty who ruled over the eastern parts of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala.

¹ Watkins, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 204, 209.

² For a similar discrepancy in Yuan Chwang's account, see his description of Harsha, who from his copper plate inscriptions and Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* is known to have been a devotee of Śiva.

³ Hiralal's *List*, No. 183. *Bhriṅgāra* which means a cricket is after all not very different from *Bhramara*. Or was it some mountain in the *Bhramara-būḍḍo-mandala* in the Eastern State? (Above, Vol. IX, pp. 175 f.) There is, again, a hill named Bhāmragarh in the Ahir Zamindari of the Chāṇḍī District, which also lies South-West of Sirpur, but the distance is more than 100 miles.

⁴ Sirpur is about 275 miles as the crow flies from Mukhalingam and about 300 miles from Vēṅgī. These distances will be somewhat increased if the inevitable windings of the road are taken into consideration.

⁵ Tivradēva calls himself *Paroma-Pośakanta* in his plates.

⁶ See v. 20 of the Sirpur Lakṣmīnaga Temple Inscription, above, Vol. XI, p. 192.

As for the geographical names occurring in the present plates, *Taraṇasaka-bhōga* in which the donated village was situated is probably identical with the *Talahāri-maṇḍala* mentioned in several later inscriptions.¹ From one of these² we learn that the *Talahāri-maṇḍala* included Mallāra (modern Mallār, where the plates were found). The Buddhist images at present deposited in Mallār are said to have been brought from Jaitpur, a village about a mile to the north of Mallār. The site of ancient *Taraṇasaka* where the Buddhist monastery was situated is, therefore, probably marked by the modern village Jaitpur.³ As regards *Kailāsapura* granted by the present charter, there is now no village of that name in the Biliāpur and Janjgir tahsils, but there are several of the name Kailā, which may be taken to correspond to ancient *Kailāsapura*. Of these the one which is nearest to Mallār is Kailā, about 8 miles to the south-west, which contains ruins of an old temple.

We edit the inscription from the original plates.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीनु^१ स्वस्वशेषचित्ति(तौ)गविद्याभ्यासविशेषासादितमहनि(नी)यधिनयस-
- 2 म्मका(सं)पादितमककविजिगीगी)गुणवत्ता[मा]ययप्रकटतरागौ-
- 3 र्विप्रज्ञापभाषन(सं)भावितमहाभ्युदय[*] कार्ति(त्ति)केय इव कृति(त्ति)वाससो
- 4 राक्ष[*] त्रि(श्री)हर्षदेवस्य सा(सं)सु[*] सेमवत्त^२मन्त्रव परमसाहे-
- 5 र्वी मातापितृपादनुभ्यात[*] त्रि(श्री)महाशिवगुतराज[*] कुमलि(श्री) ॥^३ त-
- 6 रद्वक्त^४मोगि(गौ)यकैनासपुरयामे ब्राह्मणा[न*] सम्पूज्य सप्रधा-
- 7 नात्यतिपासिनो यवाकालाष्टासिनन्ममाहर्तुसविधावसु(प)-

Second Plate: First Side.

- 8 मुखानधिधारिण[*] सक्करणानन्याग्वाभ्यन्ताडोपजि(जी)दिनः सर्व[रा]-
- 9 अपुषणा[न*] समाज्ञापयति [१*] विदितमस्तु भवता यवाकाभिरयं चा-
- 10 मः सनिधि[*] नोपनिधिः सदमापराध सर्वेकरसमेतः सर्वपीडा-
- 11 वरिष्ठ[*] पतिषिद्धादभटप्रदेशतया ॥^५ तरद्वक्त^६प्रतिष्ठि-

^१ Dhondeshar's List, Nos. 1231, 1232, and 1240.

^२ Bazarpur inscription of the time of Prithviditya II and Bhojmaditya. See above p. 114, note 2.

^३ This name may represent ancient Chakrapura. There is a village named Tachā 11 miles north-east of Mallār and 3 miles south of Akaltūt in which ruins of temples and tanks are to be seen. Its name would also correspond to *Taraṇasaka*, but it is not known if it contains any Buddhist remains.

^४ Expressed by a symbol.

^५ Read वर.

^६ The *devanāgarī* are superfluous.

^७ Read तरद्वक्त.

^८ Read हरशासनप्रतिपादितो.

^९ Read नवादाक. [The symbol requires सदाद instead of नवादाद.—Ed.]

^{१०} This *devanāgarī* is superfluous.

^{११} Read हरद्वक्त.

i.

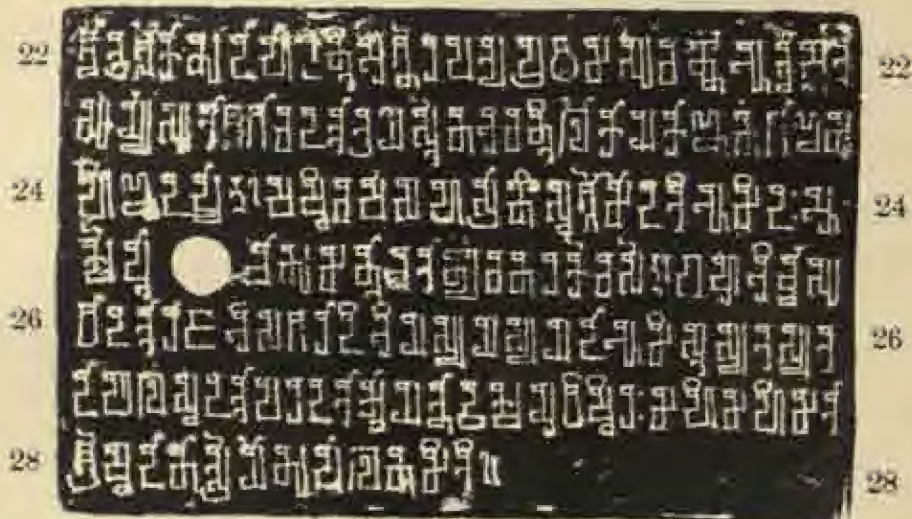
1 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 2 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 3 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 4 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 5 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 6 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥

ii, a.

8 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 9 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 10 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥
 11 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥
 12 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥
 13 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥
 14 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥

ii, b.

15 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १५ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १५ ॥
 16 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १६ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १६ ॥
 17 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १७ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १७ ॥
 18 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १८ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १८ ॥
 19 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १९ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १९ ॥
 20 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २० ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २० ॥



Seal—From a photograph.



ACTUAL SIZE

- 12 तकोरदेवभोर्थात्कारितविहारिकानिवासिचातुर्दिगार्थभि-
 13 सुगङ्गाय श्रीभास्करवर्माभातुलविद्यया ताम्रभासनेनाच-
 14 न्द्राक्षंसमकालायातापिचोराजनय पुण्याभिद्वये ।¹ चापादा-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 15 मावास्वामूर्ध्वयहोपरामे² उदकपूर्वं प्रतिपादित इत्येतच्च
 16 विधियतया समुचितश्रीमभागादिऋमुपनयद्विभ(मे)वद्विः सुख-
 17 न्नतिवस्तव्यमिति ॥ भावितव्य भूमिपालानुद्वि(हि)श्वेदमभिधायते [1*]
 18 भूमिप्रदा दिवि ललन्ति पतन्ति जन्तु जत्वा महि(र्ही) नृपतयो
 19 नरके नृगङ्गात्(गंताः) । एतद्व(ह)यं परिकल्प्य चलाच्च लक्ष्मीः³ मायुस्त-
 20 धा कुर्वत यद्वतामभि(भी)ष्ठ(ष्टम्)⁴ [॥१॥*] अपि च [1*] रक्षापालनयोस्तावत्प-
 (रफ)लं सु-
 21 गतिदुर्मांति(तौ) [1*] को नाम स्वर्गमुच्छिद्य⁵ नरकं प्रतिपद्यते⁶ [॥२॥*]
 व्याममौता(ता)-

Third Plate.

- 22 व्यास श्रीकानुदाहा(ह)रन्ति [1*] चम्पेरपत्न्य(त्वं) प्रथम(मं) सुवर्णा भूर्वेणा(वे)
 23 सु(सु)खेनुताच गावः⁷ [1*] दत्ता⁸ वयस्तेन भवन्ति लोवा यः⁹ काञ्चन
 गाव म-
 24 हि(ही)च दद्यात्¹⁰ ॥[३॥*] पट्टि(ष्टि) वर्षसप्तमाणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आ-
 25 चेता चानुमन्ता च तान्देव नरके वर्मेत्¹¹ [॥४॥*] बहुभिर्भू-
 26 धा दत्ता राजभिः¹² मगरादिभिः¹³ [1*] वस्य वस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य त-
 27 दा फलं [॥५॥*] स्वदत्ता(त्ता) परदत्तास्ता¹⁴ यत्तावच्च कुपिष्ठिरः¹⁵ [1*] महि(र्ही)
 महिमता(ता)

¹ Read कोरदेवभावादाहवा-

² Read ताव-

³ This *laxya* is superfluous. Read पुण्याभिद्वये चापादा-

⁴ Read पराव उदकपूर्वं,

⁵ Read इति । अतश्च

⁶ Read लक्ष्मीमायु-

⁷ Metre *Foranatilaka*.

⁸ Read सुगङ्गा

⁹ Metre *Anushtup*.

¹⁰ Read दत्तावय-

¹¹ Metre *Indravajra*.

¹² Metre *Anushtup*; and of the two following verses-

¹³ Read परदत्ता वा,

¹⁴ Read कुपिष्ठिर

28 चेष्ट दानात्से(च्छे)योनुपञ्चनमिति' ॥[६१*]

The Seal.

1 राज्ञः श्रीहर्षगुप्तस्य सुनोः सङ्कुचगान्धिनः ।*

2 ग्रासनं मित्रगुप्तस्य स्थितमाप्नुवनस्थितिः ॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-9) Om. Hail ! The illustrious **Mahā-Śivaguptarāja**, born in the lunar dynasty, a most devout worshipper of **Mahāśvara (Śiva)**, who meditates on the feet of his father and mother, who is a son of the king, the illustrious **Harṣhadēva** even as **Kārttikēya** is of **Śiva**, who has acquired all the accomplishments of a conqueror through the perfection of commendable discipline attained by a special study of all the royal lore, who has attained great prosperity by his patronage of accomplished persons, exceedingly great valour, intelligence and majesty, being in good health, issues the following command; after honoring the **Brāhmanas** in the village **Kaśāsapura** of the **Taraṣamāka bhāga** (sub-division), to the inhabitants (of the village) together with their Headman, the Collector, the Receiver and other officers who may be in charge (of the village) from time to time, together with their subordinates, as well as to all other royal officials who may be dependant on him—².

(Ll. 9-15) Be it known to you that on the (occasion of) an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of **Āshāḍha**, this village together with treasures and deposits, together with (the face imposed for) the ten offences,³ together with all taxes, free from all obstructions, (and) not to be entered by the regular or irregular forces, has been granted by Us (or as long as the sun and the moon will endure at the request of (Our) maternal uncle **Bhāskara-varman** (and) for the increase of the religious merit of Our parents and of Ourselves by a copper-charter (and) by (a libation of) water, to the Community of venerable (Buddhist) Monks from the four quarters, residing in the small monastery situated in **Taraṣamāka**, which was caused to be constructed by **Alakā**, the wife of **Kāradēva**—.

(Ll. 15-28) Wherefore, offering submissively due taxes, revenue,⁴ etc. (to the donor), you should dwell happily in this village. And thus we say to the future rulers of the land—

(Here follow six benedictory and imprecatory verses.)

The Seal.

This is a charter, enduring as long as the world, of **Śivagupta**, the son of the king, the illustrious **Harṣagupta**, who shines by his good qualities.

No. 19.—THE PURI PLATES OF MADHAVAVARMAN-SAINYABHITA.

By PROF. R. G. BAXX, M.A., Ph.D., CALCUTTA.

In February-March of 1913 I published an article in Bengali on a single copper-plate inscribed on both sides of it, belonging to the reign of King **Madhavavarman** (**Sainyabdhita**, *alias* **Śrinivāsa**)

* Read "pāṇasa" [16*] *id.*

² *Matra dāsaśraddā.*

³ *Lt. on our feet.*

⁴ See above, Vol. IX, p. 47 and n. 1.

⁵ See, above, Vol. XXII, p. 173, n. 8.

of the Śailōdbhava dynasty of Kōngōḍa in Kālīṅga, in the now defunct Bengali monthly magazine, the *Sāhitya* of Calcutta in its Phālguna issue of 1316 B. S. (pp. 887 ff.). It was stated in that article that that plate was undoubtedly the second of a set of at least three such plates which contained the whole text of the epigraph and that the other two plates (viz., the first and the third) had been missing. A hole in the plate indicated that that plate and the other missing ones were originally held together by means of a ring. It is not easy to say if any seal with any legend was adhered on to it just as, we are informed, the Buguḍa plates of the same king possessed. Both the late Mr. R. D. Banerji and Mr. Vinayaka Miśra (*J. H. Q.*, 1931, pp. 665 ff.) omitted to take notice of that plate or my article on the same, while they dealt with the chronology of the Śailōdbhava kings of Kōngōḍa. This plate is preserved in the Museum of the Varāṇasī Research Society, Rājshāhī (Bengal). Luckily enough, last year (1933) my friend Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India, sent to me the impressions of two plates of the length of the above-mentioned (Rājshāhī) plate with marks of ring-holes of the same dimension on them, and remarked that these two plates must have belonged to an incomplete set and added that they had recently been acquired by the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Dr. Chakravarti also said in his letter to me that he had inferred that this incomplete Śailōdbhava plate of the Rājshāhī Museum which I previously edited in Bengali, and the newly acquired two plates belonged to the same set. I am glad to find that with this discovery of Dr. Chakravarti the whole grant of king Mādhavavarman is now completely recovered, making it possible for me to make a contribution on the whole grant to the pages of this journal. The second plate was obtained on behalf of the Varāṇasī Research Society, Rājshāhī, from Mahāmahōpādhyāya, Pandit Sadasaiva Miśra, by my friend Mr. (now Rai Bahadur) Ramia Prasad Chanda, when the latter, with some other members of the Society, toured in the autumn of 1912 in Orissa, visiting places of antiquarian interest. The Mahāmahōpādhyāya got it, as we were told, from the late Mr. Padma Charṇa Mahanti, formerly Superintendent of the Puri Collectorate, an inhabitant of the village Birebāi in the Puri District. The provenance of that plate, as well as of the two newly discovered ones, is not known. We prefer to call the whole set as the Puri Plates of Mādhavavarman, because we got the second plate at Puri from an inhabitant of the same district.

Of the three plates the first and the third are engraved on one side only, but the second plate is engraved on both the sides. The first plate contains 12 lines of writing on its reverse side only, the second 11 lines on each of the obverse and reverse sides, and the third 10 lines on its obverse side only. Each plate measures $6 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ ". In some places, specially on the reverse side of the second plate, some letters appear to be blurred and illegible. Otherwise the inscription is in a fair state of preservation. There is a mark of fracture in the second plate.

The characters in which the inscription is written belong to what Kielhorn would call 'the Ganjām variety of the northern alphabet'. But I should like to differ greatly from his view¹ that they "cannot be earlier than about the 10th century A.D." Such characters were rather prevalent in Kālīṅga in the 7th-8th century A.D. They mostly resemble those used in the Buguḍa plates² of the same king. The age of the script has been discussed by the present writer elsewhere.³ Of initial vowels we have in this epigraph signs for ā, i, and u, e.g., *ānā* l. 10, *āśakṣat* l. 41, *ai* l. 12, 14 and 17, *au* l. 20, *umilāṣa* l. 18, *Uttāṅga* l. 31, etc. The peculiar sign for medial ā in the Buguḍa plates, pointed out by Kielhorn,⁴ as "denoted by a small hook,

¹ Above, Vol. VII, p. 101.

² *Ibid.*, p. 102.

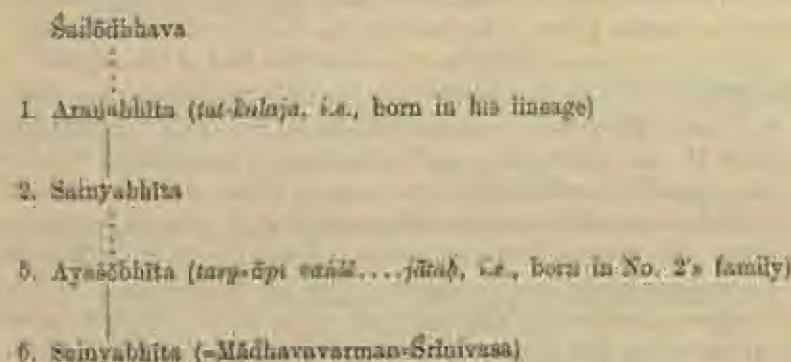
³ Above, Vol. III, pp. 41 ff. and Vol. VII, pp. 100 ff.

⁴ *Vid.* my *The History of North-Eastern India (C. 330-760 A.D.)*, Calcutta, 1934, pp. 162-170.

⁵ Above, Vol. VII, p. 101.

duties of the *Pratidhara*, acted as the *dātaka* of the grant. It may be noted here with advantage that the persons mentioned in ll. 42-44 are identical with those mentioned in the Buguḍa plates of the same king and hence it may be inferred that the latter plates which are undated were not far removed from the date of our plates.

An abstract of the contents of the rest of the grant may be mentioned here. The first verse of the inscription forms an invocation of protection of the god Śaṃbhū (Śiva), which seems to be an indication that the kings of the Śailōdbbhava dynasty were devotees of Śiva. The next verse relates that there was a great person of the name of Pulindasēna who was 'famous amongst the people of Kālīnga'. But he is stated (v. 3) to have been averse to rulership on earth for himself, although he was a highly accomplished man. By his ardent worship of the god Svayambhū for the creation of a fit and able ruler for the country, Śailōdbbhava was created as the lord of the earth, and from him originated a family of good rulers (v. 4). In the next verse (v. 5) we are told that a ruler of the name of Arajābhita was born in his family (*kalaja*) and that he was a terror to his enemies. His son was king Sainyabhita who achieved victory over his enemies with the help of a large troop of elephants (v. 6). In his family again (*tary-āpi mahā*) was afterwards born a king of the significant name of Ayaśōbhita, who had a record of pious deeds at his credit which could not be expected of a king of the Kali age (v. 7). His son was king Sainyabhita who was a great warrior (v. 8). He was able, in his prosperous condition, to reduce the sovereign influence of his enemies over their own statal circle (*maṇḍala*) of kings (v. 9). This king appears to have also been known by the *brāhma* Śrinivāsa and is described in v. 10 to have performed *Atmanirṇa* and other sacrifices which had fallen into disuse on account of the negligence of impious kings of the Kali age, from which it appears that he helped in the restoration of these sacrifices in Kālīnga. He was also called Mādhavavarman and is stated to have issued this charter while residing in Kōṅḍōḍa (v. 11). After this verse 11; the record contains the formal address by the king to the various administrative officials and other people concerned. From the contents of our grant as mentioned above, and those of the Buguḍa plates, we obtain the following genealogical tree:—



We are to notice carefully that Ayaśōbhita (No. 5 above) is not a son of Sainyabhita (No. 2), but a descendant born in his family. We know that the Pūrikud¹ plates of Madhyamarāja, and the Puri² (Uttaraparāva Maṭha) plates and the Kōṅḍōḍa³ grant of Dharmarāja contain the same genealogy as above, but only carrying it down respectively to one and two more rulers in succession, viz., (No. 7) Madhyamarāja (*alias* Ayaśōbhita⁴) and (No. 8) Dharmarāja (*alias* Mānabhitā).

¹ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 281-287.

² J. B. O. B. S., Vol. XVI, pp. 170 ff.

³ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 265.

The last king's dates are known as A.D. 756 and A.D. 743-44 in his above-mentioned grants.¹ But the trouble for scholars in the matter of consideration of the full genealogy of the Sailodbhava dynasty arises when we look at the genealogy of three generations of kings as obtained from the undated Khurda² and the dated (A.D. 619-20) Ganjām³ plates of Mādhavarāja, both belonging palaeographically to the same age. The genealogy obtained from these two plates may be thus stated:—

(Khurda plates.)	(Ganjām plates.)
2. Sainyabhīta	2. Mādhavarāja
3. Ayasābhīta	3. Ayasābhīta
4. Mādhavarāja ("Master of all Kalingas")	4. Mādhavarāja (mentioned as Sainyabhīta in the seal attached, <i>Mādhārāja-Mahāsāmantā</i> of king Śaśāṅka).

Identity of script in both these inscriptions leads us to the inevitable conclusion that the Sainyabhīta of the Khurda plates is identical with the first Mādhavarāja of the Ganjām plates. The most important point here is that these three kings (Nos. 2, 3 and 4) are stated in the relationship of father and son. But in both the Buguḍa plates and the Puri plates under notice Ayasābhīta (No. 5) is stated to be not a son but a descendant of Sainyabhīta (No. 2). Hence the Ayasābhīta (No. 3) of the Khurda and Ganjām plates (stated to be a son of Sainyabhīta No. 2) cannot be the Ayasābhīta of the Buguḍa and Puri plates. So Sainyabhīta (No. 5) (=Mādhavavarman-Śrinivāsa) of Buguḍa and Puri plates cannot be equated with Mādhavarāja (No. 4) of the Khurda and Ganjām plates. Moreover, there is absolutely no doubt that the palaeography of the Buguḍa and our Puri plates is later than that of the Khurda and Ganjām plates, belonging to the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. Attention of scholars should be drawn to the most cogent and proper remark made by Hultzsch, while editing the Ganjām plates of Mādhavarāja (G. E. 360—A.D. 619-20), that "as the alphabet of these (Buguḍa) plates is considerably more modern than that of the subjoined inscription (i.e., the Ganjām plates), it follows that Yasābhīta's (really Ayasābhīta's) son Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman of the Buguḍa plates was a remote descendant of Yasābhīta's (Ayasābhīta's) son Sainyabhīta Mādhavarāja II, the contemporary and subordinate of Śaśāṅkarāja."⁴ I, however, do not think that Sainyabhīta-Mādhavavarman of the Buguḍa plates and the subjoined Puri plates is a very remote descendant of Sainyabhīta-Mādhavarāja II, but the former may only be the grandson of the latter. We have no hesitation in agreeing with Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, with the observations on the topography of Kāśgūḍi-maṣṭale, Oḍra and Kalinga made by him in his article on the Nivimā copper plates grant of Dharmarājāsēva, but we are afraid we cannot subscribe to the view expressed by him though with doubt, that Sainyabhīta-Mādhavarāja of the Ganjām and the Khurda plates may be identical with Sainyabhīta-Mādhavavarman of the Buguḍa plates (and therefore, evidently with the king of the same name in our plates also). Our own view on this point has also been stated in detail elsewhere.⁵ We cannot also support

¹ (Neither of these dates is certain. I think that all the dated records of the Sailodbhava rulers so far known, except the Ganjām plates of G. E. 360, have to be referred only to royal years and not to any particular era.—Ed.)

² J. A. S. B., Vol. LXXIII (1904), pp. 282 ff.

³ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 144.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 24 ff.

⁶ *See my History of South-Eastern India* (C. 320-760 A.D.), pp. 170 ff.

the remark of Dr. Chakravarti¹ who, following the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, says that in spite of paleographic difficulty the Buguda and Ganjam plates might have to be assigned to one and the same ruler. We are, however, glad to note that he feels inclined to place the Pārikud grant towards the end of the 7th or the early part of the 8th century A.D. On the above considerations, we have also taken the first Sainyabhita-Mādhavarāja of the Khurda and Ganjam grants as identical with the first Sainyabhita of the Buguda and our Puri plates, in whose family Ayaśōbhita (No. 5) is described therein as being born. Hence the genealogy of the first six kings of the Śailōdihava dynasty according to our opinion should be settled as follows :—

- Śailōdihava
- ⋮
1. Arayabhita
 -
 2. Sainyabhita I (=Mādhavarāja I)
 -
 3. Ayaśōbhita I
 -
 4. Sainyabhita II (=Mādhavarāja II, A. D. 619-20)
 -
 5. Ayaśōbhita II
 -
 6. Sainyabhita III (=Mādhavavarman-Śrinivāsa).

With these introductory words I edit the grant for the first time from the original plates and the inked impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist.

TEXT.

[Metres : Vv. 1, 3, *Śāntilācīkrīḍita*; vv. 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, *Vasantatīlaka*; vv. 4, 12-17, *Anuśubh*; v. 7, *Indramjīḥ*; v. 10, *Sragdharā*; v. 11, *Āryā*]

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm² Svasti []* [I]dō[r-ddhan]ta-mṛigāla-tantubhir-iva ślakṣā[h*] kara[h*] kōmalaiva
(r-ba)ddh-āhēr-sru-
- 2 vai[h*] spturat-phana-mannā[nā]r-dī[dī]gdha-prabhāsō-ś[ā]kubh[h*] Pārvatyā[h*] so-
[kacha*]-graha-vyatikara-vyāvṛtā[ita]-va[ba]-
- 3 adha-ślathā Gang-āmbha[h*]-plati-bhinna-bhūma-koṣikā[h*] Śambhūr-ja[ā]h[p*] pāta
va[h*] []* Prāśa-mahabha(Pāśa-mahābha)-ka-
- 4 ra-pivara-chāra-vā[hā]hū[h*] kṛṣṇ-śāma-saūchaya-vibhēda-vishā[ā]le-vakṣā[h*]
rā[]va-kōmala-dai-āya-
- 5 [ta]-lōchan-āntā[ta] āyāta[khyāta] Kullōga-janatāsu Pull[ā]ndasēna[h*] 2 []*
Tā-śtīhah gūṇa-āpī satva[ttva]-mahatā

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

² Expressed by a symbol.

- 6 n=śaṣṭham(ṣṭaṣṭh) bhuvō maṇḍala[h*] śaktiś ya[h*] paripālānya jagata[h*] kṣ
nāma sa syād-iti []*] pratyā.
7 dīkṣṭa-vih-āṣavāna bhagavān=ārā[dlu]ta[h*] śāsvata tachit(s=tach-chitt)-ānugu-pam
vāhita.
8 n=śilāś=vāśchih[]*] Svayambhō(bhū)s=api || [3 || *] Śa śilā-sa(sa)kal-ōdbhōdi
śō=āpy=śilāya dlu(dh)ma.
9 15 []*] purikalpita-sod-vatśō(vatśah) prabhu[h*] Śailōdbha[vah*] kṛitah[] 4 []*]
Śailōdbhavasya kulāś=¹Rapa.
10 bhīta śāś=yēn=śakrit=kṛita-bhīyām dvishad-aṅganānām []*] jyōti(t)mā-pravō(bō)-
dha-sama.
11 yē sva-dhīyō(ē)[y=ai]va śā[]ddham=śkampitō nayana-pakṣma-jalēchu chandrah
[] 5 []*] Tasy=Abha.
12 rad=vrū(bu)dhapāśa-samasya sunu(sūnuh) śri-Sai¹(Sai)nyabhīta iti bhūmipatir=
ga[]t[]-.

Second Plate : Obverse.

- 13 yām(yān) []*] yam prāpya*] n-alka-śata-nāga-ghaṭa-vighaṭṭa-lavḍha(bha)-prasāda-
vija[yam mu]mudō
14 dhāriti[] || 6 ||*] Tasy=āpi vad(vadh)ś[]= [tha*] yath-ārtha-nāmā jātō=²Yasōbhīta
iti kṣhi.
15 ti[]lāh []*] yēna prarū(rū)dhō=pi ³subhāś-charittair=amṛitā[h*] kalāśka[h*]
Kali(h)-darppaśasya || 7 ||*]
16 [Jātō=tha*] tasya tanaya(s)=śukriti[]tī samasta-s[]mantini-nayana-śatpada-puṇḍarika-
[h*] ||1|| śri-
17 Sainyabhīta || bhūmipatir=mah-āhna-kumbha-athall-dalana-darśit-śai-
18 dhāra[h*] || 8 ||*] Jātōna yēna kamalākatavat=eva-gōttra[m]⁴ anmilitam dinakṛi-
tya
19 mahōdayēna []*] saṅkalpita-maṇḍala-rohaś=cha gaṭā[h*] prajāśam-āṣu dvishō
graha-ga-
20 gā ita yasya dīptā || 9 ||*] Kāśyap-bhūtadhatṛipatibhir-upechit-śāśka-pāp-ā-
21 vatōra[]=nūā yēhām kath=āpi prahyam=abhimatā kṛti-mā(gā)lir=sjaśam []*]
22 ya)kai=tat-Aivamēdha-prahitibhir=amatā lambhita ⁵triptim=urvīm=uddipt-ātāti-
23 palōna-kahya-kṛti-patunā Śrinivāseṇa yēna || 10 ||*] Kōṅgōda-kṛta-nīkōtaḥ

Second Plate : Reverse.

- 24 śrāda-māṅkara-mari(t)chi-siti[]ta-kṛti[h*] * sa śri-Mādhava(va*)rimā nṛpa-mā-
25 na-vighoṭṭana[h*] kuśal || 11 ||*] Āsmih(Aamin) bhū-mma(ma)gāś śri-
sāmnta-mahāśm.

¹ The name is *Arupabhīta*.

² An example of Prakrit influence.

³ There is a superfluous *ay* here (l. 14), and a superfluous *śāśka* in l. 15.

⁴ The name is *Ayāśāśka*.

⁵ Read *gṛīma=anmilita*.

⁶ Read *lambhita=tri*.

⁷ Read *śrīna-mādhava* as in the Buguḍa plates.

i.



ii, a.



ii, b.

24

-26-

28

30

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38

40

42

44

246

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42

44

- 26 nta-mahārāja-rājara(nya)ka-rājaputtr-[ā]ta(na)raṅga-dapḍanāyuka-dapḍapāi-
 27 n-ōparikam-vishayapati-tadāniyu[kta*]kāmva(kān-va)rttamāna-bhaviṣyatō vya-
 28 vahāriṣa[h*] sa-karapāra(nān)=vrā(bṛā)hmaṇa-purāḡ-ādi[n*] jānapadānā-chāṭṭa(a)-
 bhāṭa-vallabha-
 29 jāṭiyān(rān) yathārham* pājayati mānayati [i*] Vīditam=asta bhavatām(tā)m
 30 Thōraṇa-vishaya-samvandha(mbadhā)-Sā(Mā ?)la-grāma[h*] ————— Kauṭika-
 31 gōtrāya — *Utathya-pravarāya — — — *nānā-pravarāya Chchhandōga-charaṇā-
 32 ya Kautuma-sākhāya Bhāṭa-Vittadēvaṣya(vāya) mālā-pittāṭa-ātmanā-cha puṇy-ā-
 33 bhūvīddhayaṣ salila-dhārā-pura[h*]sarōḡ-ākaratvāna *māchandr-ārka-kshītī(ti)-
 sama-
 34 kālām pratipāditō-smābhī[h*] Yātā-cha tāmva(nra)-paṭṭakam dāśadhā* dharmma-
 gaura-

Third Plate.

- 35 vā[t*] kalpa-kalp-āntarō-āpi na *kaiś-cha paripanthinā bhavitavyam=iti
 36 nktāṣ-cha Mānavō dharmmaśāstrō [i*] Va(Ba)hubhīr-vyamadhā dattā rājabhi-
 [s*]-Sagar-ādī-
 37 bhīh [i*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmita(s=ta)ya tasya tadā phaladh(m)
 [12] [i*] Mā bhūva(d=a)phala-ā-
 38 ākā vaḥ para-datt-ētī pā[s]thivah(vāh) [i*] sva-dānāt-phalam-ānantyaḥ *para-
 datt-ānupāla-
 39 mah(nō) [13] [i*] Sva-dattāḥ para-dattam-vā(ttām vā) yō harēti(ta) vasu-
 dharā(tām) [i*] sa viśṭhāyām kṛmīr-bhūtvā
 40 pitṛibhī[h*] saha pachyatō [14] [i*] Shaubhīm varsha-sakastāpi svarggā
 mōdati bhā-
 41 mīnāḥ [i*] ākrāḥptā ch-ānumantā cha tāny-ēva narakam-va(kō va)sāt [15] [i*]
 Lā(Lā)khit-ō-
 42 pēndrasinhōna(sinhō)-tra tanayā(yah) Kuṇḍabhōginā(mah) [i*] lāchhitāḥ Jaya-
 sīn(sinhō)na [u]kti-
 43 rōṇa[th*] Chchhaḍḍābhōginō(nā) [16] [i*] Samyag-ārādhita-svām-prasāda-śiṣṭa-
 mānasah [i*] dūta-
 44 [kō] Gaṅgabhadro-(tra*) prātihāya(ryō) vyavasthitaḥ [17] [i*] Samvat
 20 (1) 3 ||

* Read *Sparīḥa-vishaya.

* The rēpha meant for hān has been wrongly put on pā by the engraver.

* The five letters after this word seem to be viśṭhāyāḥ. [The reading of the first three of these five letters is quite uncertain. If the reading suggested is accepted the name of the village granted will have to be considered as missing which is unlikely.—Ed.]

* [The reading of the second letter is uncertain. It may be pointed out that the Kauṭika gōtra cannot have Viathya pramā.—Ed.]

* The letter before this word reads like lu. [The corrected reading is Lā(dā)khitā.—Ed.]

* The three letters before this word read like lōlān. [The reading appears to be dī...Sagarsvayā.—Ed.]

* Read *māchandr-ārka.

* [Reading seems to be tāmva-pūṭaka-darśad[d*].—Ed.]

* Read āchchit for ānī-cha.

* The pu of this word looks like dā, the mātra having closed up the top of the letter.

TRANSLATION.

On Blessings.

(Verse 1) May the matted locks of hair of Sumbhu, in which the particles of ashes are separated by the overflowing waters of the Gaṅgā (on his head), which are touched by the soft rays of the moon (also on his head) as if by white lotus fibres, of which the lustre is danted by the red rays of the entwining snakes bearing sparkling gems on their hoods, and which are slackened because of their knot being set aside on account of Pārvatī's union accompanied with a grasp of His hair, protect you!

(Verse 2) (There was a person) famous amongst the people of Kaliṅga, named Pulindasēna, tall, with charming arms as stout as the trunk of a large elephant, having a chest as broad as the fragment(?) of a black mountain, and whose eyes were as large as the soft petals of lotuses.

(Verse 3) By him, though so accomplished and great in spirit, (the rulership over) the circle of the earth was not longed for. (By this person) denying the pleasure of rulership, thinking as to who (else) would be the man that would be able to rule over the earth, was worshipped the lord Svayambhū (Brahmā) the eternal, and (the latter) being desirous of creating (one), according to his heart's desires, granted his prayer.

(Verse 4) As (he) was observed as splitting asunder pieces of rocks, Śailōdbhava was made by this wise (god) as the lord with an illustrious dynasty (of rulers originating from him) counsellor.

(Verse 5) A descendant in the family of Śailōdbhava, was Arasābhita, by whom, at the time of the rise of the moon-light, the moon was caused to tremble, along with their own intellect, in the waters from the eye-lashes of the wives¹ of his enemies who were frightened repeatedly.

(Verse 6) Of him who was equal to the lord of gods, (i.e., Indra), the very great king Satnyabhita was the son; by obtaining him who attained victory in which prevailed calmness of disposition (even) in havoc caused (amongst his enemies) by rows of many hundreds of elephants,² (as her lord), the Earth felt delighted.

(Verse 7) Afterwards, in his family was born King Ayaśōbhita, whose name carried a true import, by whom was purged, by means of his illustrious deeds, the accumulated dirt on the mirror of the Kali age.

(Verse 8) Then was born his son, of meritorious deeds, the king, named Satnyabhita, who is (as it were) a lotus to the bee-like eyes of all ladies, and the edge of whose sword is playfully active in splitting asunder the frontal globes of the huge elephants³ (of his enemies).

(Verse 9) By this (king), while in great prosperity,⁴ is made illustrious his own family, just like a lotus pool (in which the lotuses are) opened by the sun while rising; and on account of his majesty his enemies, with the power of their own circle of kings reduced, meet with destruction, just as all (the other) planets (disappear), with the brilliance of their own discs diminished, on account of the lustre (of the sun).

(Verse 10) By this Śrinivāsa⁵, who is skilful in the act of destruction of the partisans of his highly insolent enemies, the gods are made to enjoy extreme satisfaction on account of (his perfor-

¹ This king caused death of his enemies, whose wives were therefore compelled to shed tears of sorrow on account of their widowhood which destroyed for ever their union with their husbands at moon-rise.

² Elephants played an important part in the army of the Kaliṅga Kings in ancient times.

³ It may be noted that the words, *aditya*, *manōhara* and *apṛa* as used in this verse convey by *śloka* the double meanings (1) prosperity and (2) rise, (3) the eternal circle of kings and (4) disc, and (5) majesty and (6) lustre, respectively.

⁵ Satnyabhita-Mādhavarasman had a bird's Śrinivāsa, which also means Viṣṇu, as well as an abode of royalty.

manes of those *Āsvamedhā*¹ and other sacrifices the very mention of which is (now) relegated to the domain of non-existence by kings of the earth belonging to the Kali age, who have accumulated (scarcely) introduced sins of many kinds, (but) which was liked ever so much by (kings) who were upholders of fame.

(Verse 11) This *Mādhavavarman*, whose fame is as white as the rays of the autumnal moon and who is competent to crush the pride of his enemies, being in good health, and (yet) putting up in his residence in *Kōśagōda*.²—

(Lines 25-35) duly honours and extolls the illustrious *Sāmantas*,³ *Mahāśāmantas*, *Mahā-rājās*, *Rājagolās*, *Rājaputras*,⁴ *Antarikṣas*, *Dapṣadāyikas*, *Dapṣapāṭikas*, *Uparikas*, *Vishayapatis* and *Tadānigrahakas*, the present and the future *vysahātrins* (administrative officers), the *gṛhnyakas* with the *Karakas* and the chief *Brāhmaṇas* and (also) those of the *Chāṭa*, *Bhaṭṭa* and *Vallabha* classes (with the following information).—

Be it known to you that the village of *Sāla* (*Māla*!) situated in the *vishaya* of *Thōraka*, has been given, free of all dues, by me, to last as long as the sun and the moon endure and the earth lasts, with a libation of water for the enhancement of the religious merit of my parents and of my own self, to *Bhaṭṭa Vittadēva* of the *Kauśika gōtra*, having for his *pramāyas* *Utathya* and others) belonging to the *Chhandōga charaga* and the *Kaṭhums ābhāt*.

As this was a copper-plate grant, no one should stand as an impediment (in its operation) even in future *Kalpas*, out of respect to *dharma* in ten ways⁵. There are *verses* also mentioned in the *Mānava Dharmasūtra* (to the same effect).—

(Verses 12-15) (There are four of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses.)

(Verse 16) In this (grant) *Upēndrasattha*, son of *Kupḍabhōgin*, was the writer, and the character was marked by *Jayaśilpa* and incised by *Chhaḍḍibhōgin*.

(Verse 17) *Gaṅgabhadra*, whose mind was attached, through favour, to his master whom he served thoroughly, and who was appointed to the duties of the *Pratibhāre*, acted as the *dātaka* herein.

Sarivat 20(?) + 3.

No. 20.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM SHERGADH.

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Shergadh, where the two inscriptions edited here are found, is a deserted town in the *Atru Nizamat* or *Taluka* of the *Kotah* state in *Rājputānā*. It is about 12 miles to the south-west of the railway station *Atru* on the *Kotah-Bina* line of the G. I. P. Railway. Within the stony massive walls of the town there are more than three thousand houses in different stages of dilapidation. The present population, however, is hardly more than 300 and so the township presents a dreary appearance even by day. According to local tradition, the present name

¹ This refers to the restoration of the *śrautāśvamedhas* in the seventh century A.D. not only in *Kalings*, but in many other parts of North-Eastern India.

² Also spelt as *Kaśigōda* in some of the other grants of the *Śaśibhāva* dynasty.

³ For the meaning and functions of these terms, vide the author's article in Bengali on "the administration of the Pāla Kings" of Bengal: *Pūjabā, Aśvina* issue, B. S. 1343.

⁴ *Thōraka*, is also mentioned as the *vishaya* in which the village of *Arhaṇṇa* mentioned in the *Khandi* grant (*J. A. S. B.* Vol. LXXIII 1904, pp. 232 ff.) is situated.

⁵ [See p. 122, n. 4.—Ed.]

of the town was given to it after its capture by Sher Shāh of the Sūr dynasty in the course of his Malwa campaign. Its ancient name, mentioned in several inscriptions found at the place, was Kōṣavarddhana, 'the increaser or the asset of the treasury'. The Inscription B edited below, shows that the city was an important thriving centre of trade, industry and agriculture, contributing a good deal to the royal treasury. It was also an important military station. The present dilapidated township itself was a strong fort in the Hindu period, as its still existing powerful ramparts show. It is also expressly referred to as a fort (*Durga*) in the Inscription A. A new fort was constructed outside the old one in the Muslim period. When Dr. Mathurālal, the State Historian, Kotah, and myself visited Shergarh in February 1936 in the course of our tour of archaeological explorations undertaken at the instance of the Kotah Government, we came across several Jain, Hindu and Buddhist inscriptions, both in the new and in the old fort, ranging from the 8th to the 13th century A.D. It is clear that during this period the citizens of this flourishing city followed these three faiths.

The inscriptions are engraved on two different stone tablets, built into the present temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. Of these, the Inscription B, has been edited with a short note by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL, pp. 175-6. Inscription A has not yet been noticed or published. As one ascends the platform of the temple, the Inscription A is to be seen in the wall on the left near the third stair step. The Inscription B is on a tablet built into a front line pillar of the *maṇḍapa* to the left of the entrance. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, while editing this last mentioned record, has observed that it is inscribed on a stone lying outside the temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa.¹ The information supplied to him in this connection was incorrect. The two stone tablets in the temple have been occupying their present position ever since the time of the visit of the *munsifs* of Col. Tod to this temple during the second quarter of the last century. According to the information given by the present priest, no repairs have been done to the temple during the last three generations.

A.—Inscription of the Paramāra Udayāditya.

The stone on which this record has been inscribed is well dressed and is 27" x 23" in dimension. The record, however, is not complete and its concluding lines have been broken off. The present temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa cannot be more than 300 or 400 years old. Hence it would appear that when the temple of the Paramāra period was subsequently repaired, or overhauled, or pulled down, the inscribed tablets were re-set in the new structure in the course of which the lower portion of the tablet of this inscription might have been damaged. To judge from other Paramāra grants, the last portion of the record consisted probably of not more than two lines and contained the concluding line of the last verse, the stanza beginning with *hi kausila-dal-ṣaba-bhāṣa-lalita*, followed possibly by the name of the *dātaka*, the signature of the donor, and the date of the record given in figures at the end.

The stone has further peeled off to its right, destroying in various degrees the concluding portions of the first twelve lines of the record. Local tradition ascribes this damage to a lightning stroke. With the exception of a portion of the date, the rest of the missing part can be restored with the help of other Paramāra records. The record as preserved to-day consists of 24 lines, each line containing about 38 letters.

The characters are the normal Nāgarī of the 11th century to which the record belongs. The duct of writing is good and the medial & *vāitrās* are graceful. The engraver's mistakes are very few.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 175.

The Language of the record is Sanskrit throughout. The rules of *samiti* are usually observed with a few exceptions like *śri Udayāditya*, l. 6, *maddhā* *armed*, l. 19, etc. Grammatical mistakes are also very few. We have *mātri-pitrōḥ* for *mātā-pitrōḥ* in l. 16 and *anyuṣ* for *anyuṣ* in ll. 19 and 22. The latter, however, may possibly be the engraver's mistake. The record is partly in prose and partly in poetry, poetical portions consisting of the introductory and the imprecatory verses.

The object of the record is the grant of a village made by the *Parama-Bhāṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Śrī-Udayāditya* of the Paramāra house. The arrangement of its contents is similar to what we see in many other Paramāra grants. It opens with the two usual verses in the adoration of Śiva followed by the name and genealogy of the donor, and then follow the name of the village granted, an address to its inhabitants, the date, the place, the occasion and the motive of the grant, the name of the donee and the usual exhortations to succeeding monarchs.

Our record describes the donor, king *Udayāditya*, as meditating on the feet of *Bhōjadēva*. The relationship between the two, however, is not stated. A late record from Udayapur, belonging to the 16th century A. D., states that *Udayāditya* was the son of *Qāṭā*, grandson of *Gūṇḍala*, and great grandson of *Śūravira*, who belonged to the Paramāra clan.¹ This document would make *Udayāditya* a scion of a minor Paramāra branch, and very remotely related, if related at all, to *Bhōjarāja*. Two official Paramāra documents, however, issued within a generation of the death of *Udayāditya*, contain quite a different statement. Thus the *Nāgpur prasasti*,² issued in the reign of *Lakṣmādēva*, a son of *Udayāditya*, refers to the latter as a *bandhu* of *Bhōja*. Till recently this was the only early record describing the relationship of *Bhōja* with *Udayāditya* and it was possible to suggest, especially in view of the genealogy given in the Udayapur inscription, that the term *bandhu* may have been used in denoting a relation in general rather than a real brother.³ Recently, however, another Paramāra record, the Jainad stone inscription of *Jagaddēva*, has been published. This ruler is very probably identical with *Lakṣmādēva* in whose reign the *Nāgpur prasasti* was composed. In this record a specific assertion is made that *Udayāditya* was the father and *Bhōja* the uncle of *Jagaddēva*,⁴ which shows that the word *bandhu* of the *Nāgpur prasasti* must be taken as having its normal sense, viz., a brother.

When two official Paramāra documents, issued within less than 25 years of the death of *Udayāditya*, state that he was a brother of *Bhōja*, we have to accept their testimony in preference to that of an early 16th century record, which does not seem to have been properly edited as well.

In the genealogy of *Udayāditya*, as given in our record, his predecessors *Vākpāti*, *Sindhurāja* and *Bhōja* are mentioned. The predecessors of *Vākpāti* are passed over, probably as being too remote in time. The omission of *Jayasūriha*, the immediate predecessor of *Udayāditya*, however, cannot be explained on that ground. It is worth pointing out that no record either of *Udayāditya* or of any of his successors, mentions *Jayasūriha*, even when the genealogy is taken back to *Bhōja*.⁵ This can hardly be regarded as accidental. It seems that *Bhōja* left behind no son and in the chaos that followed his death, several of his relations came forward to claim

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. IX, p. 549.

² *Asi.*, Vol. II, p. 185; cf. v. 32. हस (भोजस्य) बन्धुद्वयानिर्वाहद्वयः ।

³ Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp. 123-4.

⁴ *As. Rep. Archaeol. Dept., Nizam's Dominions*, 1927-28, pp. 23 f.; *Asi.*, Vol. XXII, p. 54; cf. v. 6. पत्नीद्वयानिर्वाहः ।

पितासीहेर विजयः न च भोजराजः ।

⁵ *Nāgpur prasasti*, *Asi.*, Vol. II, p. 185; *Udayapur prasasti*, *Asi.*, Vol. I, p. 225; *Mādhūṣ plates of Dēvapāla*, *ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 108.

the Paramāra throne¹, when the victorious armies of Bhīma and Karna returned to their homes. Udayāditya and Jayasinha were two among these claimants. Jayasinha succeeded in the beginning with the help of Sōmāvara I, the Chālukya ruler of Kalyāṇ². How he was related to Bhōja is not yet known. Probably he was not his son,³ but a distant relative.

The success of Jayasinha must have for a time frustrated the ambition of Udayāditya. He, however, got his opportunity when Jayasinha was overthrown by Sōmāvara II. With the help of the Chāhārala ruler Darishha III, Udayāditya succeeded in reconquering Mālava.⁴ If the above conjecture is correct, it is natural that the official records of his time should not describe him as *Jayasinhāditya-pād-śāhāditya*. Throughout his reign Jayasinha was practically a feudatory of the Chāhālyan, the bitter and long-standing enemies of the Paramāras. He must therefore have been regarded as a disgrace to the Paramāra house, and as one whose name even did not deserve to be included in its official genealogies. Udayāditya is therefore always described in his own and in his successors' records as meditating on the feet of Bhōja and not of his immediate predecessor, Jayasinha.

The date of the grant which is now partially lost, is the Damanaka Festival on the fourteenth day of the bright half of Chaitra of the (Vikrama Samvat) year eleven hundred exceeded by It is unfortunate that the most material part of the date giving the years in excess of 1100 has been lost in the five letters peeled off at the end of the L 9, as dated records are badly needed to determine the precise limits of the reign of king Udayāditya.

Damanaka was a spring festival when a branch of damru tree was offered to god Śiva or Viṣṇu with a prayer to him and in Malava for the happiness and felicity of the whole household.⁵ Our inscription agrees with Hāmlati and Madavaratna in describing Chaitra *śukla* 14 as the day of this festival. Other authorities, however, lay down that it was to take place two days earlier,⁶

The grant made in this inscription, like most of those recorded in the Inscription B below, is made in favour of the temple of Sōmanātha, which is described as being situated in the fort of Kōṣavardhāna, i.e., modern Shergaḥ. From the boundaries of Sōmanāthapalli given in the Inscription B, it is clear that the temple of Sōmanātha of the Paramāra period was situated somewhere near the modern temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa where the inscriptions are preserved at present. When I visited this temple in February 1939, its priest showed me a Śiva-līṅga in its *manapa* which is known as Sōmanātha even to this day. It may be that the ancient temple of Sōmanātha, which was the principal object of worship of the inhabitants of Kōṣavardhāna, as shown by the numerous grants given to it in the Inscription B below, was destroyed by the Muslims, probably when the fort was captured by them during the reign of Sher Shāh. The temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa may have escaped destruction as being of minor importance. Later on when the fury of the Muslim storm had passed over, the līṅga of Sōmanātha may have been transferred to the neighbouring temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, along with its inscribed tablets recording various donations. It is also possible, though not probable, that Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa may be interlopers in their present temple, a Vaiṣṇavite revolution being responsible for the

¹ The expression *chhatra* in the *śūla-śāstra* of the Nāgpur *pramāṇi* makes this supposition very probable.

² *Vikramādityaśataka*, III, 67.

³ Udayāditya would have hesitated to describe himself as meditating on the feet of his rival's father.

⁴ *Prithvirājpurāṇa*, V, 37.

⁵ *Saurin-kāśetubhāṣā*, pp. 19-23.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

enthronement of Lakshmi and Nārāyaṇa in the sanctum of the present temple when Śimanātha was relegated to a corner of its *śaṅkha*.

A portion of the inscription recording the details of the situation of the village granted is missing, but the village seems to have been **Vilāpadraka**, since its inhabitants are exhorted to pay the usual royal dues to the temple. It is described as situated in the twelve-village subdivision of **radraha**, situated in the *śaṅkha* or district of **Chachchurōpi**. The last mentioned place is obviously identical with the village Chachchurā, (spelt in Survey maps as Chachom), situated about 24 miles S. S. E. of Shergadh, on the confluence of the Parwān and the Nimajī. Vilāpadraka may be Bilāpī, a village about 11 miles E. S. E. of Shergadh. Or, it may be identified with the village Bilwār, situated about 25 miles east of Shergadh. I am indebted to Dr. Mathurajī, the State Historian, Kotah, for this information.

TEXT¹.

- 1 ॐ स्वस्ति [१^a] ज[योभ्युदयश्च । जयति²]१ योमकेगोसो [यः सगोय
विभर्ति ताम् । ऐ³]न्दर्वो सि[मि]स्मा लेखा जग-
- 2 [दी]जाकुसुमतिन् । [। १ ॥⁴] तन्वतु[न्] वः स्मरान्तेः कल्याणम-
निगं जटा । करपात्रासुमवीडाम[तडि⁵]-
- 3 इत्यपिपुत्राः ॥ [२ ॥⁶] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवावपति-
राजदेवपा[दानु⁷]-
- 4 ध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमिथुगजदेवपा[दानुध्यातपर⁸]-
- 5 ममभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवपादानुध्यातपर[मभट्टारकम⁹]-
- 6 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीउदयादिह्यदेव[ः¹⁰] कुमलो ॥ चक्षुरोणीभेड[तान्त-
पाति . . ॥¹¹]-
- 7 रत्नहृदादयश्च श्रीश्रीशिवदेवदुर्गोद्योयीसोमनाथदेव[म्]तिरु¹².....
- 8 विज्ञापद्वयमि ससुपगतान् समस्ताराजपुरुषान् ज्ञा[ज्ञा]ज्ञोत्तरान् प्रति[निवा-
सिपा किलज¹³]-
- 9 नपदादीन् वो[वो]ध्यव्यस्तु वः संविदितं¹⁴ यथा कर्षासिकापामावस्थितैर-
क्षा[भि.....भि¹⁵]-
- 10 कयतैकादशकसंवत्सरै चैवसुदि[शुभ]चतुर्दश्यां दमनकपर्चणि सात्वा चराचरगु-
[र्हं भव्यम् भ¹⁶]-

¹ The name of this river is spelt as *Shomaj* in Survey maps.

² From the original stone and ink-impression.

³ Expressed by a symbol, which is only partly visible.

⁴ Usually स्वस्ति is followed in Sanskrit records by the verse जयति श्रीमहेश्वरी, etc. Here medial & sign is partly clear on the letter following so that the place damaged can accommodate the letters supplied in the text.

⁵ Read *ay. Udayadityadev*.

⁶ What followed in the next in the portion destroyed cannot be inferred.

⁷ The sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁸ Only five letters have been lost in the missing portion of this line of which the last syllable must have been *dhī*. Hence it is apparent that the unit and the decimal figures together consisted of four letters only.

- 11 वानीपतिं समभ्यर्च्य संसारघासारतां दृष्ट्वा । तथाहि [1*] वाताभविभ्वम-
मिदं बहुधाधिप[त्यमापात*]-
- 12 साधमधुरो विषयीपमोगः । प्राणास्तृणापजलवि(वि)न्दुसमा नराणां धर्मः
सखा परम[हो पर*]-
- 13 लोक्याने । [। ३ ।*] ध्वमसंसारचक्रावधाराधारमिमां चय्य(यम्) ।
प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पद्यात्तापः परं फलं(लम्) [। ४ ।*]
- 14 इति जगती विनश्वरं स्वरूपमाकलय्यादृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य चन्द्रार्द्धाश्ववचनिसम-
कालं या-
- 15 वत्परया भक्त्या श्रीकोशवर्द्धनदुर्गायित्रीसोमनाथदेवायैवोपरिलिखितधामः स(स)-
सीमावृणयू-
- 16 तिस्रोचरपर्यन्तः सञ्जयमालाकुलः सङ्गिरण्यभागभोगोपरिकरसर्वादायसमेतश्च मावृ-
(ता)पिचौराव-
- 17 नञ् पुण्यवशीभित्तये ।¹ शसनेनोदकपूर्वकतया प्रदत्त इति । तन्मत्वा
तच्चिवांसिजनपदैयथा[५*]-
- 18 दीयमानभागभोगकरङ्गिरण्यादिकं देवव्रा(व्रा)ह्मणमुक्तिवर्जमात्रावपणविधेयैर्भूत्वा
सर्वमस्तु²
- 19 समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं इष्ट्वा यस्मदंशजैरर्णै(नै)रपि भा-
विभोक्तृभिरस्मददत्तधर्मा(र्मा)-
- 20 दायोयमनुमंतव्यः पालनोवच ॥ उक्तं च [1*] व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता
राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य य-
- 21 स्व यदा भूमिस्तास्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) । [। ५ ।*] यानीह
दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । नि-
- 22 श्चान्त्वान्तिप्रतिभानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददोत । [। ६ ।*]
यस्मात्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरदिरर्णै(नै)-
- 23 च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनोयं(यम्) । लक्ष्म्यास्तडिदलयवुदु(वुदु)दचंचलाया दानं
फलं परयजःपरिपाल-
- 24 नं च । [। ७ ।*] सर्वानितान् भाविनः पार्थिवेदाम् भूयो भूयो
याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्व³

¹ This *dagda* is superfluous.

² Best *buddhi* deemed.

³ About the probable extent of the lost portion of the inscription, see the introduction, p. 153.

B.—The Sōmanātha Temple Inscription.

This record is inscribed on a tablet, 16"×13" in dimension, which is smoothly dressed. The original record was only in 15 lines, each line containing about 30 to 36 letters. At its end, however, there are scribbled two lines, of which the second is extensively damaged. This postscript was written in Śaivvat 1566 in the reign of Mahārāja Śrī-Jaṣṭambhu, who seems to have been some local ruler.

The characters of the record are the Nāgarī ones of the 11th century, to which it belongs. There is nothing particularly worth noting about them; attention, however, may be drawn to the way in which the medial *ś* of *bhā* in *bhāwā* has been written in l. 8.

As regards the orthography, *ṣ* is usually written for *ṣ*; cf. *Vaiśākha* for *Vaiśākha* in ll. 1 and 3, *śrīśākha* for *śrīśākha* in l. 1, *śā* for *śā* in l. 5, *śākhika* for *śākhika* in l. 12. *śā*, however, is not confounded with *śā*; cf. *śā* in l. 1, *śā* in l. 2 and *śrīśākha* in l. 4. The second letter of the conjunct, of which *ṣ* is the first member, is sometimes doubled and sometimes not; cf. *pāṣṭaka* in l. 13 and *mārgādāya* in ll. 3 and 4, but *chandrāka* in ll. 2, 4, 6 and 7, *Kapardaka* in l. 8 and *mārgādā* in l. 14.

The Language of the record is Sanskrit, but showing many mistakes and some admixture of Prakrit. Wrong case-endings, or rather, no case-endings, are to be seen in the case of *datta* *śrīśākha* for *datta śrīśākha* in l. 4, *ghāṇa* for *ghāṇa* in l. 5, *śālīyā* for *śālīyā* in l. 11. The sandhi rules are often neglected, cf. *śālīyā bhāṭāraka* for *śālīyā-bhāṭāraka* in l. 2.]

This inscription is a public register of several donations given mainly to the same temple of Sōmanātha, which is the donor of the Inscription A above. In this respect it resembles the first part of the Siyadōṇī inscription, inscribed about half a century earlier. Shergadh is only about 125 miles to the west of Siroj Khurd, where the Siyadōṇī inscription was discovered.

The donors in this record are all private individuals, mostly merchants or landlords. In the Siyadōṇī inscription the record of each donation is separated from that of the succeeding one by the interposing of a peculiar punctuation symbol; this has been done only once in the present record, at the end of the second donation in l. 4. The dates of the donations have been given only in the first three cases. The latest of these, that of the donation No. 3, is Māgha Śuddha 13 of Śaivvat 1084. The dates of the subsequent donations mentioned in the last section of the record have not been given. These, however, seem to have been made on the same day. And since the oilman Thāyāka, mentioned in the donation of Śaivvat 1084, figures here also as one of the donors, the record as a whole can hardly be much later than Śaivvat 1100.

All the donations but one are in favour of Sōmanātha temple. The exception is the first donation which was given on the third day of the bright half of Vaiśākha of Śaivvat 1074. As the week day is not given, this date cannot be verified, but it probably corresponds to the 2nd of April A. D. 1017. The donation was jointly given by three merchants named Nara-simha, Gōrriśa and Thārditya to Bhāṭāraka Nagaśa and consisted of the daily gift of a *karṣa*, i.e., about three-fourths of a lot of ghee, for the purpose of the anointing of his feet. The record states that this quantity of ghee was to be given from out of the *Māṇḍapikā* tax. *Māṇḍapikā* is a word unknown to Sanskrit *śāstras*, but it seems to be the original term from which the Marāṭhi word *maṇḍap* and the Hindustānī one *maṇḍī*, both meaning market, have been derived. The three merchants mentioned above seem to have constituted the Town Committee in charge of the collection of the market taxes, which were usually collected in kind. The donation given by them was a trifling one, and they may have possessed discretionary powers to make it. Bhāṭā-

raka Nagnaka, the donor, seems to have been a Śaivite rather than a Jain monk, residing in the temple of Śōmanātha. He seems to have dispensed with clothing altogether, though he daily required some ghee for anointing his feet¹.

The second gift was made on Vaisakha sudi 3 of Śarhvat 1075, probably corresponding to the 31st of April A.D. 1018. The donor Varaha is described as *vāryyādāya kavyāśā*. The last word in this expression appears to be Sanskrit in origin, but it is not found in any Sanskrit dictionary. *Kavyāśā* seems to have been the name of an office connected with the collection of tolls on roads. The donation was made for the purpose of providing incense and sandal in the temple of Śōmanātha, and it consisted of five *epishabhas*. On the analogy of *śāśāhas* mentioned in I. 7, we may conclude that *epishabhas* denotes not an ordinary bull but a goat, probably bearing the emblem of the said animal on one of its sides. The Paramēras are not known to have issued a currency of this description in Mālava during the 11th century. Only one ruler of the dynasty, King Dhanyāditya of the Inscription A above, probably issued coins, but they bear the image of a seated godhead on one side and the name of the king on the other.² In Central India and Rājputāṇḍ gold *paṇḍas* were current at this time, but they could not have been described as *epishabhas*. At the time of our records the Hindu kings of Ujjain and the Tōmēras of Dullā were issuing silver and billon coins, having a horseman on the obverse and the bull on the reverse. Whether these coins were current in Mālava and were popularly known as *epishabhas* we do not know. A currency that could be more appropriately described by this term was issued in Mālava, Gujaraṭ and Kāśmīr³ by Śāundagupta in the 3d century. One of his silver issues bore the king's head on one side and the bull on the other.⁴ This type was probably imitated by the rulers of Valabhi in subsequent centuries.⁵ It is not improbable that some local rulers or private moneyers of Mālava may have continued to issue coins of this type down to the 11th century. Not improbably the Paramēra administration may also have done the same, though we have not as yet discovered their coins of this fabric.⁶ Probably some of such a type are described as *epishabhas* in our record. Silver coins current in Central and Northern India at this time were usually 40 grams or about one-third of a tola in weight. Five *epishabhas* would therefore approximately correspond to Rs. 2. Their purchasing power, however, at the time of the grant would have been approximately equal to that of Rs. 10 in the present day.⁷ The record does not state whether this amount for incense and sandal was to be paid monthly or annually.

About nine years later than the last donation, viz., on the thirteenth day of the bright half of Māgha of Śarhvat 1084, i.e., probably on the 12th of January A.D. 1023, these donations were given to the temple by Thakura Dēvarāśmī. In order to provide oil for the temple lamps, he assigned to the temple the entire produce of two of the oil mills owned by Thakya, who is described as *Taikhā-rāja*, and who therefore was probably the chief of the guild of oilmen. He further undertook to give a daily gift of a *śāśā*, i.e., *śāśā* of cowries for providing incense at the *paripāṭikā*. *Śāśā* was equal to the fourth part of a copper *paṇḍa*, and since the latter was equal

¹ [Since the gift is made to last as long as the sun and the moon (exist), it would be better to take Dhātīraka Nagnaka as referring to an image and not to a person.—Ed.]

² *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVI, p. 81.

³ Allen, *Coinages of Indian Coins*, Gupta dynasties, p. 121.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁵ Visakhā and Śaśaka have issued coins bearing a bull on the reverse, (*Ibid.*, pp. 147-8, 151, 2), but these coins could hardly be meant here. These gold coins could hardly have been known in Mālava in the 11th century.

⁶ For the purchasing power of money at this time, see Alcock: *The Rājaputras and their Times*, pp. 378 ff.

to 80 cowries, *kopadika-vāṣi* must have been equal to 20 cowries. Copper *paṇas* were slightly bigger in weight than what a modern pice and a half would be. The donation for the daily incense was therefore slightly less than half a pice and its purchasing power would have been equal to that of half an anna of the present day. What exactly the *parṣadā* was where this incense was to be burnt is difficult to guess. The term usually denotes huts for the hermits. It would appear that there were huts or sheds in the vicinity of the temple of Somanātha, where persons like Bhutāraka Nagnaka used to stay. If some of them required ghee for smearing their feet, others may quite possibly have felt the need of incense. The incense provided by Dāvasyaṁin may probably have been meant for some worthies of the latter category¹.

The third donation of Dāvasyaṁin was the monthly payment of two *varāhas* to be made on the occasion of the *samīrṣati*. The object of this donation is not stated; it was probably a contribution to the general funds of the temple. *Varāhas* are obviously the silver coins issued by the Pratihara King Bhoja, and probably by some of his successors as well, which on one side had the image of a bear². These coins were also about 60 grains in weight; two of them would be equal to a twelve-anna silver piece, if one such were issued to-day. The present-day value of the donation would be about three rupees and a half.

The lines 8-13 record the donations of several *cāsanikās* made to the temple by different individuals. *Cāsanikā* was a dwelling house of considerable dimensions; in the *Siyaṣṭī* inscription two of the *cāsanikās* are described as consisting of four and three houses respectively.³ All told, eight houses were given by nine donors. Among these, six were merchants, one a *maḥallaka* (probably a well-to-do landlord), one an *ulūma* (who is identical with the chief of the guild of silvers mentioned in l. 5), and one a *Saṅkṣīṭa*. What precisely the last word denotes is difficult to say. The term may denote either a worker in shells or a person of mixed parentage, born of a Śūdra mother and a *śakabara* father.⁴ Probably we have to take the word in its first sense, since most of the donors are merchants.

For the temple establishment so many big houses were not necessary. It would appear that the temple management was expected to lease them either for residential or business purposes, and utilise the rent for the temple expenses.

Lines 13-15 describe the boundaries of Somanāthapalli. *Palli* usually denotes a hamlet, but here it seems to denote an outlying suburb or a ward. Since the boundaries of Somanāthapalli are described immediately after the recording of the gift of eight big houses, it is probable that these latter may have constituted either a portion or the whole of Somanāthapalli, which was obviously the name of that ward of Kṛṣṇavarddhana, in which Somanātha temple was situated. To the east of this ward was the temple of Somanātha itself, to the south the river, to the west the house of Thākura Kuṇḍayaka and to the north a public thoroughfare. During my visit to Shergadh I found that it was possible to mark off a ward of the city in the vicinity of the modern temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, satisfying these boundaries. Some distance to the west of this temple, there are still some houses which are even to-day owned by Thākurs. The Parvān river continues to flow to the south of this ward. The precise road which separated it on the north cannot be singled out. The temple on the east may very probably be the older temple of Somanātha rather than the modern one of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. Traces of the old temple, however, are not to be seen to-day.

¹ [See above, p. 128, n.1—Ed.]

² Rapson, *Indian Coins*, para. 110.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 174, ll. 7 and 32.

⁴ *Aśvamedha-parva* as referred to in the *Siddhanta-purāṇa* under the term *Saṅkṣīṭa*.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री ॥ संवत् १०७४ वैसा(शा)खसुदि ३ अक्षयतृतीयायां मंडपिकादाया-
[त्*] से(से)ठिनरसिंहगोहपथीरा-
- 2 दिव्ये भस्त्रकचोमन्कस्य पादाभ्यंगाय दिनं प्रति घृतकर्पमे[क*] १ प्रदत्तं ।
आचन्द्रार्कं यावत् ।
- 3 संवत् १०७५ वैसा(शा)खसुदि ३ श्रीसोमनाथदेवाय चंदनधूपनिमित्तं मार्मादाये
कीर्तिक-
- 4 वरगेन(ज) मार्मादायात्(द) दत्तं वृषभं ॥ आचन्द्रार्कं यावत् ॥ ॐ ॥
संवत् १०८४ माघसुदि १३
- 5 श्रीसोमनाथदेवस्य दीपतैलनिमित्तं ठक्कुरदेवस्वामिना तैलिकराजयादयाकथा-
या(थी)
- 6 द्वौ प्रदत्तौ आचन्द्रार्कं यावत् ॥ तथा पञ्चमालायां धूपनिमित्तं कपदेकवो-
डो(डो) १ दिनं प्र-
- 7 ति दातव्या आचन्द्रार्कं यावत् ॥ तथा मासवारके संक्रांती वराह(हो) द्वौ
प्रदत्तौ आचन्द्रार्कं
- 8 यावत् । [१*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्थस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति ॥
श्रीसोमनाथदेवस्य वणि*
- 9 इंदामर्द्धिका[भ्यां] सत्का वासनिका* प्रदत्ता ॥ तैलिकयादयाकेन सत्का वा-
सनिका प्र-
- 10 दत्ता । [१*] तथा वणिक्[क*] सोटाकेन सत्का वासनिका प्रदत्ता ॥
तथा वणिक्(क्) सादयाकेन स-
- 11 त्का वासनिका प्रदत्ता ॥ तथा वणिक्(क्) श्रीहरजसोमाभ्यां स्रकीया(यौ)
वासनिकौ द्वौ २ प्र-

* From the original stone and an ink-impression.

* Expressed by a symbol.

* The latter *śaka* is partly damaged.

* Dr. D. B. Bhandarkar's reading श्रीरा is untenable: cf. धूप and श्रीमन्नाथ in l. 3.

* This *daṇḍa* is superfluous. Read वृषभः.

* Read दत्ता वृषभा.

* Read पञ्चमालाया. Dr. D. B. Bhandarkar reads this as पञ्चमाला (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 176), but the second letter is clearly *ḥ*.

* Read वणिक्भ्यामर्द्धिका.

* The syllabic *ka* is damaged.

- 12 दत्ता । तथा वणिक्(गु)महज्जकेन सत्का वासनिका प्रदत्ता ॥ तथा
सं(ग)खिकनक्षीधरेण
- 13 सत्का वासनिका प्रदत्ता ॥ श्रीसोमनाथदेवपण्डिका पूर्वतः देवमर्यादा ।
पश्चिमतः
- 14 [उ*]क्षुरकुडणक[स्व*] वासनिका मर्यादा । उत्तरतः माम्मा(म)र्यादा ।
दक्षिणतः नदी मर्या-
- 15 दा । वतुराघाटमाधिता श्रीसोमनाथदेवपण्डिका ॥ ६ ॥ मंगलं महाादीः ॥^१

No. 21.—UPALADA PLATES OF RANAKA RAMADEVA.

BY B. CH. CHARRA, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D.(LOND.), OOTACAMUND.

This set of copper plates is one of the nine sets acquired for the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in 1935, some of which have already been published.* They are said to have been unearthed by a cultivator, while digging a field, in the village of Upalada in the Pariakimedi Taluk, Ganjam District. I received ink-impressions of the plates from Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, for editing the record.

These are three copper plates, each measuring $7\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ ". They weigh 106 *solas*. Their rims are raised and the writing on them is consequently well preserved. The first and the third plates are inscribed only on the inner side, while the second bears writing on both the sides. The inscription consists of nineteen lines in all, three sides containing six lines each and the fourth only one. The plates were originally held together by a ring, about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, passing through the hole cut in the centre of each plate half an inch away from the left margin. The ends of the ring were soldered under a circular seal. This and the ring together weigh 22 *solas*. The central portion of the seal is occupied by the figure of a standing bear, cut in high relief, facing the proper left. At the bottom is placed an elephant-goat (*akula*), and at the top another weapon that looks like a battle-axe. Against the hook of the *akula* is to be seen an oval-shaped object—perhaps a lotus-bud. The seal does not contain any legend.

The characters belong to the northern class of about the 11th century, strongly influenced by the Nagari script. Letters like *n* and *l* show each two different forms; cf. *n* in *-samudhyāta-*, l. 2 and *-dāna-*, l. 3; and *l* in *kaśalināḥ*, l. 5 and *sa-jala-śhala-*, l. 7. The language of the record is Sanskrit, though it also contains some vernacular terms in ll. 15-18 where boundaries of the donated village are defined. It is composed in prose, barring three of the customary verses found in ll. 9-15. The orthography of the document is as erroneous as its language is faulty. To instance the latter, the verb, *ādīanti* or whatever it be, is missing after *kūśalināḥ* (l. 5), while some such word as *apubhāgāya* is wanting after *śamudhyāta* (l. 6). Among the orthographical peculiarities may be noted the usage of *s* for *ś* and *sh*, of *v* for *b*, of *y* for *j* and of *j* for *y*. These and some other inaccuracies have been pointed out in the footnotes to the text as well as in the text itself.

The record is not dated, but may on palaeographical evidence be assigned to the 11th or 12th century A.D. It was engraved by the goldsmith Taula.

* There is a symbol between the two pairs of *dupēes*.

* See above, pp. 13 and 75.

The object of the record is the grant of a village called *Upalabaddā* to one *Rāṇva nāyaka* by the *Rāṇaka* *Śrī-Rāmadēva*. The donee appears to have been an officer under the said *Rāṇaka* and might have received the gift as a reward for some heroic deed on his part. As regards his master, *Rāmadēva*, we do not know anything from other sources, whilst the present epigraph relates so little of him. His title *Rāṇaka*, however, shows that he was a feudatory chief. Some conventional epithets added to his name indicate that he was a devout worshipper of Śiva, had acquired the right to the *Rāṇaka* *Maḥāśaktas* and was enjoying the favour of the goddess *Agī*.¹ Besides, he is styled *Tailapa-cami-dādhara* 'born in the family of Tailapa'.

It appears that the *Rāṇaka* *Rāmadēva* had not to his credit any achievement worth the name. The same may be said of his father and grandfather, since neither of them is mentioned in the record. The only prestige the *Rāṇaka* could boast of seems to be his high descent as conveyed by his attribute *Tailapa-cami-dādhara*. The Tailapa, as is apparent from the manner in which he is referred to in the inscription, must have been a great personality or a mighty ruler reputed enough to be the pride even of his indirect descendants and distant relations: *Rāmadēva* could not have been a direct descendant of Tailapa, for in that case the inscription would have specifically described him so.

Now as to who this Tailapa was, we know of several kings² who bore this name, but the one with whom Tailapa of our record can reasonably be identified is, I think, the famous Chālukya monarch, Tailapa II, who is credited with outstanding military achievements, and whose bitter rivalry with the Paramāra sovereign, Vāḍṛa Muḥja, is well-known.³ Further support to this identification is lent by the fact that the *śiṅkhāṇa*, consisting of a standing boar, an elephant-goad, etc., depicted on the seal of the *Rāṇaka* *Rāmadēva*'s inscription, is the same as is usually found on the seals of the Chālukya records.⁴ We may thus suppose that the *Rāṇaka* *Rāmadēva* was a feudatory of and related to a Chālukya ruler subsequent to the time of the Chālukya Tailapa II whose death occurred towards A.D. 933.⁵

Of the places mentioned in the record, *Upalabaddā*, the granted village, is apparently the same as *Upaladdi* where the plates have been discovered, while *Chikhal-śikhi* from where the grant was issued cannot definitely be identified.

TEXT.⁶

First Plate.

1. Om⁷ svasti [1*] Chikhal-śikhiṭaṁ parama-n[1]h[6]kara- samadhigata-path-
2. cha-mahā-m[6]ya[6]vā[6]bā[6]-mātā-pūtri-pād-śraddhā[6]śa[6]-m[6]ya-m[6]ya[6]c[6]n[6]-dayā-

¹ *Agī* obviously stands for *Agni*. In Vedic and later Sanskrit literature *Agni* is invariably a male deity. His name as a goddess (*Agni*) is owing to the vernacular influence. In Hindi and cognate tongues the word *ag* 'fire' is feminine. *Agni* as the name of a female occurs in an early Prakrit inscription from Śālist, see above Vol. II, p. 371.

² For instance three kings of the Chālukya dynasty and two of the Kadamba family bore the name Tailapa (see Index to G. M. Murray's *The Kadamba Kings*).

³ Cf. D. C. Ganguly, *Hist. of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 61.

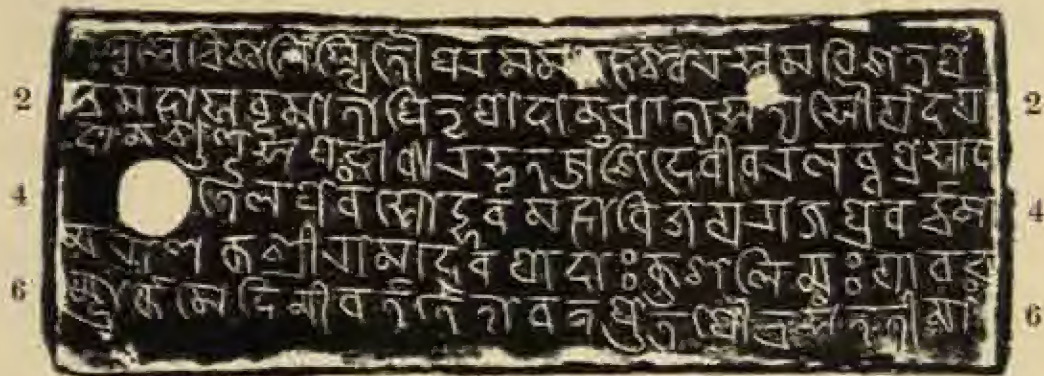
⁴ Cf. above, Vol. V, pp. 29, 123.

⁵ This locality cannot be far removed from the donated village, as the principality under the *Rāṇaka* *Rāmadēva* may not have been a very large one. Mention of one *Chikhal-śikhi* is found in the Madras Museum plates of Vajrabodhi III: *Saka* 984 (above, Vol. IX, p. 125), but this place is not identified either. / *Chikhal-śikhi* of the Kander Plates of *Paramāra* (ibid., p. 125) is in C. P.

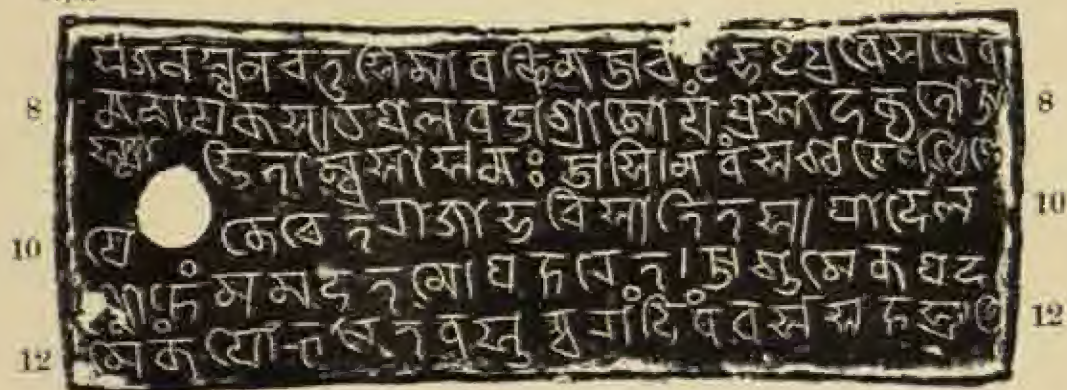
⁶ From ink impressions.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

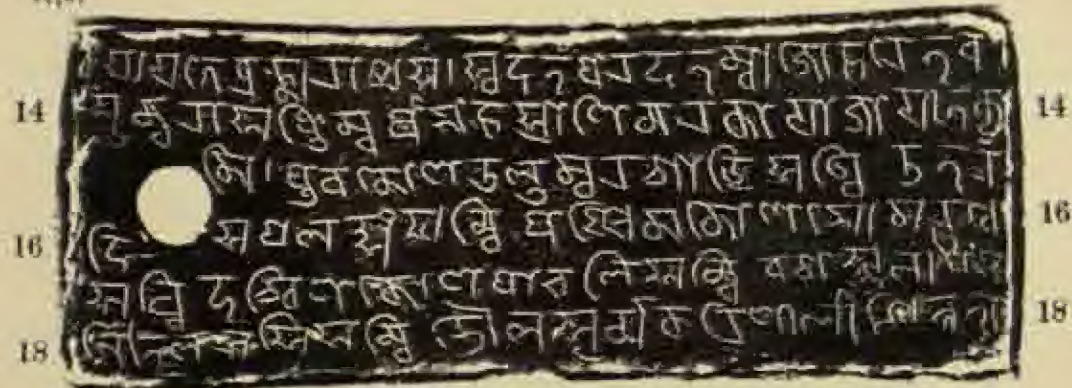
i.



ii, a.

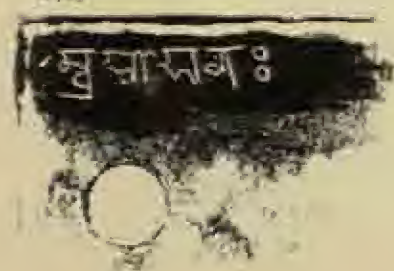


ii, b.



Seal: Actual Size.

iii.



in bas-relief the figure of a warrior advancing to the proper left with a bow in his left hand and a sword in his right. Though the stone is exposed to the ravages of the weather, the inscription has not suffered any damage, since the letters, as is usually the case with such stones, are incised deeply.

The language of the record is Tamil which does not call for any special remarks. A few words which occur in the epigraph, however, require explanation. In the Tamil poem *Madurai-kōāchi*, the word *kāēdi*¹ is used in the sense of a title given to experienced and capable ministers. The Tamil *Nigāṇṇu* explains this term as 'an accountant'. In our record it is used as a title given to a warrior. The word *viṇu*² (l. 6) is used in the sense of 'having defeated'.

The inscription is dated in the 10th year of Vijaya-Kampavikramavarman and records the death of a soldier of Vāparaiyār while attacking the army of Pṛithvigaṅgaraiyār stationed at Kāvappūr in Miyāru-nāḍu, a subdivision of Paṇuvār-kōṭṭam. This hero is distinguished in the record by the title 'who took Perunagar'. It may be pointed out here that Dr. Hultsch explained this title occurring in a slightly modified form, viz., 'Perunagar-agaṭṭōṇḍa-kāēdi' as the chief of Kōṇḍūr of Perunagar-Agaram and took Kōṇḍūr as equivalent to Kōṇḍakkārār, a caste of fishermen. That this word is not used as a noun but as a verb qualifying 'Perunagar' will be evident from the present epigraph. The term has, therefore, to be interpreted as 'the *kāēdi* who took Perunagar-Agaram'.³

This inscription helps us to determine the position of Kampavarman in the genealogy of the later Pallavas. About 33 inscriptions of this king have so far been secured, mainly in the Cuddalore and Seidapet taluks of the Chingleput District and Arkōṭam, Cheyyār, Guḍiyāttam, Vellore and Wandiwash taluks of the North Arcot District.⁴ These records which are dated from his 2nd⁵ to 32nd⁶ regnal years do not help us much in determining the exact period of his rule. Dr. Hultsch gave a definite lead in this direction by explaining the name of the temple of Nandi-Kampivara⁷ occurring in a record from Śāḷapuram as having been so called after Kampā, the son of Nandī, and thus he postulated that Kampā must have been the son of Nandivarman III and the brother of Nripatūṅavarman. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar made a further suggestion and stated that, Nandivarman III might have married a daughter of Kambha (or Stambha), the eldest son of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhāravarsha Dhruva and the name Kampavarman, just like Nripatūṅga, might have been derived from Kambha, the maternal grandfather of Kampavarman.⁸ Since the genealogy furnished in the Vēlūrpāṭaiyam and Rāḷūr plates does not allow us to place him before Nripatūṅga, and as he cannot be placed after Nripatūṅga, Mr. Ayyar concluded that Kampavarman must have been a joint ruler with either Nripatūṅga or Aparājita or with both.⁹

¹ Ll. 465-6.

² Compare 'Tollēṇ-ṇiṇḍa Nandivarman'. Generally in hero-stones, the nature of the death of the hero is also specified as 'eṇḍa paṭṭār' (i.e., fell and died), koṇṇa paṭṭār (i.e., killed and died), miṭṭa paṭṭār (i.e., rescued and died), etc.

³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 180 and 183.

⁴ For a similar use of the word *kōṇḍa* cf. the terms 'Madurai-kōṇḍa Parakṛmār', 'Madurai-kōṇḍa Rājādēvi', 'Kacchilrma Taḷaiyūṁ kōṇḍa Kaṇṇurādēvi', 'Maduraiyūṁ Ṭamam kōṇḍa Rājādhirājādēvi', etc., occurring too frequently in inscriptions.

⁵ A stray record has also been found at Maḷam in the Guḷtur taluk of the Nellore District (No. 498 of 1906) and another at Oṭṭakūr in the Tiruvannam taluk of the South Arcot District (No. 257 of 1902) adjoining the Wandiwash taluk.

⁶ No. 402 of 1923 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁷ No. 144 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁸ Above, Vol. VII, p. 196. 'Nandikampa' figures also as the name of a village in the inscriptions at Paḷḷikōṇḍu in the North Arcot District, dated between Śaka 878 and 885 (Nos. 473 and 469 of 1920).

⁹ Above, Vol. XX, pp. 48-49.

This conclusion arrived at by Mr. Sābrahmanya Ayyar is confirmed by the present inscription as will be shown presently¹.

The name of the soldier who took Perumagar is not given in our record; but he may be identified with Akalañkattuvarāyar who figures with the same title, viz., 'who took Perumagar' in a record dated in the 26th year² of Nripatūnga, from Āmbūr in the North Arcot District, not far from Mēlpattī. This soldier, according to the present inscription, died in the 10th year of Kampavarman, while his son and nephew fell in a cattle raid in the 26th year of Nripatūnga.³ The question then to be settled is whether Akalañkattuvarāyar died prior to his son and nephew; in other words, whether the 10th year of Kampavarman was prior to the 26th, i.e., the last year of Nripatūnga. From the fact that the son and father died in different reigns, one point is clear that, the reigns of Nripatūnga and Kampavarman should have closely followed each other. If Akalañka had died earlier, Kampa should have been either a joint ruler with Nripatūnga or his contemporary ruling over a portion of the Pallava territory, because according to the Bāhūr plates, he could not be accommodated before Nripatūnga; but if, on the other hand, we suppose that Akalañka had died after his son, Kampa's rule should be placed immediately after that of Nripatūnga. The latter alternative is not possible, because we know that Nripatūnga was a contemporary of Varaguna⁴ (c. 862 A. D.) and that Aparājita lost his kingdom to the Chōlas about A. D. 888⁵ and that within this period of 26 years, both Kampa with a reign of 32 years and Aparājita with one of 18 years could not be accommodated.

One difficulty with regard to the contemporaneity theory is that inscriptions of both Nripatūnga and Kampa are found at Utiyramallūr, Kāvērippākkam and Tiruvorriyūr. That Kampa was an independent ruler and not a subordinate under Nripatūnga will be evident from the grants issued in his own name and regnal years. If Nripatūnga and Kampa were independent contemporary rulers, how could we have the inscriptions of both these rulers in identical villages? This would be possible if these kings were administering the whole of the Pallava dominions jointly or if the three villages mentioned above were on the border land where the overlordship of both the rulers was recognised.⁶

We may approach the contemporaneity theory from another standpoint. The Bāgas and the Western Gāṅgas were generally opposed to each other about this time, and their enmity ceased for a time by the marriage of Kundavaiyār, the daughter of Prithivīpati I with the Bāga King Bāgavidiyādharma. The fight at Kāvappūr mentioned in our inscription must then represent one of the series of fights that were being waged between the two dynasties. There were two Prithivigāgaraiyars about this time, one was the chief of Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu and the other was Prithivīpati I, son of Sivamāra II. Since the former had died by the 8th year of Kampavarman,⁷ we may identify

¹ An attempt has recently been made to prove that Kampavarman was the son of Aparājita and that he ruled from A. D. 907-925 (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VI, pp. 224 ff.). The author of this theory connects a record of Kampa (No. 372 of 1911 of the Madras Epigraphical collection), wherein Niraḷjana-guru figures as the donor, with another record of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kapparaḍṣa (No. 181 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) which states that Chaturvāṇa-paṇḍita received initiation at the hands of Niraḷjana-guru. This initial mistake of this theory lies in identifying the guru of Chaturvāṇa, viz., Niraḷjana with the Niraḷjana of Kampavarman's time. The author himself admits that the successors of Chaturvāṇa were known by the same name. On the same analogy the successors of Niraḷjana might have been called after their guru and therefore, the two Niraḷjanas mentioned above might be different persons. He ignores the implications of the name Nandi-Kampa. From palaeographical evidence also Kampa cannot be brought down to 10th century A. D.

² Above, Vol. IV, p. 182.

³ No. 309 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁴ Above, Vol. XX, p. 49. Since the Pallava power ceased about this time, we find the Bāgas also who were hitherto subordinate to the Pallavas assuming independence and bearing records in their own name.

⁵ For a similar instance see page 42, *J. R.* or *South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1920-21.

⁶ Above, Vol. VII, p. 195.

the Piruligatagaraiyar mentioned in our record with the latter. Dr. Hultsch has identified the Bāpavidyādhara mentioned above with Vikramāditya I, who figures as a subordinate of Nripataṅga in the latter's 24th year. This is the latest known date when the Bāpa chief figures as a subordinate under the Pallavas. Soon after, Vijayāditya II, the son of the Bāpa chief Vikramāditya I mentioned above, seems to have declared his independence, as his records are dated in Śaka years without mentioning any overlord. Since the Bāpa chief figures as a subordinate of the Pallava king in the present inscription, this record may be placed prior to the 24th year of Nripataṅga and it also seems probable that the 24th year of Nripataṅga should have closely followed the 10th year of Kampa without any long interval in the middle.

Since a certain Aparājita, probably named after the king of that name, figures as the donor in the 15th year of Kampavarman¹ the latter might have been a contemporary of the Pallava king Aparājita also. Kampavarman might, therefore, have been a contemporary of both Nripataṅga and Aparājita. His position may be said to be analogous to that of the Chōja-Pāṇḍya viceroys in the Pāṇḍya country in the 11th century A. D.

Regarding the position of the Pallava territory about this period, it may be stated that, during the time of Nripataṅga, it extended from Lalgudi and Narttimalai in the south to Conjeeverum and Guñjamilai in the north. Nripataṅga's father Nandivarman III was a subordinate of the Pāṇḍya king,² but in the time of Nripataṅga the situation was reversed; Varaguna II appears as a subordinate of Nripataṅga in his 18th year³; the Chōjas had not by this time risen to the status of an independent power; the matrimonial alliance with the Rikshtrakūṭas saved the Pallava empire from trouble from that quarter; and the Gaṅgas, i.e., Prithvipati I and his successors, and the Bāgas were also subordinate to the Pallavas. Nripataṅga was able to hold this empire intact, probably with the assistance of Kampavarman but towards the close of the reign of the former, we find the several neighbouring powers including the Nolambas rising to prominence with the result that the Pallava dominions diminished to such an extent as to embrace, in the time of Aparājita, the Soidapet, Ponneri and Conjeevaram taluqs in the Chingleput District and portions of the Tiruttani taluk in the Chittoor District. This small territory was easily conquered by the rising Chōjas under Āditya I.

The next point for consideration is that Akalāṅkattavaraiyar figures in Pallava records as a soldier under both the Gaṅga⁴ and Bāga rulers thus indicating the subordinate position occupied by the two latter rulers under Pallava monarchy.

The Bāga ruler mentioned in our inscription is probably identical with Vikramāditya Vāpavidyādhara, who also figures in the 24th year of Nripataṅga. His warrior whom we have identified with Akalāṅkattavaraiyar claims to have taken Perunagar, which is a village about 15 miles from Conjeeveram on the road to Wandiwash. From whom could he have taken Perunagar? The inscriptions of this village do not give us any clue. The Gaṅga king Durvinitra claims victories over his enemies at Andari, Alattūr, Porajore and Pernagara.⁵ The last mentioned village was probably identical with Perunagar mentioned in the present inscription. However, during the last year of Nripataṅga, the Nolambas attacked the Tanjainapalaim region, especially the portion surrounding Āmbūr. Possibly it was from the Nolambas that the town of Perunagar was

¹ No. 22 of 1898 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

² *J. A. S. South Indian Epigraphy for 1896-97*, p. 28.

³ No. 340 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁴ (i.e.) Prithvipati I.

⁵ *Ep. Carr.* Vol. XII, Ins. 33; *ibid.*, Vol. IX, Ins. 68.



captured by Akṣatāksavarāṣya. This view is strengthened by the fact that a Nolamba is said to have ruled as far as Kāśchī in a record from Hindapur, dated in Śaka 775 (A. D. 823).¹

The territorial division Paṇḍvār-kōṭṭam was in Tondaimaṇḍalam and it roughly comprised the modern Vellure and Goḍiyāttam taluks in the North Arcot District. It included the following nāḍu, viz., (1) Paṇḍu-nāḍu, (2) Mugaṇ-nāḍu, (3) Perantimari-nāḍu, (4) Mīyāṅu-nāḍu, (5) Mēl-Aḍaiyāṅu-nāḍu, (6) Kāmaruḷi-Āndi-nāḍu and (7) Kāra-nāḍu. Mīyāṅu-nāḍu also known as Mīyāṅai-nāḍu included the present Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District and the surrounding region. The village Kāvagnūr may be identified with the village of the same name in the Goḍiyāttam taluk.

TEXT.

- 1 Kō-Vīśaiya Kampavīkkiramaṇaparumaṇ (76)
- 2 ḍḍa pattāvaḍu Paṇḍvār-kkōṭṭattu Mīy[ā²]ṇu-nāṭṭu-kkār-
- 3 vaṇṇūr² Pīruḍiḡaṅgaraiyar ḍaḍḍa nikkā Vāpa-
- 4 [raiyyar] paṇaiyar Peṇṇuṇṇar-kkoṇḍa-kkāvadi³ noḍittu-
- 5 [v-aṇiyyar]
- 6 [e]ṇṇu
- 7 [paṭṭār [1²]

TRANSLATION.

(During the) tenth year (of the reign of) the victorious Kampavīkkiramaṇaparumaṇ—(where) the army (of) Pīruḍi-Gaṅgaraiyar (was) stationed (at) Kāvagnūr in Mīyāṅu-nāḍu, (a subdivision of) Paṇḍvār-kōṭṭam, the Kāvadi who took Perunagur (and) the soldier of Vāparaiyar, fell (after) attacking (and) defeating (the army of) the enemy.

No. 23.—A GRANT OF THE GURJARA KING JAYABHATA III: [KALACHURI] YEAR 486.

By G. V. Agrasya, PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM, BOMBAY.

These two plates were received by the Prince of Wales Museum from the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society in 1929 when the Society's Collection was lent to that Museum. Their original find-spot is not known. Both the plates measure 12½" x 10", while the holes, 5" apart in each plate and meant for rings and the seals, are ½" in diameter. Neither the seals nor the rings are forthcoming. Both the plates are damaged at the top left hand corner and consequently some portions of the writing are lost. There are several small holes due to corrosion in the body of the plates also. Both of these are inscribed on the inner side only and their rims are thickened to protect the writing. There are 28 lines in the first and 33 in the second plate. The average size of the letters is ¼". The engraving is carefully done and there are very few mistakes. The characters are of the northern type and very much resemble those found on Valabhi

¹ No. 138 of 1912 of the *Mémoires Numismatiques* Collection.

² *Kāmaruḷi* is used in the local name.

³ The reading in the *Āmḍi* record (above, Vol. IV, p. 127) is *Perunagur-ḡaṅgaraiyā-kkāvadi*, but it must be corrected as *Perunagur-kkāvadi-kkāvadi*. The engraver seems to have unconsciously added the letters *in* and *ra*. Such typographical errors are common in inscriptions.

plates. The language is Sanskrit and, excepting a few imprecatory and benedictory verses at the end, the whole inscription is in prose.¹

The object of the plates is to record the grant of the village **Mannātha** situated in the **Bharnakachchha-vishaya** to **Bhāṭṭa-Uchchāṇḍa** son of **Ādityanāga**, a Brahmin of **Hātāvaka** class who had come out from the district (*śāhura*) called **Lōṅgakakshapathaka**, who belonged to **Kauṇḍiyya-gotra** and was a student of **Vāji-Mādhyaṃdīna** branch of the **Yajur-Veda**. The grant was made for the performance of the five* great sacrifices² viz., *Bali, Chara, Vaitudīna, Agnikūtra* and *dāṇḍi*. The donor of the grant was **Jayabhāṭa (III)** of the **Gurjara** family of **Brouch**.

The date of the grant is given at the end both in words and in figures as the **fifteenth day of the dark half of the month of Āsvayuja of the year 488 (of the Chēdi era)** corresponding to A. D. 736.

Sachgulla, the son of **Alla**, is the scribe and **Dēiyaka** is the *dātaka* of the grant. At the end there is the **sign manual** of **Śrī-Jayabhāṭa**.

Of the three place names mentioned in the grant **Bharnakachchha** stands for the present **Brouch**. It is not possible to locate **Lōṅgakakshapathaka**, while as regards the village granted, in the absence of the details about the boundaries, we have to look up for the name of some modern village having greatest possible resemblance with the name **Mannātha**. I would suggest **Manāḍ** about a mile and a half north-east of **Mohegam** on the north bank of the river **Narbadā**.

The plates under consideration have great historical importance in that they conclusively decide the line of succession of the **Gurjara** princes, showing at the same time that the genealogy accepted so far stands in need of correction.

The genealogy framed by **Dr. Bhagwanlal** is given in *Bombay Gazetteer*³ and is accepted by **Prof. Bhambalkar** in the revised list of inscriptions of Northern India⁴. The line of succession according to these scholars is as follows:—

Dadda I. K. 380.

Jayabhāṭa I. (Viharāga) K. 355.

Dadda II. (Prasāntarāga) K. 380, 385, 392.

Jayabhāṭa II. K. 403.

Dadda III. (Bāhusahāya) K. 430.

Jayabhāṭa III. K. 456, 486.

Three plates of **Dadda II (Prasāntarāga)** dated **Saka 400, 415 and 417** have to be left out of consideration because they have been accepted as spurious.

The name of **Ahīrōla**, the son of **Jayabhāṭa II** and father of **Jayabhāṭa III**, is known to us for the first time from these plates, and we are now in a position to say that the **Nasāri plates**⁵ of **K. 456** are not of **Jayabhāṭa III** as supposed by **Dr. Bhagwanlal**, but must be attributed to **Jayabhāṭa II**. In the **Nasāri plates** the genealogy stops with **Jayabhāṭa II** whose description agrees with that of the same ruler in the present record. In the 2nd plate of **Jayabhāṭa III** dated **K. 486**⁶ unfortunately the earlier descriptive portion is lost but the description of **Jayabhāṭa III** is exactly similar to that of the donor of the present grant, which starts from the middle of line 21. These facts conclusively prove that the **Nasāri plates** of **K. 456** are to be attributed to **Jayabhāṭa II** and the incomplete grant (second plate) of **K. 486** and the present record both to

* Certain other verses seem to occur in ll. 26-32.—Ed.]

² Above, Vol. XX, Appendix, pp. 161 f.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 113.

⁴ Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 114.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 77 ff.

Jayabhata III, son of Ahirōla and grandson of Jayabhata II. The order of succession, therefore, would stand thus:

Dadda I. K. 330, 346.

Jayabhata I. K. 355.

Dadda II. (Bāhmsahāya) K. 380, 385, 392.

Jayabhata II. K. 405, 456.

Ahirōla.

Jayabhata III. K. 486.

While Dadda I and Jayabhata I are referred to with the simple honorific title *śrī*, Dadda II seems to have assumed more power and strength, as he is styled *Parama-Māhēsvara*, *Samadhigata-pāñcha-mahālabda* and *Bāhmsahāya*. The three remaining princes—Jayabhata II, Ahirōla and Jayabhata III—have each the additional epithet of *Mahāsāmāntādhipati*.

The epithet *Samadhigata-pāñcha-mahālabda* has been differently translated by different scholars.¹ I always preferred to translate it as one who has obtained the prosperity and the privilege of five kinds of musical instruments and this meaning I am now in a position to support by a passage in *Mahānandana Sutta*² where Kuśāvati, the capital of the great king Sudasana is described as resounding with ten sorts of sounds (*daṇḍa-sadda*, Skt. *daṇḍa-sadda*) and these sounds are detailed as the sounds of elephants, horses, chariots, *bhāri*, *mutiṅga*, *vijā*, etc. In Pāli literature the expression *Pañchatāriya* is also used in a similar sense.³

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

- 1 [. satata-lakṣmī⁵]-nivāsa-bhūtō⁶ triśaṅś-saditāpa-hāriṇi dina-
nātha-vistārit-ānu(bhāvō) dvija-
- 2 [kul-ōpa]śvayamāna-vibhava-tālini⁷ mahati mahārāja-Ka]cṇa-ś[nva]yō kumalākaka(ṛa)
iva rājaharṣab prava(ba)la-[ka]li-kūla-
- 3 [vilāsit-ākulita⁸-vināla-svabhāvō gambhīr-ś]-dāra-charita-viśāpita-sakala-lakṣapāla-mā-
nasa[h pa]ra]śvaya-āri-**Ha**]rahadēv-ābhūbhūta-**Va**-
- 4 [labhī-pati-pa]rītrāp-ōpa]jāta-bhramad-adabhira-śubhīr-ābhira-vibhrama-yaśō-vitāna(h*) āri-
Daddas-tasya sū[nur-a-śa]kīr-ā⁹]gata-prapayi-
- 5 [jan-ōpabhukta-vibhava-sa]hchay-ōpachiyamāna-ma[nō]-nirvṛitir - anēka - kaṇṭaka - vanā
(vanā)-samdōha-dāha-di[śa]lita-pratāp-analō ni-
- 6 [āta-nistatāha(śrīnāsa)-dhārā]-dārit-ārāti-kari-kumbha-mukta-muktāphala-chochhai-ślāṣita-
yaśō-ānu(chau)h-āvagnūhita-di[śa]-va[dhū]-varāna-sara-

¹ Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., of Annamalainagar has in his article "Further light on *Pañchamahālabda*" read at the Seventh Oriental Conference held at Baroda summarised the views of the opposite schools and on the strength of Vijaynagar inscriptions has discarded the interpretation of Sir Aurel Stein and Sir Walter Elliot and supported the views of Dr. S. K. Ayyangar and Mr. Padmanath Bhattacharya.

² *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. II, p. 170 (P. T. S. ed.). My attention to this reference was drawn by my nephew Mr. H. K. Acharya.

³ I am indebted to Dr. S. P. Chakravarti for kindly going through this article and suggesting additions and alterations.

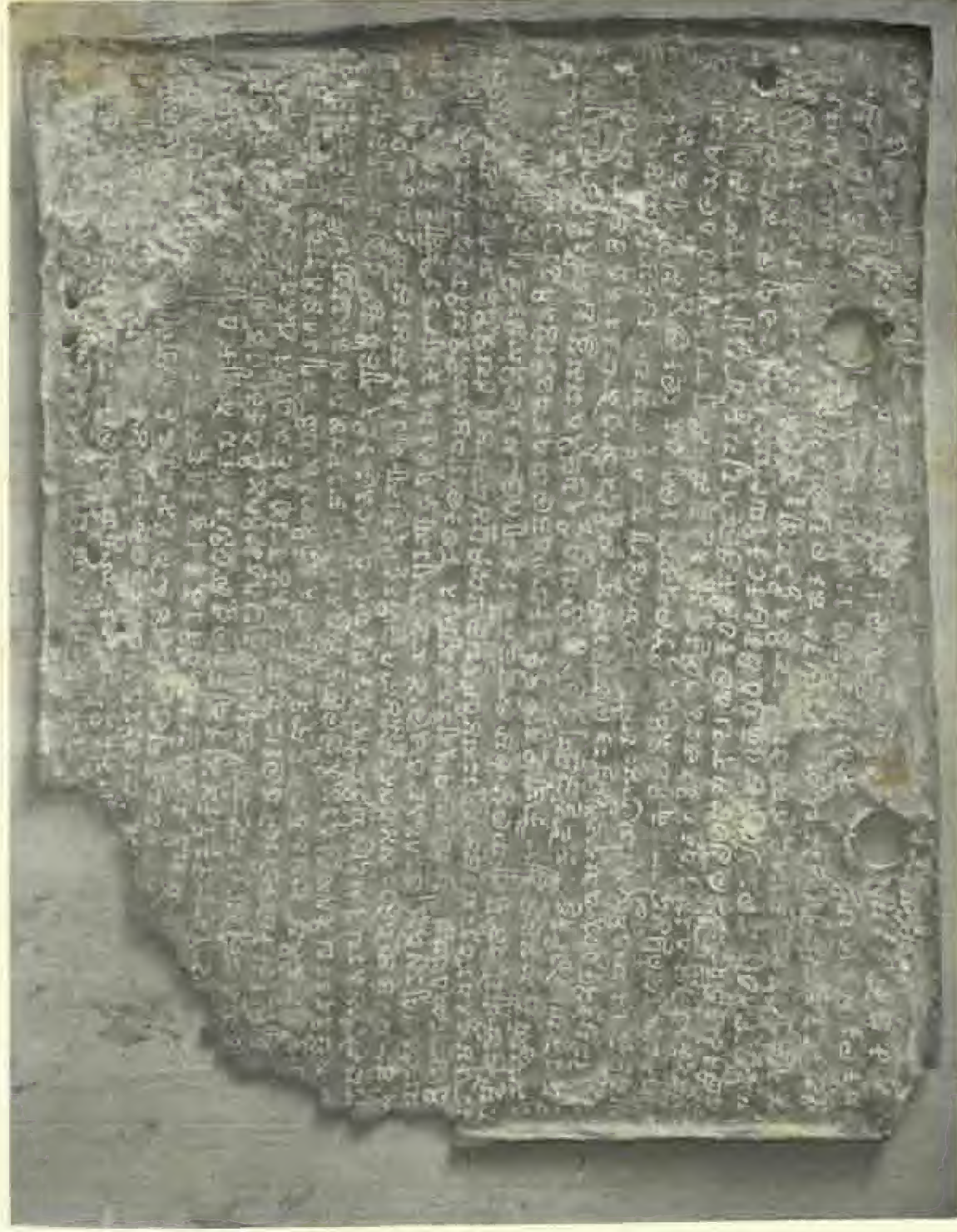
⁴ From the original plates and photographs.

⁵ The text portions within the square brackets in the beginnings of the first fourteen lines have been supplied from the Narasī Plates, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 77 ff.

⁶ There is a superfluous mark of punctuation here. It consists of two dots or small dashes, one above the other. There are more such marks in the body of the inscription. In some cases they are represented by a single dash.

⁷ This is what the Narasī Plates actually read. To this is added the editor's note: "the scribe requires us to correct this into *vilāsit-daddatāna*."

⁸ This portion has also been taken from the Narasī Plates.



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28



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- 22 kṛitō-nṛka-varēndira-vṛindāraka-vṛinda-vandita-chaṁṣ-āravinda-dvayaḥ kund-ēndu-
 sita-sinduvāra-kusuma-dhavalā-yatāḥ-madhū-dha-
 23 valita-sakala-dha[ra]-na[ṣa]ṇḍa[ḥ] pṛatāpa(p-ā)naka-kavalit-ākṣila-jagad-upaplavā dur-
 vāra-śar-āśra-samutāl[r]i[ta].
 24 [śaka]-ārāti-śakravālāḥ pradhāna-pradhana-pradhāvita-prakāṣa-kari-ghaṭṭā-pāṇam-paṇḍ
 (tū-jhaṭṭāḥ-rap-āṣaṇ-āraṇḍa[ḥ])
 25 ṣa-tuṅga-[tū]rāḥgama-[pṛa]kara-bhaṅga-bhāsunā drava-dālita-dvirāda-[kumbha-śāl-]*
 mukta-muktāphala-mikara-dantur-āś-kaś-māchhi-nichaya-
 26 mi(mā)chakita-dakṣiṇa-hāṁśa-śikharāḥ padmākara [va*] prakṛt-āṇa(nā)ka-lakṣaṇā na
 punar-muṇal-āśayāḥ kṣapākara i[va]
 27 sakala-kālā[ḥ]kaḥpāp-āśchitō na punar-āśāśā-karāḥ āṅara [v-ā]ṣṭab-pravēṣita-vipakṣa-
 bhā-
 28 bhṛin-muṇalāḥ na punaḥ(nar-igrāh-ākulāḥ) Nārāyaṇa iva Śaṅkarāna-śakra-

Second Plate.

- 29 [kashpita²]vipakabō [na puṇaḥ kriṣṇa-svabhāvaḥ(yō) Hara Ir-āṅgikṛita-bhūti-nichā(yō)
na puṇaḥ-bhujāṅga-pa-
30 [rīgṛaha²]ḥ | Bāl-āṇḍa-[bimba]-pratimēna yūna pravaraḍdhama(mā)na-sva-tan-ādayēna [I]
prapūma-kāmō-ḥpa-karēṇa lō-
31 [kaḥ kri²]tāmja(r-āṅja)līḥ kāntimātā [kri²]tō-yam(yam)⁴ || So(A)s-dhātī-jalēna sānūtaḥ
prasabha-Yalabhi-patēḥ² purē yōu-ābha-lōka-sarī-
32 . . . kalāpaṇṇajyik-ānalāḥ Ja(rā)bhāṣa-jaladāḥ [ṣaha] sa vigīyātē dēva-vaiḥkū-
kadambajal-²-nripa-ṣata-makṇja-ratna-kṛitaja(r-ā)vali-
33 [ram²]ḥ(rūḥ)ja-pāla-pāṇkajāḥ² sama-dhigata-pāṇka-mahā-śabda(kdō) mahā-sāmant-ādhi-
pāti-sē-Jayabhaṣaḥ kuṣālī sarvān-ēva nīpa-sē-
34 manta-vichayapati-śāhṣm-gṛāna-mahatīr-ādhibārik-ādī-samamulāṣayatr-astu vaḥ
sūtrividitāḥ pathā mūyā mātā-pitrō-
35 r-ā[trāna]ḥ-ch-sihik ānukonika-pūya-yatō-bhīryiddhayē² Lōhigakakalapakath-āhāra.²
vinirgata-tat-trairidya-sāma(mā)nya-Kaṇḍīya-sa-gōtra-

² The letter p in the conjunct syllable looks more like a.

* There is a superfluous mark of punctuation here. It consists of two dots or small dashes, one above the other. There are more such marks in the body of the inscription. In some cases they are represented by a single dash.

* This word has been supplied from the Kāvi grant of Jayabhāṣa III, *Jnt. Ast.*, Vol. V, p. 113.

¹ [This reading is mere conjecture.—B. C. C.]

* These two syllables have likewise been supplied from the Kavi grant.

* *Myrica carolinensis*

* These two syllables have likewise been supplied from the Kāvī grant.
† [This also appears to be in error and the correct reading seems to be praṇāthaś Calakhi-pati-jai.] The coupling is the
vajra-samudharaka(*japa*)-*tadga-**da-tarjita-stambha*, *Jagadguru-kalada-datta-mūl**). The coupling is the
precise counterpart would show that there could not have been any reference to a fight with the Lord of Kalabbi in the
fragmentary Kāvī Plate of Jayabhata III (K. 486) as suggested by Bühnle and adopted in the Bombay Catalogue,
Vol. I, pt. i. On the other hand it appears that the latter came to Kalabbi to help its ruler in fighting the
common enemies of all the rulers of the Western India—Ed.]

* [The portion *pratiṣṭhā dānādharmā* reads like a line of *Uḍḍamagga* metre. The word *pratiṣṭhā*, if it is intended to convey the sense of 'is praised', is not appropriate, since it means rather 'is condemned'. — E. C. C.]

* We have perhaps to read "paukukidra" for "paukukidraa".

- 36 Vāṇi[mā]dhiya[nā]brahmachāri-Ilā[śr]vaka-brāhmaṇ-Ādityanāga - putra - bhāṭṭa-¹ Ōchcha-
dāya² va(ha)li³-charu-vaiśvadēv-āgnihō[tr-⁴]ātithi-pa[ścha]-
- 37 vi(ma)hā[ya]nā-ā[di]-kri[y-ō]tsaptrā[ppa]ṇ - ārttha[th] śrī-Bharukachchha - viśay - ātarggata-
Mannātha-grāmaḥ a-ōdrasgaḥ a-ōpankarah sa-bhūtopā(vā)ta-pranyā-
(tyā)va[h]
- 38 sa-dhānya-[hi]raṇy-ādāyaḥ sa-daś-āpara(tā)dhah e-ōtpadyama(reā)na-viśayikah a-chā;a-
bhāṭṭa-pravāṣyaḥ sarva-rājakīyānām-a-basta-prakah[ā]pa[ṇi]-
- 39 yaḥ pu(pū)rrva-pratis-dēva-brahma-vā(dā)ya-rahitāḥ(tō) bhūmiabhahidra-nyāyēn-ā-
chāndim(ndr-ā)rik-āraṇya-kshiti-sārit-parvata-sama-kālinaḥ putra-paulā(tr-ā)nvaya-
- 40 kram-ōpa[h]hūgyō-dy-Āsvayuja-ma(mā)s-āma(mā)vāsyā[yām⁵] ūdhaky-ātisarggōpa
bra(bra)hma-dāyatvi(na⁶) pratipādītō yā(ya)t[ō]-sy-ōchitayā pra(bra)hma-
- 41 dhā(dā)ya-sthitiā bhūmja(bhūnja)taḥ kṛishataḥ kaksha(reha)yaṭah pratidīsatō vā na
kaiśchid-vya(vyā)[sē]dhā varittitavyam-a(ā)gāmi-bhadra-āpatibhīr-ayamaśmad-⁷
vāśāyā-
- 42 [ra]nyair-vv-āyam-akmā(sma)d-dāyō-numantavyah pa(pā)lay[ativyāś-cha] yaś-cha-
[ā]jñān-tima(mi)ra-pata[li-⁸]vṛita-matir-āchchhimiya(ndyā)d-āchchhidryama(mā)nakath
a-ānumō(mō)dē[ta] sa
- 43 [pa]hchabhir-mahāpa(pā)vakāśa-s-ā[ś-ō]papa(pā)takā(kā)ś-cha saṁyukta[h⁹] aya(ayā)d-
ityukta[n-]cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāsēna | Śhushṭi-varaha-sahasra(śrā)ṇi
svarggē ti-
- 44 [ch]hātī bhūm[ī]doh [i¹⁰] āchchhētā ch-ānuma[ntā] cha tasyā(tāny-ō)va narakē vasāta(i)
[i¹¹] Vindhy-ā[śv]vā[śv-ā]tōyām śhahka-kō[ata-rāśinaḥ] [i¹²] kṛisho-[āhayaḥ] hi
- 45 [jā¹³]yantō bh[ū]m[ī]-dāyam harantī yō || Vā(ha)huhhir-vvasudhā bhuktā rājābh[ī]h¹⁴
Sagar-ādihh[ī]h¹⁵ yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya [ta]kā phalaḥ(lam) [i¹⁶]
- 46 Agnē-apatyath prathamam savarṇam bhīr-Vvaishṇavi Su(Sū)ryya-entās-eh ā(gā)vaḥ
[i¹⁷] loka-trayaḥ ta(tā)na bhāvōd-dhi dattat¹⁸ yaḥ kāuchanach gāu-cha [mahitā]
- 47 cha dadyāta(t) [i¹⁹] Yān-āha dattāni purā narēndrah(dair-)²⁰dānāni dharmam-ānchā(trha)-
yāśa-karṇi | nīrbhuta(kra)-ma(mā)lya-pratima(mā)ni tāni kō nāma ā-
- 48 dhah punaś-dadita || Sva-dattān para-dattān vā yā(ya)tnādrath(d-ra)ksha Yudh[ī]-
ch(ha)ch(hira) mahā mahimātām śrēṣṭha dānōch-chhrēyō-nu[pa(pā)lanam-iti(nam
[i²¹]iti)] [i²²]
- 49 Bhāṭṭa-śrī-[Dāya]ka-dūtakar²³ || Sathvatsara-śata-chatuṣṭayē śhaḍ-aśīty-adhikē²⁴
Āsvayuja-bahula-pāñchadaśy[āh . . .]
- 50 Saṁvā 400 80 n Āsvayuja va 10 5 bhikṣaḥ-cha-nītan-mayā va(ba)la(lā)dhikpit-Āṇa-suta-
mahābala(lā)dhikpita-]

¹ [On the photograph the reading looks like bhāṭṭa-dhāṭṭa-ōpa.—B. C. C.]

² There is a superfluous mark of punctuation here. It consists of two dots or small dashes, one above the other. There are more such marks in the body of the inscription. In some cases they are represented by a single dash.

³ The syllable rā has a peculiar shape. It looks more like rā, though it again has a different form as is seen in the very next word nāli.

⁴ Read ²apāyama-ādh. On top of the syllable dhāṭṭa there is a sign of an uncertain letter.

⁵ The two syllables yama are superfluous. Read ²apāyāśvayujam.

⁶ [The Kāvi grant reads: Śrīkṣatopaka-dānam. The reading in the present inscription is not certain. It can also be: Bhāṭṭa-Śrīkṣatopaka-dānam.—B. C. C.]

51. [Śaṅgullā]ma ||

Sva-hastā mama śrī-Jayabhaṭasya ||

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-4) In the great lineage of the great king Karna—which became the (perpetual) abode (of Lakṣmī) ; which allayed the misery (caused by) desires ; whose glory was wide-spread like that of the sun (and) which possessed (wealth that supported families) of Brahmins—(there lived) like a swan in the lotus-pond, the illustrious Dadda, whose (pure temper was not agitated by the freaks) of the mighty Kali age ; who, by his grave and noble conduct struck the minds of all kings (or *dīkṣūḥ*) with wonder (and) over whom there hung with the grace of a rolling mass of white clouds, a canopy of glory gained by (protecting the lord of Valabhi) who had been defeated by the great lord, the illustrious Harṣadēva.

(Ll. 4-7) His son (was) the illustrious Jayabhaṭa whose mental happiness increased as his atoms of (wealth were enjoyed) by needy men coming (to him) without fear ; the fire of whose valour was fierce enough to burn up numbers of inimical families ; (and) who veiled the lotus-like faces of the women who were the quarters with the cloth of (his) white glory that shone out in the guise of the pearls coming out of the temples of the elephants of (his) enemies, rent open by the (edge of (his) sharp sword).

(Ll. 7-12) His son (was) the illustrious Dadda, who was devoted to the performance of his own religious duties with discrimination due to his (right) understanding of the treatises composed by the great sage Maṇu ; who had rooted out all the arrogance of the Kali age by (the proper management) of the (four) castes (*varṇa*) and stages (*āśrama*) (of life) ; who removed the pride of charity of all (other) kings by giving (lit. acquiring) wealth that was beyond the hopes of the supplicants ; whose valour in mounting mighty elephants was rendered famous by holding in check infuriated elephants which were lost to all control through rut and which rebelled against the goad ; whose habit of benevolence was famous among all people through (his) assisting hundreds of kings who were afflicted by misery ; who was well known by his other name of Bāhusabhāya through the strength of (his) arm, that was displayed in tearing through innumerable troops of elephants surrounded by thousands of kings in the great wars waged with the great kings of the east and of the west ; who was a devout worshipper of Mahādeva and who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds.

(Ll. 12-15) His son (was) the illustrious Jayabhaṭa who was clever in tearing through the troops of elephants thickly arranged in the clash of numerous battles ; who was a very forest fire to the intolerant (i.e., his opponents) ; who was a friend of the poor, the destitute and the sick ; who was a full moon to the lotus-pond (in the state) of relations and friends ; who like the stream of (the river) Bhāgirathī was able to agitate his enemies (or rocks) ; who like Śāntanu was the lord of a great army (or of the great river) full of a humming noise ; who like the Primeval Bear held the earth raised by the might of his own arm ; who was a devout worshipper of Mahādeva, who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds and who was a Mahāśmantādhīpati.

(Ll. 15-21) His son (was) the illustrious Ahīrōla, whose feet were kissed by garlands on the crests of kings with their heads lofty on account of the rising pride of their valour ; who was chosen by Rājalakṣmī (Royal splendour) of her own accord with her heart full of love for all his attractive virtues ; whose glory, white like the mass of light of the full-moon, crowned the peak of (the mountain) Mēru ; whose bar-like (i.e., strong) arm was capable of crushing crores of troops of elephants belonging to his great enemies met in the battle field ; who had pleased the subjects by properly chalking out the paths of morality through (his) surpassing wisdom which was increased by (his)

mastery over four-fold learning; who, being naturally of benevolent disposition, was not stained by the blackness (i.e., the wicked influence) of the Kali age; who had his senses controlled owing to (his) natural apathy towards the pleasures of countless objects (of enjoyment) attendant upon the approaching youth; who was well-versed in the employment of the six expedients; whose greatness was enhanced by (his) three *śaktis*; who was a devout worshipper of Mahāśvara, who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds and who was a *Mahāśāntādhīpati*.

(LL 21-53) He—who was the ornament of the whole world—son, Śrī-Jayabhāṭa, who is adorned by the garland (in the form of) the collection of his own virtues; whose lotus-like feet are saluted by numerous great kings; who has the whole earth brightened with the lime-wash (in the form) of his glory, which is as white as the *kunda*, the moon and the white *śindurāra* flower; who has consumed the misfortune of the whole world by the fire (in the form) of his great prowess; who has expelled the multitude of all enemies by the torrents of his irresistible arrows; who is clever in destroying the troops of elephants running about in the host of battles; who is shining (on account) of the breaking of the multitude of lofty horses capricious(?) and dancing in the unsteady battlefield; whose right shoulder has been darkened by the collection of the maws (issuing) out of the sword which looked like having projecting teeth on account of the pearls (sticking to it) which had fallen from the (temples) of elephants violently split by him; who like a lotus-pool manifests various auspicious marks (as the lotus-pool has many cranes) but is not wicked (or with a muddy bottom); who like the moon is endowed with all the fine arts (as the moon has digits) but is not a repository of vices (as the moon is the "night-maker"); who like the sea has caused the hostile kings to come in (i.e., submit to) (as the sea has given shelter to wingless mountains) but is not afflicted with disease (as the sea is full of crocodiles); who like Nārāyaṇa has destroyed his foes (as Nārāyaṇa is an incarnation of Kṛishṇa); who like Hara has secured all prosperity (as Śiva has his body measured with snakes) but is not surrounded by dissolute people (or serpents); who resembles the new moon, since whilst the splendour of his body is increasing he causes the people to worship with folded hands on account of the lightness of the taxation (*alpa-kara*) just as the new moon when she is on the increase and sheds slender rays (*alpa-kara*) still causes the people to salute; who by the edge of his sword quieted the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhi (who quenching the fire of the desires of the great Pandits of the whole world and giving them the fruits of their wishes) is praised in songs by the whole crowd of the wives of the gods; whose lotus-feet are reddened by the rays of the crest jewels of hundred of princes; who has obtained the privilege of the five great sounds and is a *Mahāśāntādhīpati*;

(LL 32-40) being in the best of health, informs all princes, feudal chiefs, district officers and Mahattaras in charge of *vāṭhā* and villages: Be it known to you that, for the attainment of merit and glory of (my) parents and of myself, both in this and the next world, the village Mannātha, being within the district of Bhurukachchha, together with the *ubhaya* and *aparikara* and *Bhāto-Vāta-pratyāpo*, with its income in grain and gold, with (the proceeds of) *śānta* for the ten faults, with the right to forced labour, not to be entered by *chāṭa* and *khata*, not to be meddled with by any royal officer, exclusive of former grants made to gods and Brahmins, according to *bhāṣicakṣidra-nyāya*, to continue as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers and the mountains endure (and) to be enjoyed in succession by sons and grandsons, has, to-day on the new moon of the month of Āśvayuja, been given by me as a *brahmadāya* with libations of water, for the

¹ [Here the author has followed the translation given by Bühler, which was based on his imperfect reading of the text. I would translate this passage as: "he is the very cloud (in the form of) Jayabhāṭa who has thoroughly extinguished the fire (in the state) of Tājīhas who had caused plenty of suffering to numerous people in the city of the Lord of Valabhi with the water of the edge of his sword; who is praised, etc. See above p. 151 n. 7.—Ed.]

purpose of performing the five great sacrifices, viz., *Bali, Chatur, Vairakūṣa, Agnikūṣa*, and *Atithi*, to Bhagya Uchchada¹, who came from the district of Lāhigatākāshapathaka, who is of Kaundinya *gōtra*, who belongs to the community of Trāividya Brahmins, who is a student of the Vāji-Mādhya-andina (*sākhā*) and who is the son of Ādityanāga, a Hōṣāvaka Brāhmin.

(LL. 40-43) Wherefore no one should behave so as to obstruct him when enjoying (i), cultivating (ii), causing (iii) to be cultivated or entrusting (it to any one else) in accordance with the proper conditions of a *brahmalāya*. (And) this our gift should be assented to and preserved by future good kings whether of our own lineage or others. And he shall incur the guilt of five great sins together with the minor sins who, having his mind obscured by the thick darkness of ignorance, may confiscate (this grant) or assent to its confiscation.

(LL. 43-48) [Here follow six of the customary verses.]

(LL. 49-51) The illustrious bhagya Dāyaka is the *dātaka*.

In the year four hundred increased by eighty-six on the 15th day of the dark half of Āśvayuja (the year 400, 80, 6 Āśvayuja, va 10 5) this has been written by me, the Māhābalādhipati Saṅgalla, the son of the Balādhipati Alla.

(This is) the sign manual of me, Śrī-Jayabhata.

NO. 24.—MALLASARUL COPPER-PLATE OF VIJAYASENA.

By N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

This copper-plate comes from Mallasārul,² a village about a mile and a half from the north bank of the Dāmodar river, within the jurisdiction of Gabai Police Station of the Burdwan District, Bengal. It was discovered in 1929 by Dr. Sarashwar Roy in course of re-erection of an old tank adjoining his house and was subsequently presented by him to the Vaidya-Sāhitya-Parishat of Calcutta. The decipherment of the text inscribed on the plate was entrusted to the late Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstri, but due to his continuous ill health he could not take it up seriously and the copper-plate, which remained unpublished, attracted little attention after his death. Recently I approached the Sāhitya-Parishat for permission to edit the record, which was very kindly accorded, and the original plate together with a tentative and incomplete transcript, prepared partly by the late Mahāmahōpādhyāya and partly by Mr. Chintāharan Chakravarti, M.A., was handed over to me. An article in Bengali giving a preliminary account of the plate has been contributed by me to the quarterly journal of the Sāhitya-Parishat. But considering the importance of the record I have thought it desirable to edit the same with fuller details in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

This is a single sheet of copper, measuring 10·4" long by 6·5" broad, which is inscribed on both faces lengthwise. A circular seal about 2·5" in diameter is soldered on the left side of the plate. It bears in relief a standing figure of a two-armed deity with a *chakra* in the back-ground representing perhaps the 'Wheel of Law.' Below the figure occurs in raised letters the legend (*Mahārāja Vijayaseṇa*), i.e., 'Of the Mahārāja Vijayaseṇa,' which is partly defaced. The plate contains 25 lines of writing; of these fifteen lines are engraved on the obverse and ten on the reverse. The engraver has not been able to follow the draft with uniform accuracy: there are slips and lapses at a number of places, which have been duly pointed out in the

¹ [See above p. 152, n. 1.—Ed.]

² The place is marked as 'Sārul' in Survey of India map No. 73 M. 11 (1" to a mile scale) of 1929-30, and as 'Mallasarul' in the Map of the District of Burdwan.

text. The uneven surface of the reverse side, showing a number of fissures, must have made the engraver's task somewhat difficult. In several instances he has been obliged to leave blank space in the middle of a line and re-engrave a letter or letters, as in the last line, after the blank space. The plate is cracked at the upper left corner and some slices appear to have been cut away from here, as also from the lower left corner. As a result of the damage, which happened probably when the plate was being dug out, several letters are lost from the commencement of lines 1-3 and 14-15.

The characters belong to the Eastern variety of the 'Gupta alphabet', representing a further stage of development as compared to those of the copper-plates of Bengal dating from the 5th century A.D. Palaeographically, it resembles the Faridpur plates of Dharmāditya and Gōpa-chandra¹ which are referable to the 6th century. As pointed out below, the approximate age of the plate can be determined also from its internal evidence. As regards the forms of individual letters, noteworthy are *m*, *y*, *ś* and *ṣ*, and the conjuncts *śch*, *bn*, *lp* and *lm*. The letter *y* shows a curl on the left with opening on the outer side. This particular form of the letter has been found by Hoernle also in the Bower Manuscript,² and it appears in the Faridpur plates, the Guwaighar plate of Vainyagupta (A.D. 597)³ and in the latest one (A.D. 543-44)⁴ of the Dāmōdarpur plates. The letter *h* has the lower portion of its curve shaped like a hook, turned to the right. It differs from the *h* occurring in the Baigram,⁵ Pāhārpur⁶ and Dāmōdarpur⁷ plates in which the curve is much shorter and is turned to the left. Attention may also be drawn to the use of the peculiar medial *e*, consisting of the *i*-stroke on top of consonant and the hook-like *ā*-stroke added to its stem below. The record contains examples of the final *i* and *m* and the numeral signs for 3, 7, 8 and 20.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of two verses in *śrī* metre at the beginning and eight other verses relating to land grant, the document is composed in prose throughout. The superfluous addition of the suffix *ka* in *śālaka* (l. 12) is a well-known feature of the records of the Gupta period. The word *vāraṭṭa*, in *amaḍ-vāraṭṭaḥ* (l. 12), which probably refers to a class of officers, is of lexical importance.⁸ As regards orthography, mention may be made of the doubling of a consonant either preceding a subscript *r* or following a superscript *r*, the use of the dental nasal in *vaṇṣa* (l. 17), and of the same nasal instead of *m*, once in *donḍka* (l. 1). The sign for *ḍ* occurs only in a single instance in *brāhmaṇya* (l. 16), but everywhere else in the record the sign for *ṣ* has been employed for *ḍ*. This orthographical distinction between *ḍ* and *ṣ*, as is well known, gradually became obsolete after the Gupta period.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, 1910, pp. 103 ff.

² *Introduction to the Bower Manuscript* (Reprint, Benhay 1914), p. 48.

³ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI, 1930, pp. 45 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 141 ff. and Vol. XVII, p. 193.

⁵ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, pp. 78 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 50 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 113 ff.

⁸ The primary meaning of *avaṭ* is 'a person's turn' or 'proper piece', and *vāraṭṭa* would mean 'one appointed in turn' or 'one appointed in a place'. In the Chugachal plate of Samśāraditya certain persons are said to have been appointed *baladāra* (*haranāḍa-Sugandha-Kāra-ādāḥ baladāraḥ prakāṣṭaḥ*) in connection with the land granted. Also in a Faridpur plate of the time of Gōpachandra we have *Vidagadāḥarāḥ-ādāḥ baladāraḥ prakāṣṭaḥ*, i.e., 'having appointed, through the *Vidagadāḥarāḥ*, *baladāraḥ* who are acquainted with administrative affairs'. The word *baladāra* has been taken by Parguer to mean 'a referee' or 'an arbitrator' (*Ind. Ant.*, 1910, p. 205, n. 49; in the above passage I read *jāḍa* for *pranāḍa* of Parguer). Evidently the word *vāraṭṭa* is used in a similar sense in the present record. In line 12, this class of officers are supposed to carry out the appointment of the price of the land at the Pūṣṭi.

The record opens with an eulogy of the god Lōkanātha,¹ of *Dharma*, and of the saints (*santaś*), i.e., the Buddhist Saṅgha. In line 2 of the inscription occurs the name of a paramount sovereign (*Mahārājādhirāja*), the first two letters of which can be clearly read as Gōpa. The remaining portion of the name, appearing at the beginning of line 3, evidently consisted of two letters which are only partially preserved. It is clear, however, that the last letter of the name was a conjunct with subscript *r* as a component. The lower portion of the third letter has the shape of a triangle with an acute angle pointing downwards, from which it is evident that this is a fragment of the letter *cā*. Moreover, the name must have been in the locative case, in conformity with the present participle form *prādātū* that immediately follows. Under the circumstances I feel no hesitation in restoring the passage as *Gōpachandri prādātū*, i.e., 'during the reign of Gōpachandra.'

In lines 3-5, honour is shown to a number of officers who are mentioned by their respective designation and not by name, viz., *Kārttikīrīkika*, *Kumārāmāya*, *Chandrādharagika*, *Uparika*, *Andharagika*, *Āgrahārika*, *Ārghasthāmika*, *Bhāgapatika*, *Vishayapati*, *Tadāyuktika*, *Hiranyasāmudāyika*, *Paṭalaka*, *Amṛuthika* and officers entrusted with *dēvadrōṇi* (i.e., procession or ablution of images). As these officers are mentioned immediately after *Varddhamaṇa-bhaktā* there is no doubt they were the various functionaries of the provincial administration directly concerned with the affairs of this *bhakti*. The enumeration of the officers is followed by a list of the Elders (*mahattaras*) and other important persons concerned with the present grant, viz., *mahattara* Himadatta, an *āgrahāra* of *Arḍhakirika*; *mahattara* Savarṇavāsa of *Nirvṇitavāṭaka*; *mahattara* Dharmasvāmin, an *āgrahāra* of *Kapasthavāṭaka*; the *mahattaras* Shashihidatta and Śridatta, *āgrahāras* of *Vajravallaka*; *Bhaṭṭa* Vāmanaśvāmin, an *āgrahāra* of *Kōḍḍavāra*; *Mahidatta* and *Rājyadatta*, *āgrahāras* of *Gōdhagrāma*; *Jivasvāmin* of *Sālmavāṭaka*; *Khādgi*-*Hari* of *Vakkattaka*; *Khādgi*-*Gōrika* of *Madhuvāṭaka*; *Khādgi*-*Bhadraṇandī* of *Khaṇḍajōṣṭhikā*; and *Vāmanaśvāṭaka* *Hari* and others of *Vindhyapuri*.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant of land during the reign of King Gōpachandra by *Mahārāja Vijayasēna*, to a Brahmin named *Vatsaśvāmin* of the Kaundīnyā *gotra*, belonging to the Babṛichā *śikhā* of the Rīgveda, to enable him to perform the 'five great sacrificial rites'.² The land granted measured eight *kulyavāpas*³ in area and was situated in the village of *Vsitragarttā* within the *Vakkattaka* *vīṭhi* of the *Varddhamaṇa bhakti*. It was bounded on the east and south by *Gōdhagrāma*, on the north by the *Vajravallaka āgrahāra* and on the west in part by *Āmrageritīkā*. The plot was duly marked out by pegs (*kilaka*),⁴ a system that finds a parallel in the land survey of modern times.

The transaction took place in the following manner: *Vijayasēna* approached the Elders (*mahattaras*) and other notabilities of the neighbouring villages and also the Court of the *Vīṭhi* (*vīṭhy-ādhikarṇa*), expressing his desire to purchase, in the customary way, eight *kulyavāpas* of land for the aforesaid purpose. The *Vīṭhi* Court and the Elders enquired into the matter and signified their approval, considering that 'a sixth part of the religious merit will accrue to the *Parammahattāraka*, i.e., the King, and they themselves, as the protectors of the gift, will also have fame and prosperity'. The necessary amount of money in *dirās* was then duly paid at the *Vīṭhi* Court by *Vijayasēna* to cover the price of the land, which was divided by the *Vāṇa* officers⁵ and the gift was made subject to the express condition that the usual dues in respect of the land

¹ The figure on the seal of the copper-plate may be a representation of Lōkanātha, although it is too indistinct to admit of a definite identification.

² These comprise the five daily rites, viz., *bali*, *cāra*, *śraimadāra*, *agnihōtra* and *arṇi*.

³ The area is specified in figures also in l. 24 (see p. 5).

⁴ The pegs are said to have borne the device of *śraṇḍ-śikha-mūḍā*, i.e., 'a string of lotus seeds'.

⁵ See above, p. 156, n. 8.

would be borne by him and credited to the revenues of the *Vṛāṭi*. Having in this manner obtained the right of ownership, he next transferred it to the donee *Vatsarvāma* by means of a copper-plate charter. In this transaction a person named *Śubhadatta* acted as the *Dātaka*, the *Sādhānīgrahita* *Bhōgachandra* prepared the draft, while the *Paṭapīṭha* *Jayadēva* was responsible for getting the copper-plate "beaten" (*tāpta*), by which evidently the process of engraving, that is to say the technical part of it, is to be understood. The date is given as the year, i.e., the regnal year, 3, the month of Śrāvaga, the 27th day.

Mahārājādhirāja Gōpachandra, the reigning king, should be identified with the *Mahārājādhirāja* of the same name mentioned in one of the Faridpur copper-plates. *Mahārāja Vijayasēna*, the donor, whose name appears on the seal and also in lines 8 and 13, and who must have been a vassal chief of Gōpachandra, should be identified with the *Mahārāja, Mahāsāmānta Vijayasēna*, the *Dātaka* of the Gunaighar plate of *Vaiṇyagupta* (A.D. 507). The present charter therefore may be placed in the first half of the sixth century, a conclusion, we have already seen, is borne out by the palaeography of the inscription. It appears that *Vijayasēna* served both under *Vaiṇyagupta* and *Gōpachandra*, at different dates; but it is difficult to say which of the two kings was the earlier. It is likely, however, that as *Vijayasēna* issued the present charter under his own seal, he occupied a more dignified position under *Gōpachandra* and this would probably indicate a point of time later than A.D. 507, in which year he was associated as a *Dātaka* with *Vaiṇyagupta*'s Gunaighar plate. It should be noted also that although *Vaiṇyagupta*, his overlord, was at this date enjoying some sort of independent status, he styled himself only as *Mahārāja*, and not as *Mahārājādhirāja*. *Vaiṇyagupta*, as his name would suggest, might have been related to the Guptas of Magadha. *Gōpachandra* on the other hand was probably a member of a local family. That he had the status of a paramount sovereign is certain. As we already know, this king, like *Dharmāditya* of the Faridpur plates who enjoyed a similar status, had placed one of his chiefs in charge of a territory in Eastern Bengal. From the evidence of this record it now appears that *Gōpachandra* had under him also the *Vardhamāna bhukti*, answering to the present Bardwan Division. He appears therefore to have owned a fairly extensive territory. By the middle of the sixth century, or a little earlier, Bengal seems to have been lost to the Guptas of Magadha and local princes had established their independence. They probably retained this position until the rise of the Emperor *Harshavardhana*. One of the Faridpur plates (the Ghugrahati plate) mentions another independent king of Bengal named *Samādhārādēva*. The script of this plate is definitely later than that of the plates of *Dharmāditya* and *Gōpachandra*. Hence he should be placed after them, that is either at the end of the sixth or at the beginning of the seventh century.

Some remarks are called for regarding the identification of the localities mentioned in the copper-plate. Most of them appear to have been situated in the neighbourhood of *Vāṭragarītā* within *Vakkattaka-vṛāṭi*, a part of which was granted to the donee. *Vāṭragarītā* itself cannot be located with certainty. But *Gōdhagrāma* may be identical with *Gūhagrām* on the *Dāmodar*, to the south-east of *Mallasāra* where the plate has been found. *Amragarītīkā* may be modern *Amrahāt* (also called *Simāra*), to the south of *Mallasāra*. *Khaṇḍajōṭīkā* is perhaps *Khāṇḍajūl* between *Mallasāra* and *Gūhagrām*, while *Sālmali* may be *Mallasāra* itself. The name of the *vṛāṭi* *Vakkattaka* seems to have survived in *Baktā*, a place immediately to the east of *Gūhagrām*.

The *Vakkattaka-vṛāṭi*, representing a part of the *Vardhamāna bhukti*, included a strip of the country along the north bank of the *Dāmodar* river. Another *vṛāṭi* of the same *bhukti* was known during the *śēna* period as *Svalpa-dakṣiṇa-vṛāṭi*, which lay along the *Bhāgirathī* river in the north-

eastern corner of the Burdwan District.¹ In the unpublished Nālandā plate of Udayanapāla a *vīṭī* in *Gayā-rashtra* is described as *Jambūnadi-vīṭī*, i.e., 'the *vīṭī* on the Jambū river'. Again in a grant of the Gupta period from Monghyr District there is reference to a *Nanda-vīṭī*, the name being recognizable in 'Nandapur', the headspot of the grant, situated on the Ganges.² From these scattered references it would appear as if the term *vīṭī* was applied in ancient times to a tract of land immediately bordering on a river.

The expression *vīṭy-adhikaraṇa*, i.e., the *Vīṭī* Court (l. 8) is interesting. A similar expression *adhiśhikā-adhikaraṇa* is used in reference to the town or district of Kōṭivaraha in the Dāmodarpur copper-plate, where it seems to denote 'the City Court'. The persons mentioned in lines 5-8 immediately before *vīṭy-adhikaraṇa*, among whom are *mahattaras*, i.e., Elders, and *agrahāṇins*, i.e., 'holders of *agrahāṇas*', were probably the heads of administration of the *vīṭī*. In connection with *vīṭy-adhikaraṇa* we may compare the expression *Savarṇa-vīṭy-adhikāra*, i.e., 'one who is in charge of the administration of *Savarṇa-vīṭī*' occurring in the Ghograhātī plate of Samāchāradēva.

TEXT.³

Obverse.

- 1 (L6)kanāthah⁴ yaḥ pūṇsām sukṛta-karma-phala-hētaḥ [1*] satya-
tapaṇaya-mūrtiḥ-lōka-dvaya-sādhano dharmmah [2 1*] Tad-ann jīva-danika(mba)-
lōka jays.
- 2 [an]*... para-tut-ārthāh⁵ [2*] n[ā]mas[ā]harāḥ an-charitāḥ para-lōka-jigishavaḥ santah
[3 2*] prithivī Prithu-iva(Prithuvar) prathita-prāṇa-maya-śaurya[3] Mahārājādhirāja-
ti-Gōpa-
- 3 [chandrō] prastāmi tad-anujñaptāyām pūya-ṭṭara-jaṇapad-ādhyāntāyā[4] satata-
dharmma-kriyā-varidhamānāyām Varddhamāna-bhuktam pūjān-varttamān-āpūthi-
tata⁶-kṛttākrīṭka-ku
- 4 mārāmāya-ch[an]j[ā]j[ā]ddharṇik-ōparik-andragik-āgrahārik-aupasthānika-bhōgspatika-visha-
yapari-tada(dā)yuktaka-hiragyasāmudāyika-pattalak-āvasathika-dēvadrōm-samva(mba)-
- 5 ddb-ādib-vāhivāt-sampūya Vakkattaka-vāhi-samiva(mba)ddh-Ārddhakarak-āgrahāṇi-
mahattara-Himadattah Nirepavāṭakya-mahattara-Sa[va]*[ra]payaṭā[3*] Kapintha-
vāpak-āgrah[ā]lōka-
- 6 mahattara-Dhavarvāmi(m) Vajavallak-āgrahāṇi-mahattara-Shadphidatta-Siddhatta Kōḷ-
javir-āgrahāṇi-bhaṭṭa-Vāmanavāmi(m) Gōdhagrām-āgrahāṇi-Mahidatta-Rājya-
- 7 dattam Śālmavīṭaktya-Jivavāmi(m) Vakkattakya-khādgi-Harib Madhurāṭaktya-
khādgi-Gōka(lah) Khandajōṭikya-khādgi-Bhadraṇamli(n) Vinhyapurōya-vāhaṇyaka-

¹ Majumdar, *Journ. of Bengal*, p. 71.

² Above, p. 52.

³ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 76. Mr. Bhattacharya renders it as 'master of the bullion market' which cannot be accepted.

⁴ From the original copper-plate.

⁵ About eight letters are missing at the beginning of this line.

⁶ Some letters are missing also here, of which two has been tentatively restored.

⁷ For this restoration see remarks above p. 157.

⁸ The second *ti* is superfluous and should be omitted.

[illegible]

16 18 20 22 24



- 19 tishāṭṭah patishyati [14*] bhūmi-dān-āpaharāṇa-pratipālana-guṇa-dōsa(cha)-vyāḍjakāḥ
 āśāḥ śīkṣā bhavanu [15*] Shashāṇa varsha-sahasrāṇi
- 20 svarggā mandati bhūmidāḥ [16*] āśāḥpātā ch-anumantā cha tāny-āva
 narakā vasāt [17*] āśāḥpātānti pātārah pravalgati pītāmāḥ [18*]
 bhūmidō-
- 21 aman(t)-kūḷā jāṭah sa nah santārayishyati [19*] Yat-kīḷchin(t)-kurutā
 pāpam narō lōbhā-samā(na)rcitah [20*] apl gō-dharmma-mātrēṇa bhūmi-
 dānēna śudhyati [21*] P5-
- 22 rva-dattāśi devjātibhyō yat(n)ād-raksha Yuddhēntirā [22*] bhūmā bhūmi-
 [ma]tām śrēṣṭhā dānāch-chrēṇyō-nupālanaḥ [23*] Iyam rāja-śatair-dattā
 diyatē cha punah
- 23 punah [24*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya meva tadā phalam [25*] Taḍit-
 taraṅga-va(ha)kullāḥ śrīyāḥ matvā cha maritvāḥ [26*] na dharmma-
 sthitya-
- 24 saadbbhi(dbbis)-yuktā lōkā vilōpitum [27*] kalyaṇ dātakah Śubhadatto
 lkhitaḥ sādhibivārahika-Bhōgachandrēṇa
- 25 tūpātāḥ postapāla-Jayadāsēna [28*] samvadvad(samvat) 3 Śrāva dī 20 7

No. 25.—TANDIKONDA GRANT OF AMMARAJA II.

BY BHAVARAJ V. KRISHNARAO, B.A., B.L., RAJAHMUNDRY.

This interesting inscription is engraved on a set of four copper-plates, which was secured by the Rev. Dr. Isaac Cannaday in 1915, while he was at Sattenāpalli, Guntūr District, and forwarded to the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, in the early part of the same year. It is marked as C. P. No. 11 of 1914-15.¹ From the incomplete nature of the text, the writing appears to have continued on the fifth plate which, however, along with the seal and the ring that held these plates together, was lost and never afterwards traced. Dr. Cannaday informs me in the course of his letters, that while he was on tour on Mission work in Sattenāpalli taluk during the cold season of 1914-15 and camping at a place called Oruvakallu, he was told by the local catechist that one Chilaka Saryānandam, a Christian of Mādiga extraction, had found, while digging for old earth (pālī-maṇṇa) with which to construct house walls, a set of copper plates and that he was considerably disturbed over that matter. It appears that the fifth plate and perhaps the seal and the ring, too, were melted down by that man; and Dr. Cannaday who learnt everything about the discovery, allayed the fears of the man and secured the remaining plates for the Department. The place of the discovery of these plates is near the huge granite boulder or rock which is nearly 250 feet high and which is situated to the west of the village Oruvakallu.² The plates were found in a good state of preservation; and I now edit the inscription on them from the excellent estampages kindly sent to me by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti at my request.

Each of these four plates measures roughly 11 inches by 5 inches. Except for the first plate which contains writing on the inner side alone the remaining three plates are engraved on both

¹ Madras Epigraphical Report, 1914-15, pp. 181 L.

² In the rock at Oruvakallu there is a cave and in it is a goddess called Gāḍā. A large village seems to have flourished round the rock at one time and there are ruins and mounds scattered round the locality.

sides. The first plate contains nine lines and the remaining three ten lines of writing on each side. Thus the inscription runs into sixty-nine lines in all. The writing on the plates is well preserved. The characters are Telugu and belong to the tenth century and to the later cursive type, except for the primary forms of vowels *a*, *i* and *e* which still retain their earlier forms. The final *a* (lines 10, 20 and 28) and *ra* (lines 11, 19, 21 and 31) have special signs but not the final (lines 7 and 8), which is denoted by the ordinary sign for *ra* with the sign of carina above it.¹ The sign of the medial *au* is almost similar to one of the signs of the medial *o*, so that it is somewhat difficult to distinguish between the two signs. The language is Sanskrit, except the passage in lines 48 to 51 which contain names of the localities which are in the Telugu language. Besides the usual benedictory verses at the end (lines 64-67), the inscription contains 19 verses, and the rest is in prose. The text in general is fairly free from clerical errors and doubtless focused with great care and neatness. In respect of orthography, it will be sufficient to note that the *ra* before the labial sord is changed into *upaddanda* (line 59).

The inscription belongs to the Eastern Chālukya king Ammarāja II, who reigned from A.D. 945 to 979. It opens with an invocation to god Śiva. The inscription consists of two parts. The first part deals with the usual Eastern Chālukya genealogy and the charity made by the king (lines 3 to 51). The second part (lines 51 to 65) is devoted to the description of the spiritual lineage of Vidyādeva-Paṇḍita and his pupil Prabhātarāsi (III) of the Kālamukha school of the Pūṣpata-Saivas founded by Lakṣmi. The genealogical account of the Eastern Chālukya kings found in this record corresponds to what is given in the *Elavāṇṇī*,² *Pañcakaṭṭa*³ and the *Mahāyāgādi* grants of the king.⁴ It contains no more historical information about the dynasty than what is known to us from the other charters of the king.

The record is not dated; but the scribe seems to have committed a very curious, perhaps a serious, mistake in giving the date of the king's coronation. He was apparently confused. He probably had the year of the grant in question in his mind in numerical words as *sattha-vasu-rasu*, i.e. (Śaka) 880, when he engraved the date of the coronation of king Amma II, which in numerical words is given in the other charters of the king as *giri-rasu-rasu*, meaning 897. There is reason to believe that the grant was made on the occasion of the *Uttarayana-makarānti* (winter solstice) in the Śaka Sadyat 880. The expression of the purpose of the charity mentioned in line 44, namely, "for the increase of long life, good health and prosperity of my kingdom, i.e., people", seems to give us the clue for our conjecture.⁵ The Māngallu plates of Amma II⁶ inform us that the king after eleven years of his victorious reign proceeded to Kāliṅga "in wrath against Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇa-kāpā*); and that at that time the kingdom " was protected by the king's elder brother Dānārjaya, to the great joy of the people".⁷ Ammarāja's expedition into Kāliṅga seems to have been occasioned by a hostile coalition of kings led by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III who wanted to uproot him (i.e., the reigning king Amma II) and place his own protégé Bādapa on the throne of the Andhra country.⁸ The turbulent kingdom of the Eastern Gāṅgas of Kāliṅga on the north-east might have readily joined Bādapa and his ally Kṛṣṇa III

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 91 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 15 ff.

³ *Above*, Vol. IX, pp. 47 ff.

⁴ The expression *śauṇḍīyā-śaṅkṣā-śaṅkṣā-śaṅkṣā-śaṅkṣā-śaṅkṣā* should literally mean "for the increase of our country, progeny, life, health and prosperity". Therefore, it does not seem to contain a reference to any of the king's wars and does not afford any clue for fixing the date of the grant.—Ed.J

⁵ C. P. No. 1 of 1916-17 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁶ *Ibid.*, text, line 23.

⁷ *Above*, Vol. XIX, p. 149, and p. 143 text, lines 17-18.

for its own purpose. It was evidently for these reasons that Ammarāja II proceeded against Kṛṣṇa III in the direction of Kālīnga, when the latter invaded his territories. The expedition would have lasted at least a year if not two; and doubtless it ended in a colossal victory for the lord of Vāṅgi. Ammarāja II who was apparently stricken with the sorrows of his people on account of the devastating war with the enemies of his country, would have made the charity recorded in the subjoined inscription under the advice or inducement of his *guru* (preceptor), immediately after his victorious return to the kingdom.¹ Thus the date mentioned in the grant, Śaka 880, corresponding to A.D. 958-9, may be reasonably assumed to be the date of the grant, and would fall in the thirteenth year of the king's reign. If this is correct the expedition against Kṛṣṇa III in the direction of Kālīnga, after the eleventh year and the charity recorded in the present edict, would show that by the date of the subjoined grant, king Ammarāja II had returned to his kingdom after successful conclusion of a great war against his enemies, the Rāshtrakūtas and their allies. Verse 15 also seems to refer to such a great victory.

The inscription informs us that in the city of Vijayavāṭi, i.e., the modern town of Berwāda, king Vijayāditya Narāyaṇarajārāja, the ornament of the race of Chālukyas (*Chālukya-bala-tilaka*), the asylum of the universe (*Samastabhuvanaśraya*) built a temple called Samastabhuvanaśraya and established in it the image of Umā-Mahādeva. To that deity, on the occasion of *Uttarāyana*, king Ammarāja II made a grant for the increase of prosperity, long life and freedom from disease of his people,² for repairs to the temple, for offering *havi*, *saindhava* and music to the god, and for a *śraṭa* (free feeding house.)

The object of the grant is the village Tāṇḍikonda, situated in Guḍḍa-Kaṇḍārvāḍi-*vishaya*, together with three other villages Ammalapāṇḍi, Gollapāṇḍi and Āsuvolaparra. Ammarāja granted these four villages, having made them all a *dāraśāṣṭya*, with the exemption of all taxes, with the libation of water, as a humble gift to the deity, for the good of his people.³ The boundaries of the aforesaid village (Tāṇḍikonda) along with the other three villages, are: on the east Tāṇḍēra, a stream; on the south-east Gūralagunta; on the south a *śāruṅga* tree situated to the north of the village Lānu; on the south-west, Oḍḍagunta; on the west a tank called Chayita; on the north-west a tank known as Rāmasamudra; on the north (a heap of boulders called) Kunka-rāla and on the north-east, Rāgaḍagunta.

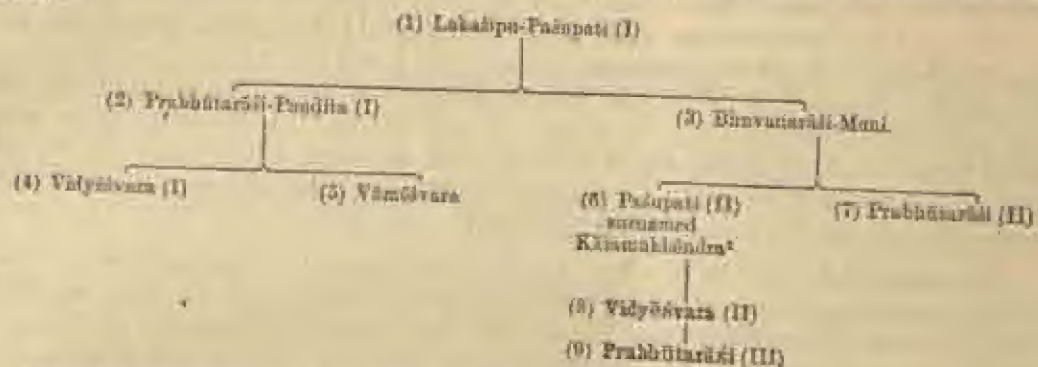
The second part of the inscription which begins with a verse in line 51, is devoted to the description of the spiritual lineage of Kālamukha Śaiva saints, who were held in great veneration in Āndhraprdeśa, and who were also the religious preceptors of the kings of the land. It states that in every age saint-like Lakṣmi and others took upon themselves the forms of Rudra, i.e., Śiva, and became self-incarnate in this world for blessing the righteous men. It is said that they were self-born, of their own free will, for the purpose of preaching and setting up the path of the *dharma*, meaning the Śaiva doctrine. In the lineage of these ascetics, arose the Kālamukhas, who looked to the Śruti (Vēda) for their guidance. They were worshipped by the kings of various lands and belonged to Sikkha-Pariśad (which was a division of the Kālamukha sect).

In the lineage of these Kālamukhas, who inhabited the ancient and celebrated temple of Śiva like Amaraśāstrī, was born Lakṣmī-Pāṇḍita (or Lakṣmī who was a Pāṇḍita), who was well versed in all the *śāstras*. He nourished his holy-body by living on pure water, greens, milk, fruits and roots. His disciple was Prabhūtarāsi-Pāṇḍita who was an incarnation of *dharma* itself. He had two disciples, Vidyāśvara and Vāmāśvara. Prabhūtarāsi-Pāṇḍita

¹ (See p. 4 on p. 102-103.)

had a brother¹ named **Bhuvanarāsi-Muni**, who had also two pupils, named **Paśupati (II)** and **Prabhūtarāsi (II)**. The former bore a secondary name **Kālamukhendra**, "the lord of the Kālamukhas", and the epithet *Parakūṣa-ṛṣaṇi* (i.e., one who was devoted to the well-being of others)². His (Kālamukhendra's) pupil was **Vidyāśvara II** who was virtually an ocean of learning. His spiritual son or disciple was **Prabhūtarāsi (III)**, who was like *gaurāṅja* or heri-apparent to the spiritual kingdom of which **Vidyāśvara (II)** was the supreme head. **Prabhūtarāsi (III)** rendered help to mankind in so many ways that his fame spread far and wide. He was not merely **Prabhūtarāsi** in name; he was so in fact, in deed and conduct. In the immediate presence and under the directions of his *guru*, he built a *dēvabala* and a *vaṭṭa* consisting of three storeys, and beautified the places with coloured paintings. He obtained from king **Ammarāja II** for the aforesaid purposes three villages, and a thousand she-goats.

The following is the pedigree of the spiritual family of the Kālamukhas, described in the record :—



The inscription then states that the donor of the grant was king **Ammā II**, the composer of the inscription was the king's preceptor **Vidyāśvara (II)** and that the *āṇḍapī* (executor) was **Kaṭakanḍyaka**. After this the record breaks off rather abruptly in the middle of a sentence which doubtless continued on the fifth plate which is now missing. The half sentence repeats, however, the grant of she-goats and provision for white-washing, running the feeding-house and for offering *navabliṅga* to the deity.

The *Centra Praśasti*³ as well as the *Parāṇas Agni* and *Vāṇy* mention four pupils of **Lakuli**, viz., **Kuṅḍika**, **Oḅṛṅga**, **Kauruṣa** and **Maitrēya**, in the order of their precedence. These four disciples of **Lakuli** became according to the *Centra Praśasti* (vv. 16-17), the founders of the four lines of Śaiva ascetics or schools amongst the **Pāśupatas**. But the subjoined inscription does not refer to any one of the four disciples of **Lakuli**, but merely states that the Kālamukhas were born as self-incarnates in the lineage of great saints beginning with the great sage **Lakuli** and others. It is not clear, therefore, whether the lineage of the Kālamukhas of the **Āndhra** country were descendants of any one of the four well-known disciples of **Lakuli**. The Kālamukha-Pāśupatas of the **Āndhra** country were guided by the precepts of the *Śruti* or the *Vedas*, and lived in monasteries attached to great Śaiva temples like **Amaravāṭṭēvara** at **Amarāvati**. The present record, however, is not the earliest epigraphical reference to the Kālamukhas of the Pāśupata school and to its division called **Śiṃha-Parishad**, in the Deccan and the south. We have an earlier reference to this

¹ It is not clear whether **Prabhūtarāsi-Paṇḍita** and **Bhuvanarāsi-Muni** were spiritual or lay brothers.

² [It appears to me that **Kālamukhendra** was the surname or title of **Prabhūtarāsi (II)** and not of **Paśupati** and that **Paśupati**, the guru of **Vidyāśvara II**, was **Prabhūtarāsi's** disciple and not identical with the latter's colleague of the same name (i.e., **Paśupati II**).—S. L. R.]

³ Above, Vol. I, pp. 251 ff.

sect of Śaivism in a copper-plate grant of A.D. 810 from Mysore.¹ The earliest reference to the Kālamukha Śaivas in the Tamiḷ country seems to be contained in the Koḷumbāḷūr inscription of prince Vikramakēśarin² which mentions a certain Mallikārjuna who was the disciple of two teachers named Vidyārāśi and Tapōrāśi. The inscription further states that "having built three shrines (*śrīmān*) in his own name and in the name of his two wives, he, i.e., Vikramakēśarin, set up Mahēśvara (Śiva) and presented a big *matha* (*brāhṃa-mathu*) to Mallikārjuna, who was the chief ascetic of the Kālamukha (sect), with eleven villages for feeding fifty ascetics of the same sect (here called *asita-caktra*)."³ The approximate period of these shrines is determined partly by the alphabet of the inscription referred to and partly by the reference to Virapāṇḍya who was among the enemies overcome by Vikramakēśarin. Bai Bahadur V. Venkayya thinks that Vikramakēśarin must have flourished roughly about the first half or middle of the tenth century A.D.⁴ Thus the two preceptors of Mallikārjuna would have lived almost about the same period or more probably slightly later than that and would have been contemporaries of king Amma II of Āṇḍhra country. The name Vidyārāśi is very much similar to Vidyēśvara of the subjoined record, who is stated to be the repository of various kinds of learning. For these reasons, therefore, it might be that Vidyārāśi and Tapōrāśi mentioned in the Koḷumbāḷūr inscription were identical with Vidyēśvara and his disciple Prabhūtārāśi referred to in the subjoined record.⁵ If this identification be correct, then we may believe that disciples of Vidyēśvara and Prabhūtārāśi went to the south, i.e. Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries and preached the doctrines of Kālamukha-Pāsupata Śaivism, converted the rulers of the country wherever they went and established monasteries for their ascetics.

The Kālamukhas spread themselves also at an earlier period into the Kanarese country. From Morigere in Hadagalli taluk, Bellary District, come two interesting inscriptions, engraved on two slabs set up in the verandah of the temple of Uḍḍi-Basavayya, of the time of Āhavamalla-Śrīmēśvara I.⁶ Both of them are dated in Śaka 907, on the Kārttika *pauṣṇamāśi*, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, the corresponding English date being Monday, 28th October, A.D. 1045. These inscriptions state that there existed in that part of the Kanarese country a community of Śaiva ascetics who belonged to the Lakulīśa-Pāsupata sect and to the school of Simha-parīṣa (*parīṣad*). Another school of the same sect, perhaps of later origin, was Śakti-parīṣa (*parīṣad*) to which belonged *Mūṇura-kōṣṇeya-santati* of the Parvat-āmnāya, whose teachers also had a strong pontifical seat at Baḷagāmi.⁷

The Kālamukhas, as has been shown above, spread themselves into far south and the Pāṇḍyan country. An inscription from the shrine of Kālanāthasvāmin at Pallimadam, hamlet of Tiruch-ēnaji, Rāmpād District, refers to a *matha* of the *Mahāratnas*.⁸ These Mahāratnas, according to Dr. B. G. Bhandarkar, were the followers of the great *vrata* 'a vow of religious devotion and observance in general', and denoted the ancient sect of Śaivas called Kāpālīkas or Kālamukhas.⁹ With due respect for the learned scholar, it seems to me that Kāpālīkas and Kālamukhas

¹ *Nep. Arch. Rep.* for 1914, p. 29. I am indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao for this information.

² No. 129 of 1907 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

³ *Ibid.*, *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1908, p. 75, para. 88.

⁴ For the date of Vikramakēśarin and the Koḷumbāḷūr inscription also see the remarks by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VII, pp. 1-12.

⁵ [The conjecture seems to be far-fetched. There is not enough similarity in the names to suggest the identity of the two sets of teachers.—Ed.]

⁶ Nos. 441 and 443 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 221 ff.

⁸ No. 429 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁹ *Vaishnavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 115.

were not identical sets and that their tenets differed largely. The matter is an important one and requires further elucidation and study.

Of the places mentioned in the record Tāḍikopḍa, Lāmu and Gollapūḍi alone can be identified to-day. Tāḍikopḍa is the modern village of Tāḍikopḍa in the Guṇṭūr taluk of the Guṇṭūr District and is situated at a distance of about eight miles to the north of the head-quarters of the district. Among the boundaries of Tāḍikopḍa, it may be observed that the two tanks Chayita-taṭaka and Bhīmasamudra are still existing. Bhīmasamudra is a 'huge tank on the bank of which there is a large mound called *Bhīmalāṅgama-shiba*, where there are extensive ruins of a Śiva temple. Chayita-taṭaka seems to be the ancient name of a huge tank which occupies an area of about three or four square miles adjoining the village. It is the source of irrigation for an extensive area in the vicinity. Lāmu is situated two miles to the south of Tāḍikopḍa. There is a village Gollapūḍi on the northern bank of the Kṛishṇā river near Berwāda in Kistna District, about twelve miles to the north of Tāḍikopḍa; and it may be identified with the Gollapūḍi of the subjoined grant. The remaining villages Ammalapūḍi and Ānuvalapurru can not be traced in that locality. It is probable that Anamarlapūḍi-ayyakkāram, twelve miles to the south-east of Tāḍikopḍa, was the Ammalapūḍi of the grant. Perhaps Ānuvalapurru stood on the other side of the river in Berwāda taluk. Guḍla-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-*vishaya* was the ancient name of the tract of country lying on the southern bank of the river round the celebrated place Amarāvati which was noted for its beautiful temples and *śaṭṭya*s, of Amaravattīśvara and Buddha, respectively. Guḍla-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi means "Kaṇḍēruvāḍi of the temples" for the term *guḍla* means "of the temples".¹ Apparently that part of Kaṇḍēruvāḍi acquired the name Guḍla-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-*vishaya* from its temples at Amarāvati, its chief town. The district Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-*vishaya* seems to have acquired its name from the ancient township Kaṇḍēru or the modern Kaṇḍēru, a village in the Guṇṭūr taluk, which must have been a very important place in former times. Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-*vishaya*² seems to have been sub-divided into three or four small districts, viz., Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-*vishaya*, Uttara-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-*vishaya*,³ Imani-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-*vishaya*⁴ and Guḍla-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-*vishaya*. Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-*vishaya* comprised apparently the whole of Guṇṭūr taluk, the eastern portion of Sattenapalli and the northern parts of Tenālī taluk. The central portion of Guṇṭūr together with the south-eastern part of Sattenapalli taluk was called Uttara-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-*vishaya*. Guḍla-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-*vishaya* was the name for the northern portion of Guṇṭūr and eastern part of Sattenapalli taluk; and Imani-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi or Imani-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-*vishaya* comprised the northern portion of Tenālī taluk.

TEXT.⁵

First Plate.

- 1 श्री[१] "श्रीशगीशकराजानाम्" स्वपादनस्वच्छमाः [१] देवात्मिकस्वर्गं गं वः
- 2 क्रियाकाये हि जायन् ॥ [२] स्वस्ति [१] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तुयमानमान-

¹ The term *guḍla* is the archaic genitive form of *guḍi*. The modern form is *guḍi*, the medial *i* having given place to the Dravidian *l*.

² S. I. L., Vol. I, Nos. 36 and 37; above, Vol. XVIII, p. 258.

³ Above, Vol. V, p. 127; C. P. No. 1 of App. A to the *Modern Epigraphical Report* for 1912-14.

⁴ S. I. L., Vol. IV, No. 691.

⁵ From the excellent ink-impressions supplied to me by Mr. N. P. Chakravarti.

⁶ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁷ Read "श्रीमतां".

⁸ Read "स्वच्छं".

- 3 व्यसगोवाणां चादौतिमुवाणां खौगिकीवरप्रसादसम्भवाज्जानाद्यानुगणपरिपाकिता-
 4 भां स्वाभिमतमनपादानुधातानां सगवद्वारायणप्रसादममासादितव[१*]-
 5 वराहलाज्यनेत्रचणकमीकसारातिमन्त्रज्ञानामन्त्रमेधावश्वप्रदानप-
 6 विचौकतवपुयां चालुक्यानां कुलमलंकरिणोऽप्यव्ययवज्रमेन्द्र-
 7 म् ॥ भ्राता कुलविष्णुवर्धनरूपतिरटादशवर्षाणि ।^१ वैगीदेशमपाकयत् ॥
 8 तदाज्यो जयसिंहस्त्वयस्त्रिंशत्(तं) ॥ तदनुजेन्द्रराजनन्दनो विष्णुवर्धनो नव ॥ त-
 9 क्षुत्तुर्मेगिदुवराजः पंचविंशतिं [१*] तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्वयोदश ॥ तदव-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 10 रजः क्रीडित्तिष्यस्माभान् ॥ तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णुवर्धनस्तमुवाच सप्त-
 विंशतम् ॥ तत्पु-
 11 त्रो विजयादित्यभट्टारकोऽप्यष्टादश ॥ तत्पुत्रो विष्णुवर्धनस्यष्टविंशतम् ॥^२ तत्पु-
 त्रस्यो-
 12 नुभासो रणविगणनया नौलक्ष्यकालयानां ॥^३ सयामारामकाणां सललितरम-
 चोर्भ-
 13 यदां सत्यदानां(नाम) [१*] कृत्वा प्रोत्तुंगभट्टोत्तरयतममुनाजोरधोरष्टगुहाचत्वा-
 14 रिंशत्समी(मा) आं जननुतविजयादित्यनामा नरेन्द्रः ॥ [२*] तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुव-
 15 र्धनोऽष्टविंशतम् । तत्पुत्रो गुणनांकविजयादित्यश्चतुषत्वा-
 16 रिंशतम् । तदनुजयुवराजविक्रमादित्यनरपाक्यः चालुक्यभीमभूपस्त्रिंशतम् [१*]
 17 तत्पुत्रो विजयादित्यो द्विषदित्यमपाक्यः [३*] स यज्जमानकौ स्यादादिन्दो भोगिन भू-
 18 मिपः ॥ [३*] तत्पुत्ररवराजश्चतस्रवर्षाणि । तत्पितामहो(र)गुणनांकविजयादित्या-
 नुजयु-
 19 इमस्माक्यः तास्ताधिपो माश्रमेकम् । तं बुधि विनिश्चल चालुक्यभीमाक्यो
 विक्रमा-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 20 दित्यः अरिनिकरतिमिरदिनकरः द्विजदीनानायकस्युरेकादशमाभान् । ततश्चाल-
 पराजय-
 21 क्षुत्तुस्सुतवाक्त्रभुः । सुदमहधराधोग्यसप्तवर्षाण्यपाह्वयम् ॥ [४*] विजित्वा-
 र्जुनसन्धि-

* Punctuation mark here is unnecessary.

* Metre : Sruṣṭharā.

* Mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

* Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

* Metre : Śāṅgāyārikā.

- 22 भी जगपदात्तविर्गमव्योदितान्दायादाविनमानुसीनमगणाशान्विधायितरान् [1*]
 23 यजौवोर्जितनाकमन्त्रपतेर्भाता कनौयान्भुव भीमो भीमपराक्रमचामभुनक्तं व-
 24 सरान्दादय ॥ [१*] 'तस्य मध्येध्वरमूर्तिर्(र्त्ति)रुमासमानाकृतेः ।' कुमारामः [1*] लोक-
 25 महादेव्याः खलु यक्षमभवदध्वराजाख्यः ॥ [३*] 'जलजातपञ्चामरक-
 26 लमां कुमलचर्णाककरपरणतलः [1*] लसदाजान्वलं वितभुजदुग्धपरिवो गिरीन्द-
 27 सानुरक्तः ॥ [७*] 'विदितधराधिपविद्यो विविधायुधकोविदो विनीनारिकुलः ।
 करितुरगागम-
 28 कुमलो हरचरणाभोजयुगलमधुपः श्रीमान् ॥ [८*] 'कविगायककल्पतरुः' द्विज-
 सुनिदी-
 29 गान्धर्व्युजजनसुरभिः [1*] याचक[ग*]पचिन्तामणिरिवनीयमणिकौहोप्रमदसा
 धुमभिः ॥ [८*]

Third Plate : First Side.

- 30 'नभयसुवसुसंख्यान्दे शकसमये मार्गशोर्धमासेच्छिन् [1*] लणचयोदशदि-
 31 ने भूगुहारे मैचनचखे [॥१०*] 'धनुवि रवौ घटलन्ने द्वादशवर्षे तु जवानः
 पश्य ॥ 'यो-
 32 धारदयगिरीन्द्रो रविमिव लोकापुरागाय ॥ [११*] 'यस्मिन्मासति' वृषती परि-
 पजाने-
 33 क[सम्भ*]मपञ्चाक्षो । सततपयोधेनुरभौर्निरीतिरपरस्मिरस्तचोरो देशः ॥ [१२*]
 'यस्मिन्प्रजति क्षिति-
 34 पे 'यश्चयानावलोकनार्थं भीताः । तद्दिग्देशाधीशा दिशन्ति मणिकानकहृद्यमवे-
 35 न्द्रप्रति' [॥१३*] 'यो रूपेण मनोज्ञं विभवेन सहेन्द्रमहिमकरमुखमहसा
 36 ॥ (1) [हरमरिपुर[द*]हनेन 'न्यकुर्वन्भाति विततदिगवनिर्कोर्त्तिः ॥ [१४*] स
 सकलरिपुनृपतिमकु-

* Metre: *Arjya*.

* Mark of punctuation is needless here.

* Metre: *Arjya*.

* Read 'नरवि'.

* Read 'दुर्गति'. The first half of this verse is in the *Arjya* metre and the second in the *Arjya*.

* Read 'मोक्षानुदय'.

* Read 'यस्मिन्मा'.

* Read 'हरि'.

[* पदसीन् is the reading suggested by Dr. Hultzsch (above, Vol. XII, p. 83 note). But the present record shows that the correct reading is *pustika*.

* Read 'सकुर्वन्'.

ii.a.

10 10
 12 12
 14 14
 16 16
 18 18

ii.b.

20 20
 22 22
 24 24
 26 26
 28 28

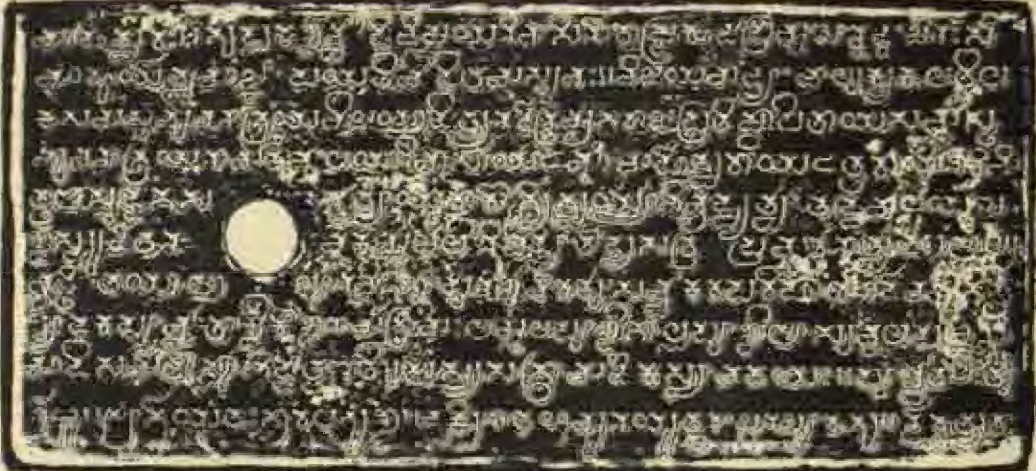
iii.a.

30 30
 32 32
 34 34
 36 36
 38 38

iii.b.

40
42
44
46
48

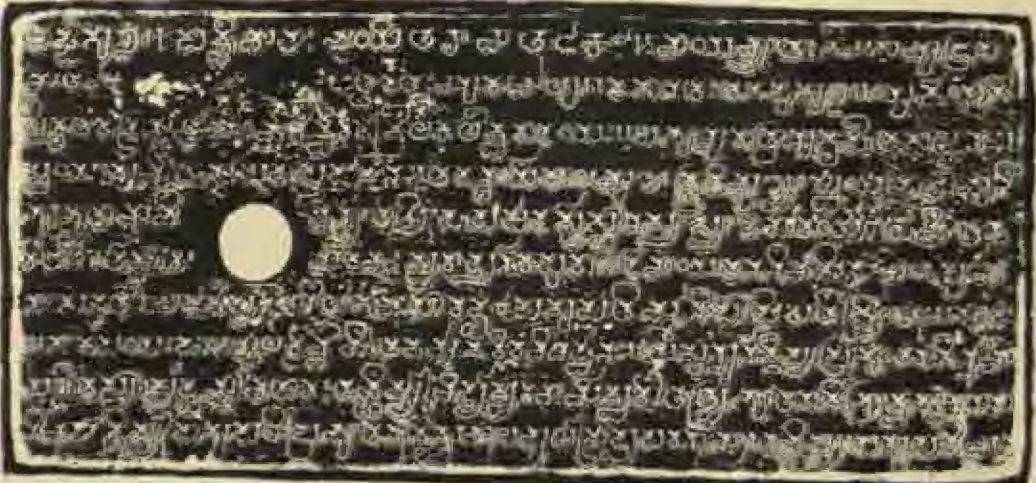
40
42
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iv.a.

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58



iv.b.

60
62
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60
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64
66
68



- 37 टटटटटिमणिकिरणनणमधुकरनिकरपरिचुजितचरणसरसिरुचयुमलोऽ-
 38 युमलोचनपदकमलविलसन्धुपायमानो मानोन्नतो नतोवतधमस्तु-
 39 धनाधययीविजयादित्यमधाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः परममहारकः परम-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 40 माहेस्वरः ॥ गुह्यकण्ठेर्धाडिविषयनिवासिनो राट्टकूटप्रमुखाङ्कुटुजिनः स-
 41 माहूयेलमाप्तापयति विदितमस्तु यः ॥ विजयवाद्यां चालुक्यकुलति-
 42 कसमस्तुभुवनान्यविजयादित्यनरेन्द्रसुमराजप्रतिष्ठापिताय समस्त-
 43 भुवनान्यनामदेवालयनिवासाय समामहेस्वराय उत्तरायणनिमि-
 44 त्त अक्षदेशसन्तत्यायुरारोग्यैश्वर्याभिवृद्धये तद्देवालयस्य-
 45 ण्डस्फुटितनवकर्मवलिनिवेद्यातोद्यमवप्रवर्त्तनायै च ॥^१ अथ-
 46 वृत्तितया चालून्विशौर्ण्यं पुनर्णयीकर्त्तुं सर्वकरपरिहारेण देव[भो]गी[ञ]
 47 त्वोदकपूर्व्यं ताण्डिकोष्णनामधामः अग्रतःपूर्वगोक्षपूर्वगोक्षपाशुवृत्तपङ्क्तिना-
 48 मादिपमेतोष्माभिर्दत्त इति ॥ अथ सम्ग्राम[१*]दिकस्यावधयः^२ ॥ पूर्वतः तू-
 49 ण्डेऽपि ॥ आग्नेयतः गारुडगुण्ड ॥ दक्षिणतः[१*] सामुन्युत्तरंतुन्युत्तरं
 नैर[र्क्षे]त्य[त]तः

Fourth Plate; First side.

- 50 श्रीगुण्ड ॥ पश्चिमतः चयितनामट्टाकम् ॥ वायव्यतः भीमसमुद्रना-
 51 मट्टाकम् ॥ उत्तरतः एतुक्कट्टागु ॥ ईशानतः रेगडगुण्ड ॥ युगे युगे
 52 श्रीलतकद्रुमूर्त्तयो सुनीश्वराः श्रीलकुलीश्वरादयः ॥(१) बभूवुरचानुयुहोतसञ्चानाः^३
 53 स्वयंभुवो धर्मपद्मप्रदर्शिनः ॥[११५*] तदन्वये कालमुखाश्चुतिमुखाश्चयंभुवो भुवि
 54 भूयतामभिवन्द्या[१*] तस्मिंश्चपर्वदक्षे स्नानस्वास्वाधिपतय इव हितच-
 55 रिताः ॥ तेषाममरवटेश्वराद्यनेकपुराणदेवायतननिवासि[ना] कालमुखा-
 56 ना मन्ततौ ॥ लज्जशिपुर्बिखिलागमपारदक् पश्यपतिभूनिषोपि पतिस्त्रियः ॥(१) लज्ज-
 57 लयाकपयःफलमूलकैर्विहितधर्मगरीरविवर्धनः ॥[११६*] यस्तन्मनेश्वरः[१*] प्रभूत-
 राशिर्नाम
 58 पश्चित्काञ्चाडमोवतारः [१*] तच्छिष्यो विश्वेश्वरयामेश्वरौ ॥ तथामूतराशि-
 भावभुवनरा-

^१ Mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

^२ [The reading is correctly सम्ग्रामदिक्या —M. L. B.]

^३ Could वृत्ति be a corrupt form of वेण ?

^४ Metre: Vaidishā.

^५ Metre: Drutavilambita.

- 59 शिमुनेश्वर्यो यशुपति[*] प्रभूतराशिः । कालमुखेन्द्राशपरनामा ।¹ तच्छि-
ष्यः यशुपति-पर-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 60 हितव्यमनो । तच्छिष्यो यश्च विद्याविद्येश्वरो नाम कर्तुमन्यत्कवित्रं [*]
सर्वविद्यास्तसा-
61 धत्ते यथावृनि मर्हानुधि ॥[१७*] तत्त्वोत्तिलम्बोर्ध्ववराज एकोप्यनेकलोकोपक-
तापनेक ॥[१८*] न
62 नामतः केवलमर्थतश्च प्रभूतराशिः प्रभुपञ्चिमानाम् ॥[१८*] स स्वकीयगुरु-
सन्निधौ ॥[*] शिला-
63 मयं देवकुलं श्वा(म)ठं च त्रिभूमिकं विचित्रमव कृत्वा । प्रामचयं चेषम-
जासह-
64 सं प्रभूतराशिर्जमते ज्ञ भूपात् ॥[१८*] अस्मीपरि न केनचिद्वाश कर्तव्या
यः करो-
65 ति स पंचभिर्माहापातकैर्निष्यते । उक्तं च । 'सदृशं परदत्तं वा यो
हरेत व-
66 सुन्दराम् । षड्विम्बैर्महापातकैः विद्यायां ज्ञायते ज्ञिसिः ॥[२०*] बहुभिर्विदुषा
दत्ता बहु-
67 भिदानुपालिता । यस्य यस्य वदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥[२१*]
'शासनस्य त्रि(ये)
68 चास्य दाता स्यादश्वभूमिपः ॥[*] विद्येश्वरो गुरुः कर्त्ताश्रमिः कटकनायकः ॥[२२*]
अस्य सम-
69 यशुपतिराश्वदेवाश्वस्त दीपदुधाकर्षणमनिवेशनिमित्तमज्ञात-

¹ Punctuation mark seems to be needless here.

² Metre: Anushtubh.

³ Metre: Upanishad.

⁴ Read षड्विम्बैर्महापातकैः.

⁵ The inscription breaks off here abruptly; it is possible that it continued on the missing plate.

No. 26.—A NOTE ON THE DATES OF UCHCHAKALPA KINGS.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASMI, M.A., NAGPUR.

There have been in all seven copper-plate inscriptions of the kings of the Uchchakalpa family discovered so far in Central India, from which we can make out the following genealogy :—

Oghadēva	-m.	Kumārādēvi
Kumārādēva	-m.	Jayasvāminī.
Jayasvāmin	-m.	Rāmadēvi.
Vyāghra	-m.	Ajjhitādēvi.
Jayanātha	-m.	Murugadēvi.
Śarvanātha		(known dates : 174, 177)

(known dates : 191, 193, 197 and 211)

The last two kings, whose copper-plates have been discovered, use the Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter in dating their records, but do not specify any era to which their dates are to be referred. Nor do they, except in one case, which will be discussed below, contain any astronomical details that can be tested by calculation. The Bhumarā pillar inscription states, however, that Śarvanātha was a contemporary of *Maṅarāja* Hastin, who must be identified with the Hastin of the Parivrajaka family, many of whose records have also been found in Central India and who was, therefore, ruling over the contiguous territory. From the copper-plates of the latter and his son Saṅkshobha we get the following genealogy :—

Dīvāditya
Prahlaṅgana.
Dāmodara.
Hastin
(known dates : 156, 163, 191 and 198)
Saṅkshobha.
(known dates : 192 and 209)

In these plates also the Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter is used for dating. The expression *Gupta-
vriṣa-rājya-lakṣita* which occurs in all of them clearly indicates that their dates must be referred to the Gupta era, the epoch of which has been determined to be A.D. 319-520. As the kings of the Uchchakalpa family were the neighbours of those of the Parivrajaka family who use the Gupta era in dating their records, the presumption is that the dates of the former also are in the Gupta era. It is, however, urged on the other hand, that the fact that the Uchchakalpa kings, unlike their contemporaries and neighbours, the kings of the Parivrajaka family, do not specify any era in dating their records, goes to show that they used some other era. Again, the circumstance that the Bhumarā pillar inscription, which is as much a record of the Parivrajaka king Hastin as of the Uchchakalpa Śarvanātha, does not, contrary to the practice observed in other records of the Parivrajaka kings, specify any era, points to the same conclusion; for the *Maṅarāja* Hastin and Śarvanātha, being feudatories of two rival dynasties, could not agree as to which of the two rival eras should be used in a joint record; and compromised the matter by quoting only the year of the Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter, as a method of reckoning which could hurt the dignity of neither of them.¹ Now the only era, to which the dates of the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 225.

Uchchakalpa kings could be referred, is the Kalachuri-Chōdi era, the epoch of which has been determined by Kialhorn to be A.D. 248-9. On this supposition we find that the known dates of Śarvanātha range from A.D. 439-40 to A.D. 462-3, while those of Hastin (which clearly refer to the Gupta era) are from A.D. 475-8 to A.D. 517-8. The Betul plates of Śarikhshōbha again show that he succeeded his father in the next year G.E. 199 or A.D. 518-9. As the Kalachuri era was started 72 years before the Gupta era, we shall have to take the latest known date of Śarvanātha and the earliest of Hastin and see which year between the two would correspond to the Mahāmāgha *samvatsara* mentioned in their joint record. As stated above, the last known date of Śarvanātha would correspond to A.D. 462 (on the basis that it refers to the Kalachuri era), while the earliest known date of Hastin is A.D. 475. There would, thus, be a difference of 13 years between these two dates. The only year in this interval which could have been Mahāmāgha *samvatsara* is that corresponding to A.D. 472, but according to the calculation of Sh. B. Dikshit the Mahāmāgha *samvatsara* in that cycle was omitted.¹ We must, therefore, take the next Mahāmāgha *samvatsara* which commenced in A.D. 484. This no doubt falls in the reign of Hastin, but is 22 years later than the last known date of Śarvanātha. Now Śarvanātha is known to have ruled for at least 23 years before his last date, viz., A.D. 462-3 and the possibility that his reign commenced earlier than 439-40 is not altogether excluded; for, the last known date of his father Jayanātha is A.D. 425-6, i.e., 14 years earlier.² We shall, therefore, have to suppose that Śarvanātha reigned for more than 46 years (A.D. 439-484)—perhaps 50 or even 53 years. Such a long reign is improbable, though not impossible.

If, on the other hand, the dates of the Uchchakalpa kings also are referred to the Gupta era, Śarvanātha becomes a contemporary of Hastin, in the closing years of the latter's reign (G. E. 191 to 198). There was of course no Mahāmāgha *samvatsara* in this period but there was one only two years before, in G. E. 189. As the year 191 is not the date of Śarvanātha's accession, which, as shown above, may have taken place a few years earlier, Śarvanātha will, on this supposition, have a reign of at least 25 years—which does not appear improbable.

There are some other considerations also which rule out the theory that the Uchchakalpa dates refer to the Kalachuri era:—

(1) If we except these doubtful cases of Uchchakalpa dates, there is not a single record of Central India dated in the Kalachuri-Chōdi era, earlier than A.D. 973.³ All the earlier dates in this era come from Gujarsāt and Thānū District in Bombay.⁴ R. B. Hiralal's theory⁵ that the Traikūṭakas, whom he identifies with the Kalachuris, were the founders of the era and the Trikūṭa, from which they hailed, is modern Satpura is untenable; for not a single record of the Traikūṭakas has been found in Central India and what little evidence is available about the identity of Trikūṭa points to its location in Western India.⁶

(2) Vyāghra, the grand-father of the Uchchakalpa king Śarvanātha, appears on paleographical evidence to be identical with the Vyāghradōra of Nachnā⁷ and Ganj⁸ inscriptions, who was a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Prithvivishṇu II, as shown by Dhruv⁹ and Dikshit.¹⁰ The Bālāghāṭ

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 228.

² *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 121.

³ Chamrethi Inscription of Prabādhiva, dated K. 724, above, Vol. XXI, pp. 148 ff.

⁴ See Nos. 1199-1221 in Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions*.

⁵ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. IX, pp. 283 ff.

⁶ Kālidāsa places Trikūṭa on the Western coast. See Nagasamudra, Canto IV, verses 58-60.

⁷ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 233 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 17 ff.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV, pp. 103 ff.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 362.

plates of Prithivishāpa II state that the king of Mālwa was a feudatory of his father Narēndrasēna¹ and there is no difficulty in supposing that Prithivishāpa's authority was recognised in Central India towards the close of the fifth century A.D. As for the difficulty pointed out by Aiyangar² (who identifies the Vyāghradēva of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions with the Vyāghrarāja defeated by Samudragupta), viz., how could Jayanātha and Sarvanātha, who, on the above supposition, were feudatories of the Vākātakas, date their records in the Gupta era, it may be noted that the Vākātakas never founded any era and do not seem to have insisted on their feudatories specifically mentioning their suzerainty in their records. The Traikūtakas³ and kings of Śarabhapura⁴ who were evidently their feudatories do not mention any suzerain power in their charters. It is not again true that the use of a particular era signifies acknowledgment of the suzerainty of the power that founded it. The Kalachuri-Chēdi era is, for instance, found used by the Sōndrakas and the Chālukyas of Gujārāt though they were not then the feudatories of the Traikūtakas, Ābhīras, Kalachuris, or any other power that may have founded it. The fact of the matter seems to be that the earlier Uchchakalpas were feudatories of the Guptas and used the Gupta era in dating their records. Vyāghra who flourished about A.D. 475, seems to be the first Uchchakalpa who transferred his allegiance to the Vākātakas. His successors Jayanātha and Sarvanātha continued to use the Gupta era, which was well established in the country, though they were no feudatories of the Guptas. The expression *Gupta-nyaya-rājya-bhūtan* which occurs in the records of the Parivrājakas indicates not so much the Gupta era as the sovereignty of the Guptas. Hence, we find it omitted in the records of the Uchchakalpa *Mahārājas*. Sarvanātha might have objected to the use of the expression in the joint record on the Bhūmrā pillar, which, therefore, does not contain it. As for the omission of the date, it must have been thought unnecessary in an inscription on a boundary pillar when the particular year was clearly specified.

(3) Nearly all the scholars who have recently written on the subject have accepted the view that the Uchchakalpa records are dated in the Gupta era. Kielhorn, though he gives these dates under the Kalachuri era, was not certain about the matter.⁵ Fleet seems to have long wavered between the two alternatives. While editing the Uchchakalpa records in the *C. I. I.*, III, pp. 117 ff. he held the view that they were dated in the Gupta era. When later on he came to write the introduction⁶ he felt inclined to the other view, which he affirmed subsequently in his article in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX, pp. 227 ff. In his last article on the subject,⁷ he finally adopted the view that the Uchchakalpa dates must be referred to the Gupta era. Dubrenil,⁸ G. S. Ojha,⁹ Halder¹⁰ and Dikshit¹¹ who had occasion to write on the subject have subscribed to the same view. S. K. Aiyangar, though he does not accept the identification of the Uchchakalpa Vyāghra with Vyāghradēva who caused the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions to be incised, finds no difficulty in referring the Uchchakalpa dates to the Gupta era. The only dissentient is D. R. Bhan-

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 271.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV, p. 224.

³ Cf. the inscription No. 3 in the Ajanta cave XVI (*A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 124 ff.).

⁴ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 22.

⁵ In the *Supplement to his List of Inscriptions of Northern India* (above, Vol. VIII) he expressed his opinion that the inscriptions of the *Mahārājas* of Uchchakalpa are dated, very probably, according to the Gupta era.

⁶ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Introduction pp. 8-10, 116, 121.

⁷ *J. E. A. S.*, 1905, p. 266.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV, p. 103.

⁹ *Annual Report, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, 1923-24*, p. 2.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 128.

¹¹ *Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 125-26.

darker who points out the difficulty¹ that if the year of the *Schāwal* plates is taken as the Gupta year, the month *Āshāḍha* should be intercalary, but in none of the years 509, 510, 511 and 512, which might be taken to correspond to G. E. 191, was it so. "Perhaps in this date", says Prof. Bhandarkar, "*akṣa-nanaty-uttarā* is intended for *akṣa-nanaty-uttarā*, which is not unlikely as we know that when there are two or more identical letters or words, one or more are inadvertently omitted by the writer or engraver. This date 189, if referred to the Gupta era, becomes equivalent to A.D. 507 or 508, but even then there was no intercalary *Āshāḍha* in 506, 507, 508 or 509. On the other hand, if we refer 189 to the Kalachuri era, we obtain A.D. 437 as its English equivalent. And we do find an intercalary month of *Āshāḍha* in A.D. 437."² The difficulty pointed out by Bhandarkar is more apparent than real; for as Dikshit has shown³ the month intercalated in the Gupta year 191, ' (which according to the rules of intercalations was *Srāvaṇa*) must have received its name from the preceding month, a conclusion to which the late Dr. Kielhorn was forced in the calculation of the date of the *Betal* plates of *Saukshobhā*'. An authority for such a custom has again been recently pointed out.⁴ No valid objection, therefore, remains to the view that the dates of the *Uchchakalpa* are in the Gupta era.

(4) The drafting of the *Uchchakalpa* records and the symbol on their seals indicate that the *Uchchakalpa* rose after the Guptas. In the genealogical portions of their inscriptions we find the same form used as in the Gupta records.⁵ Unfortunately nearly all the seals of the *Uchchakalpa* plates are lost: but from the one specimen that has been described by Flost⁶ it seems that the *Uchchakalpa* kings formed their seals on the model of those of the Guptas. There is too much resemblance noticeable between the records of the *Uchchakalpa* and those of the Early Kalachuris.

The foregoing discussion will show that the view that the *Uchchakalpa* dates refer to the Gupta era is the probable one in the present state of our knowledge.

NO. 27.—THE VAILUR INSCRIPTION OF KOPPERUNJINGADEVA.

By V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

This inscription⁷ is engraved on a rock above a natural reservoir of water to the south of the village of *Vailūr* in the Wandiwash taluq. of the North Arcot District. The letters are incised boldly and the record is in a good state of preservation.

¹ See his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, p. 159, n. 2.

² Even this view is not free from difficulties. According to the epoch which suits early Kalachuri dates the English equivalent for the present date occurring in *Āshāḍha* would be expected to fall in A.D. 438 or 439. According to the epoch which suits later Kalachuri dates it should fall in A.D. 438, if the year is taken as expired as is usually the case. If the year is taken as current, it will of course fall in A.D. 437, but each case is exceptional, apart from the fact that the epoch determined by Kielhorn does not suit early dates.

³ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 125.

⁴ *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 682.

⁵ See for instance that the names of the emperors are mentioned along with those of the ruling princes in the *Uchchakalpa* plates as in the Mathura Stone Inscription of Chandragupta II (C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 22), the *Betal* Stone Pillar Inscription of Kumāragupta I (*Ibid.* p. 42), etc.

⁶ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 125.

⁷ No. 418 of 1922 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ This village is different from *Vailūr* in the Chingleput District, wherein the inscription of the Pallava king *Rajasthira* is found. It is, however, spelt as *Vailūr* in the A. S. on Epigraphy for 1922, but its present name is *Vailūr* as given above.

The record comes from a village close to **Tellāru** where Kōpperuñjīnga claims to have defeated the Chōla monarch. The reason for engraving the inscription in a place about twelve miles from the scene of action is not clear. Tellāru is remembered in South Indian history in connection with the Pallava monarch **Nandivarman III**, who assumed the title 'Tellārrerinda-Nandi' to perpetuate his victory over his enemies in this place. Our poet seems to have been conversant with *Nandi-kalamāyagam*, a poetical work recounting the exploits of Pallava Nandivarman, wherein the victory at Tellāru is frequently mentioned. Some of the titles given to Kōpperuñjīngadēva in our inscription such as *Arunānāyana, king of Malai, lord of Tanjai, lord of the land watered by the Kāvēri, patron of Tamil literature*, etc., are found applied to Nandivarman in the *Kalamāyagam* mentioned above.

The identity of Kōpperuñjīnga mentioned in our record must first be established. As early as 1906,¹ the late Mr. Venkayya suggested that "there must have been two or more chiefs with the name Kōpperuñjīngadēva". The late Mr. Krishna Sastri also accepted the existence of two Kāḍava kings of this name and identified the later one with Kāḍava-Kumāra who is stated in the Tiruvannāmalai record² to have driven the Teluṅgar to the north so that they may perish in the north;³ but his further identification⁴ of the same chief with Peruñjīnga who captured and confined the Chōla king at Śādamahāgalam is not borne out by the latest discovery, as will be shown presently. Sewell⁵ also accepted with caution the lead given by his predecessors and distinguished two chiefs of the name Kōpperuñjīngadēva. But recently an opinion⁶ has been expressed against the theory of two Kōpperuñjīngas and postulating only one king of the name in the period A.D. 1229 to 1278. This interval really becomes still wider because Kōpperuñjīnga is mentioned in inscriptions as early as the 35th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III⁷ corresponding to A.D. 1213. The acceptance of two Kōpperuñjīngas so far rested on mere inference, but an important discovery made recently at Villiyānūr in the French territory when I went there at the request of Prof. Dubreuil of Pondicherry, settles this question conclusively.

A record in this village, dated in the 6th year of Sakalabhuvaṇachakravartigaḷ Avaniyālap-puṇḍār Kōpperuñjīngadēva refers to the audit of temple accounts by Perumaṇḍalam-Uḍaiyār Uḍaiyapperuṇṇāl alias Kāḷuvettigaḷ for the period commencing from the 37th year of Tribhuvana-vīradēva, i.e., Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III down to the 11th year of (another) Kōpperuñjīngadēva Alagi-yuṇṇiyar. Since this inscription⁸ which is dated in the 6th year of Kōpperuñjīngadēva refers to the 11th year of (another) Kōpperuñjīngadēva, it is evident that there must have been two Kōpperuñjīngas and that the earlier had at least a reign of 11 years. Probably the last year of the reign of the first Kōpperuñjīngadēva was the 11th, because we know that he made an attempt to supplant the Chōla king by imprisoning him at Śādamahāgalam in A.D. 1232 and that from A.D. 1243⁹, another Kōpperuñjīngadēva counted his reign. Thus the Villiyānūr inscription establishes beyond doubt the existence of two Kōpperuñjīngas, the first commencing his reign, probably from A.D. 1232 and the second from A.D. 1243. Kōpperuñjīngadēva I was probably a vassal of the Chōla king or a semi-independent chief from at least the 37th year of Tribhuvana-vīradēva,

¹ A. R. on Epigraphy, Madras, for 1906, p. 63.

² No. 469 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ A. R. on Epigraphy, Madras, for 1913, pp. 126-27.

⁴ Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, pp. 144 and 375.

⁵ The Pāṇḍya Kingdom by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, p. 164, n. 4 and Prof. Krishnaswami Sankar Commemoration Volume, pp. 212-14.

⁶ No. 487 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁷ All the dates in this record are expressed in words so that there is no doubt about their correct reading.

⁸ No. 38 of 1890 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

(i.e., A.D. 1215 to A.D. 1232). The king mentioned in our inscription may, therefore, be identified with Köpperunjingadēva I.

The earlier Köpperunjingadēva has left a few inscriptions at Tiruvannāmalai¹, in one of which he is given the titles *Vīśaṅkumalla*, *Mallai-Kāṇṇan* and *Bharatim-calla*². The southern gopura of the Natarāja temple at Chidambaram was constructed by him³. The officer Śōla-kōṇ seems to have served under him at Chidambaram⁴. He is distinctly called *Aḷagiyāṣṭyan* in the Velliyanūr inscription mentioned above and may be identified with *Jiya-Mahipati* of the Tripurāntakam inscription⁵.

We shall next determine who the Chōḷa king was that was defeated at Tellūru. The contemporaries of Köpperunjingadēva I. on the Chōḷa throne were Kulōttunga-Chōḷa III and Rājarāja III, of whom the first lived till A.D. 1217⁶ and the second commenced his reign in A.D. 1216⁷. For the present enquiry, Kulōttunga-Chōḷa III may be omitted, because our record mentions the defeat of the Hoyasajas who came to the assistance of the Chōḷas only in the time of Hoyasaja Vira-Narasimha II who ascended the throne in A.D. 1220, by which time, however, Kulōttunga-Chōḷa III had died. The Chōḷa king mentioned in the present record must, therefore, be Rājarāja III, as may also be inferred from the Tiruvēndipuran inscription⁸.

The last mentioned record gives a detailed account of the attempt of Köpperunjingadēva to subvert the power of his overlord the Chōḷa emperor. It states that Köpperunjingadēva captured the Chōḷa monarch at Śēdamangalam. Our inscription, however, specifies the place where the Chōḷa king was first defeated and thus links the two incidents by mentioning them together. The Vailūr and the Tiruvēndipuran records,⁹ therefore, appear to be complementary to each other. If so, Rājarāja III. must have been imprisoned only once and not twice as has hitherto been supposed by some scholars¹⁰.

The fact that the Tiruvēndipuran record refers to the complete annihilation of the Pallava forces by the Hoyasajas, from which Köpperunjinga could not have easily recovered, would indicate that the Tellūru battle was probably fought prior to the Śēdamangalam incident. The latter event may be placed in A.D. 1233 corresponding to the 16th year of Rājarāja III¹¹. By this time Köpperunjinga had consolidated his position and his territory is referred to as 'Köpperunjingadēvam' in the Tiruvēndipuran record. From the accession of Rājarāja III, Köpperunjinga never figured as his subordinate¹². As early as A.D. 1222 Hoyasaja Vira-Narasimha is said to be marching towards Śrīraṅgam in the Chōḷa country¹³. Two years later (i.e., A.D. 1224), we find that Vira-

¹ Nos. 480, 500, 512 and 513 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

² No. 480 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ No. 385 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ No. 463 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ No. 197 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁶ No. 282 of 1900 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁷ No. 367 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 167-68.

⁹ Nos. 418 of 1922 and 142 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

¹⁰ *A. R. on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1923, p. 97.

¹¹ From the mere mention of Köpperunjinga in a record from Vriddhachalam in the South Arcot District (No. 186 of 1900 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) dated in the 14th year of Rājarāja III, it has been supposed that the former was a Chōḷa vassal till A.D. 1229. This inscription mentions as donor an *aprabhā*, wudali of Köpperunjinga which fact need not establish the subordination of that chief to the Chōḷa. Similarly, a brother of an officer of Köpperunjinga figures as donor in the 20th year of Rājarāja III (i.e., A.D. 1240 (No. 504 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) when Köpperunjinga had openly declared his independence.

¹² *Ep. Cora.*, Vol. VI, Cm. 58.

Narasimha, was called 'the establisher of the Chōla kingdom' and a Kādava is said to have been his opponent¹. The battle of Uraṭṭi² where the Kādava (Kōpperuñjiṅga) was wounded in the 7th year of the reign of Rājaraṣa III, corresponding to A.D. 1223, was also fought in the period when Vira-Narasimha came to the assistance of the Chōla monarch. The second war of Māgavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. with the Chōla is placed in this period³. From the beginning of Rājaraṣa III's reign, therefore, Kōpperuñjiṅga was a source of danger to the Chōla empire and when the latter was able in A.D. 1232 to effect his *coup d'état* by imprisoning the Chōla king after defeating him at Tejjāra, he signified the event by assuming the role of a monarch counting his accession from this date. Evidently to perpetuate his victory at Tejjāra, the *vāḷa* comprising this village was called **Simbapōrada-vaḷaṇṇaḍu**⁴ i.e., the *vaḷaṇṇa* where Simha (Kōpperuñjiṅga) fought.

For a clear understanding of the present record a knowledge of the political situation in the Chōla country about this time is necessary. The Chōla empire which had been assiduously built up by Rājaraṣa I. and his successors showed signs of decay in the beginning of the 13th century A.D. Even during the early years of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III, this empire was intact, but real trouble began towards the close of his reign. The Pāṇḍyas under Māgavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. began to assert themselves, with the result that the Chōla country was taken by the conqueror and soon after restored, as a matter of grace, to Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. In the historical introduction to his inscriptions beginning with the words '*pāṇḍaripa tiruvaiṇḍaigam*' etc., Māgavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. claims to have invested with a crown the Chōla king's son i.e., Rājaraṣa III, who sometimes later began to protest against his submission by refusing tribute to the Pāṇḍya king, who thereupon immediately chastised⁵ him. In this plight Rājaraṣa III appealed for help to the Hoysala monarch Narasimha II who forthwith despatched a contingent of forces into the Chōla country. When Rājaraṣa III was pushed north by the Pāṇḍya forces, Kōpperuñjiṅga should, as suggested by Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar⁶, have joined issue with the Pāṇḍyas and defeated the Chōla monarch at Tejjāra. The timely assistance of the Hoysalas saved the Chōla empire for a time, but it introduced a new power into the politics of the Tamil country. Having come, the Hoysalas took deep root in the Chōla country by making Kaṇṇagūr their capital and building fortifications right along the south bank of the river Kāvēri⁷. Later on they shifted their capital further up to Tiruvannāmalai when their original capital Dvārasamudra was devastated by Malik Kāfir.

In our record Kōpperuñjiṅga is called a Kādava. The earliest reference to this term is found in the Vēlvikuḷi grant of Jattā-Paṇāntaka-Naḍuñḍaiyan who is stated therein to have defeated the Kādava king at Pennāṇḍam on the north bank of the river Kāvēri. In Tamil literature the term *Kāḍava* along with *Tondaiyar* and *Kāḷuṇṇi* is invariably used to denote the Pallavas. A Kādava king, who is styled a Pallava, is said in the *Periappattinai* to have built a temple of Śiva called Guṇadaravichcharam at Tiruvudī in the South Arcot District. The Tamil poem *Vāṇmar-koḷai* mentions a Kādava as the ruler of Gingee in the same district⁸. The Kādavas, therefore, appear to have been in power in this district, but who exactly these chiefs were and what their

¹ *Plat. Ep. Kan. Ind.*, p. 397; in this record Narasimha is said to be 'a very Jashṇidra (Viṣṇu) in destroying the demon Kāḷaśha in the form of the Kādava king'.

² No. 271 of 1104 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. This battle was fought against the Kādava by the Tēḍava Chief Vira-Narasimha who was a contemporary of the Hoysala Vira-Narasimha II.

³ *Above*, Vol. XXII, p. 42.

⁴ No. 282 of 1923 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ *Above*, Vol. XXII, pp. 42 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁷ No. 514 of 1818 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 143.

relationship was to the main branch of the Pallavas, may be inferred from the descriptive labels of the sculptures found in the Vailur-Parimal temple at Canjeevaram. Here we find that the kings of the collateral branch of the Pallavas which descended from Bhimavarman, the brother of Sindhavarman, were actually called Kādava. These appear to have been in power over a distant part of the Pallava empire, since, according to the labels mentioned above, Pallava-malla had to go a long distance 'crossing several mountains and impassable forests' to reach Kāchi. When the Pallava power was eclipsed by that of the Chōla, the descendants of the former, under the name Kādava, Topajaināy etc.¹, seem to have drifted away from Kāchi towards the South and employed themselves as officers under the Chōla monarchs. In the time of Kulōttunga-Chōla II, we find the Kādavas figuring as police officers collecting pādikaṭa rent in the region now covered by the South Arcot District². Gradually they strengthened their power by influential marriages³ and by forming compacts⁴ with neighbouring chiefs for collective action to safeguard and protect their interests. The most important of these chiefs in the 13th century was Kōpperuñjāgadeva, the hero of our record. He is first mentioned in an inscription of the 35th year of Kulōttunga-Chōla III, i.e., A.D. 1313⁵ and the title *Kāndar-Zambirā*⁶ indicates his early position in the state. He had seen the weakness of the Chōla empire exposed by Māgaravarman Sundara-Pādya I, who took the Chōla country and presented it back to King Kulōttunga Chōla III⁷. The time was, therefore, opportune for Kōpperuñjāga to assert his independence. So he tried a few years later to supplant the Chōla monarch and failed in the attempt owing to the interference of the Hoysalas. He was, however, able to secede from the Chōla empire and establish an independent kingdom comprising the present South Arcot, Chingleput and North Arcot Districts. If the Chōla was only an 'Emperor of three worlds' (Trilohavamsachakravartin), his rival Kōpperuñjāga styled himself an 'Emperor of all the worlds' (Sakalabhuvansachakravartin).

In the *Cambridge History of India*⁸, this chief is identified with 'the son and successor of the Pallava chieftain who was responsible for turning the Ceylonese out of the Pādya country in the war of the Pādya succession'. There is, however, no evidence to support this statement. In fact, such a view is untenable because, the two generals who took a leading part in this war viz., Kulōttuñga Tiruvchirrambalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumānambal alias Pallavarāyar and Vēlavannam-Uḍaiyāṇ Annalyappan Appan Pallavarāyāṇ belonged respectively to Kulāttūr⁹ (Chingleput District) and Palaiyūr¹⁰ (near Madras), whereas Kōpperuñjāga was a native of Kūḍal or Tirumalaipallu¹¹ in the South Arcot District.

The kingdom established by Kōpperuñjāga I. hardly lasted for half a century, and after Kōpperuñjāga II, it fell an easy prey to the Pādya when they extended their power into Topajaināyālam. Though a rebel, Kōpperuñjāga is recognised as a ruler in a number of later records, and in one of them found at Kāṭṭumayārkkōyil in the South Arcot District, his successor Kōpperuñjāga II is placed between Rājartja III and Sundara-Pādya¹².

¹ Some of the Samavarāya Chiefs also called themselves Pallavas. Rājarttāyapa Samavarāyana was known as Śyapa Pallavaṅ (No. 428 of 1922). These chiefs, like the Kādavas, had the title 'Aḍappimūḍin,' Aḍappya Śyapa, Arumūḍiyan, etc.

² Nos. 137 of 1899, 46 and 46 of 1903 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ Nos. 203 of 1921, 490 of 1900, 112 of 1912 and 435 of 1913 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ Nos. 510 of 1902, 435 of 1913, 254 of 1910, 487 of 1921 and 56 of 1922 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ No. 437 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁶ No. 490 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁷ Nos. 72 of 1924 and 9 of 1926 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ Vol. III, p. 492.

⁹ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 188.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 88.

¹¹ No. 85 of 1918 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

¹² No. 570 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

Kopperuñjāga's devotion to the God at Chidambaram, and his patronage of Tamil literature alluded to in our inscription are also mentioned in other records of this chief. The title *Bāṭh-kaḥ Tambirāṇ*¹ was also assumed by Maṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya who calls himself 'the consuming fire to the Kāṭahaka' (i.e., Kāṭava). The name Sakkachchīyan, i.e., Alagiyalīyan found in our inscription applied to the Chief, was given to the southern *gōpura* of the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram which was built by him and also to other places in this village² which probably owed their existence to him.

Of the places mentioned in the present inscription, Tallāru may be identified with the village of the same name in the North Arcot District. The identification of Pūṇṇi is not certain, but judging from the title *Pēṇṇāṇḍi-nāṭh*³ applied to Kopperuñjāga, it seems to refer to the river Pēṇṇai which flows through the South Arcot District. Puṅṅar is the modern Kāviriṭṭaṇṇam in the Tanjore District. Kaṇṇi is the name of the river that flowed in ancient times near Cape Comorin. The town Mallai is Mahābalipuram in the Chingleput District.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī[^{*}] Sakalabharapachchakkaravatti Śa-Kopperuñjāga Śōḷaṇai-tTallār[^{*}]
- 2 veṇṇu sakala parichchippamun-kōṇḍu Śōḷaṇai-chchiraiy-iṭṭu vaittu Śōṇḍu-kōṇḍa A-
- 3 laḡiyaśīyaṇ[^{*}] Pōṇṇi-nāḷaṇum-uṇimaiyum amaiṇēharum-iruppad-un āḡai-kōṭṭam [1] p[^{*}]rupp-ira-
- 4 ṇḍ-ēṇa vaḷu[^{*}]ṇḍa iḷ[^{*}]ṇḍiṇḍi-kōṇḍu Śōṇḍu[1] Kaṇṇi Kāviri Bagirai n[^{*}] p[^{*}]riyā teṇḍuḡai rāṇ[1]
- 5 k[^{*}]val m[^{*}]ṇṇavar t[^{*}]raiyaṇ-ṇaṇḡavad-un perun-tiruvāṇai [1] v[^{*}]ṇṇiḡāda⁴ p[^{*}]r-kK[^{*}]ṇṇaḡar v[^{*}]ṇṇiḡa-
- 6 p[^{*}]p[^{*}]ṇḍuḡad-un perun-ch[^{*}]ṇṇai v[^{*}]ḷaṇḡu t[^{*}]empon-ambalakkūttu n[^{*}]y[^{*}] v[^{*}]rumbiḡa d[^{*}]v[^{*}]ṇḍam[1] P[^{*}]iṇṇu[^{*}]ḡaḷa-
- 7 Avagiṇḡāyaṇ p[^{*}]ṇṇa t[^{*}]antam[^{*}] v[^{*}]ḷa-pp[^{*}]ṇḍa K[^{*}]ḡava Kopperuñjāga n[^{*}] p[^{*}]ṇṇam[^{*}] y[^{*}]ṇṇ p[^{*}]ṇṇa[^{*}]v[^{*}]ṇṇ[^{*}]y[^{*}] [1^{*}]
- 8 T[^{*}]ṇṇai-itt-irum[^{*}]ṇḡu t[^{*}]ev-v[^{*}]ṇḍar t[^{*}]empon[1] t[^{*}]ṇṇai⁵-t[^{*}]ṇṇa P[^{*}]ṇṇuḡar-chCh[^{*}]ḷaṇ āḡai-k[^{*}]ḷaṇḡa[1] k[^{*}]ḷaṇḡaṇai n[^{*}]ṇṇa-
- 9 un[^{*}] Kopperuñjāga t[^{*}]am[^{*}]ḡa[1]ṇṇḡad-k[^{*}]ḷa āv[^{*}]ṇḍa n[^{*}]ḡ[^{*}] [2^{*}] M[^{*}]ṇ-ivaṇ k[^{*}]ḷi v[^{*}]ḷai-v[^{*}]ṇḍar n[^{*}]ṇṇḡṇ[1] t[^{*}]ḷiḷu-
- 10 u-t[^{*}]ṇṇai T[^{*}]ṇṇaṇṇaṇṇavar[1] v[^{*}]ḷ[1] v[^{*}]ṇṇiḡu Ś[^{*}]ṇṇai-v[^{*}]ḷaṇ t[^{*}]ḷaḡiya[1] n[^{*}]ṇṇam p[^{*}]ṇṇiḡad-ṇṇ-n[^{*}]ḷaṇa-p[^{*}]ṇṇam[^{*}]ḡa [2^{*}]

¹ A. E. on Epigraphy, Madras for 1914, para. 21; also for 1917, p. 127. This title was also assumed by Maṇavarman Kuladekhara (A. E. on Epigraphy, Madras for 1910, p. 83) and by another king in Kollam 761 (No. 60 of 1916 of the Madras Epigraphical collection). The Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇadevārāya also had this title (No. 435 of 1913). In the variant form *Śōḷāṇai-nāḡa*, H[^{*}]ṇṇaṇṇa S[^{*}]ṇṇaṇṇa or H[^{*}]ṇṇaṇṇa S[^{*}]ṇṇaṇṇa (A. E. on Epigraphy, Madras for 1910, p. 110).

² Nos. 107 of 1905, 295 of 1921, 487 of 1902, etc., of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ No. 236 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ Read t[^{*}]ḷi.

⁵ Read v[^{*}]ṇṇiḡāda.

⁶ Read n[^{*}].

⁷ The letter is corrected from *ta*.

⁸ Read *ṇṇaṇṇaṇṇa*.

2 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16



(Ll. 11-13) Oh! **Nripataṅga**, lord of the kings of the three worlds, powerful **Śiṣya** (him) (who) despatched elephants to capture and put in prison the **Chōla** (emperor) (with his) ministers (riding on a) huge elephant (whose) powerful tusks vying with the crescent, (were adorned with) heavy *maṭhara*¹ and *kinpura*² (jewels)! (Consider how your) lady-love could endure (in your absence) the heat(?) of the full-moon in the evening (when her ears were) filled with the sounds of the roaring ocean resonant with the musical note emanating from the divine flute.

(Ll. 13-15) Oh! **lord of Mallai**, powerful **Śiṣya** (him); lord of the kings of the three worlds, of arms espoused³ by **Bhuvanamañjulaidevī** (i.e., the goddess of Earth) (who is) praised by the queens of kings wearing crowns with wreaths of garlands and by Prosperity (i.e., the goddess of Wealth)⁴ (Consider also) whether this *maṇḍai* (i.e., your lady-love) could (further) bear (in separation) the unending tedious night being prolonged like a *yuga* (especially when) preceded by a chain of bewilderments brought on by the troubles of this world.

This (is the) order of **Sakkachchīya**.

NO. 28.—SANGUR INSCRIPTION OF DEVARAYA-MAHARAYA : SAKA 1329.

By R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a stone tablet set up near the village gate at **Saṅgūr** in the Havari Taluk of the Dhārwar District. The record is published here for the first time, from the *vetampages* secured by me in 1932-33.¹ The writing covers an area of 2' 2" by 7" and the size of each letter is approximately 1" in height. The top of the stone bears the sculpture, in bold relief, of a hero seated on horse-back, which closely resembles the one found at Hosa Kummaja near Anegundi.² The hero has a dagger hanging at his waist and holds a drawn sword in his right hand. This is evidently the image of **Kumāra-Rāmanāthadēva** mentioned in line 6 of the inscription.

The characters are **Kannada** of the 14th and 15th centuries A.D. and do not call for any comment except that *ḍ* in *prṛṭṭa* (L. 1) and *Rāmanātha* (L. 6) is marked with a vertical stroke at the bottom to denote aspiration as in the modern script. Orthography is generally free from errors. In line 4 *viśṭṭāpāṭi* is written through mistake by the engraver for *viśṭṭāpāṭi*. The language of the inscription is **Kannada** prose throughout.

The inscription opens with the description of the **Vijayanagara** king **Dēvarāya I**, son of **Harilara-Mahādevīya**, who is given the Western Chālukya epithets *Samantabhadraśrīya*, *Prithvīśālaka*, *Mahāśākhāśīya*, *Rājaparamēśvara* and *Satyāśraya-kula-silaka*. It then states that the statue of **Kumāra-Rāmanātha** was installed by **Mādarasa**, son of **Sēvāḍṭhi**, **Saṅgama** and grandson of **Haichaveggade** who was the *Ikuttara-viśṭṭāpāṭi* and a devout servant of **Kaṁpilarāya**, at **Chadāpura** included in **Chandragutti-nāga** which belonged to **Gōveya-rājya**. The consecration of the image is stated to have been performed on

¹ *Mahara*, which usually signifies an alligator or crocodile is a conventional beast like the European dragon, commonly found in Hindu, Jain and Buddhist decorative art in India and Greater India.

² The Tamil lexicon *Chōḷamāni-Nigama* defines *kinpura* as an ornamental band fixed to the trunk of a royal elephant.

³ Here the Pallava chief with his consorts **Bhuvanamañjulaidevī** and **Tirumāda** is compared to **Vishnu** with his consorts **Blādēvī** and **Siddhēvī**.

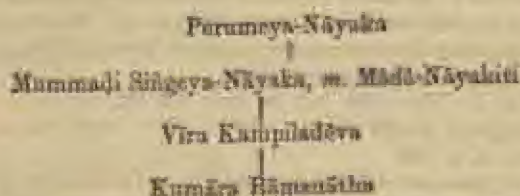
⁴ R. K. No. 173 of 1932-33.

⁵ His photograph is given in *Qart. Journ. Myth. Soc.*, Vol. XX, between pages 266 and 267.

Sunday, the 10th day of the bright half of Āśvayuja in the cyclic year Sarvvajit which fall in the Śaka year 1329. The details of the date regularly correspond to Sunday, 11th September, A. D. 1407, i. e. t. -23.

The inscription is important in more respects than one. Firstly, this is a rare epigraphical instance of the Vijayanagara period which attributes the epithets of the Western Chālukya kings of Kalyāṇa to king Devārāya. It is not possible to understand the exact significance of this departure since we are not in possession of any evidence connecting politically or otherwise with the Western Chālukyas, the Vijayanagara kings of the Saṅgama dynasty who rose into power nearly one hundred and fifty years after the downfall of the former. It may, however, be suggested that the locality where the inscription is found was full strongly with the tradition that the Vijayanagara kings were the rightful successors of the Imperial Chālukyas inasmuch as they held the entire Chālukya territory, or the composer of the record had access to some political document of the Chālukyas and inadvertently copied its preamble while describing the king. It is, however, hazardous to surmise any blood relationship between the two families from a solitary record like the present one.

Secondly, the present record is the first epigraph so far known which bears a reference to **Baiṣṇaveggude** the minister of Kaṭṭipilarāya and furnishes two generations after him, viz., his son *Śaṅkhalīpati* **Śaṅkama** and grandson **Mādarasa**. These officers are known to us for the first time, though **Baiṣṇa-Daṇḍarāya** figures as a minister of Kaṭṭipilādēva in the Kannada works *Paṇḍita-sūdana-Bhāṣana-charita* and *Kuṣāra-Rāmanātha Saṅgata* of the 16th and 17th centuries A.D.¹ It further lends epigraphical confirmation to the authenticity of **Kumāra Rāmanātha** who is not mentioned in the accounts of the foreign travellers of this period, though his relationship with Kaṭṭipilarāya is not disclosed in the record. The Kannada works mentioned above supply us the information that he was the son of Kaṭṭipila, waged successful wars against the Hoysala, Tarnahla and Talaṅga kings during the life time of his father and at last was killed in a battle with the Tarnahla at Kummaṣa. An undated inscription² in a Śiva temple in Hamaḷūṭa at Hampi records that **Vira Kaṭṭipilādēva**, son of **Mammaḍi Siṅgeya-Nāyaka** constructed the Śiva temple and set up the *lingas* therein in memory of his mother **Mādā-Nāya*****ṭṭi**, **Siṅgeya-Nāyaka** and **Perumeya-Nāyaka**. **Perumeya-Nāyaka**'s relationship to **Siṅgeya** is not stated in the record, though from the way in which he is mentioned, he appears to be **Siṅgeya**'s father. It is not improbable that **Siṅgeya-Nāyaka** installed the *lingas* for the merit of his father and grandfather. If this suggestion proves to be correct, one more generation would be added to the genealogy of Kaṭṭipila which, from the records known so far, is given below :



¹ For further historical details gathered from these works, see the articles entitled *Studies in Vijayanagara History* and *King Kaṭṭipila and Kumāra Rāmanātha* by Mr. M. H. Rama Sharma in *J. M. S.*, Vol. XX and Supplement to it pp. 1-18 and Dr. S. V. Ramapayya's *Kaṭṭipila and Vijayanagara*.

² No. 223 of 1934-35 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. In *The Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, p. 305, No. 325 evidently refers to this inscription. The cyclic year *Śarvva* mentioned there is evidently a mistake as no cyclic or Śaka year is quoted in it. This mistake has crept into the writings of Mr. Rama Sharma and Dr. Ramapayya.

So far, only two dates namely A.D. 1280¹ and 1282² are known for Mummaḍi Siṅgeya-Nāyaka who, on the former date, defeated and killed Yādava Rāmadēva's subordinate Maḍāpudānu Chāruḍaṭama when the latter had invaded Doravadi in Kurugūḍu-nāḍu. From a hero-stone at Lakshmīśvar³, it is learnt that Dīma-Nāyaka, son of Mahāśīvarāya despatched a general Sa, . . . Rāgeya who was stationed at Haligere, to Kummaṭa against Mummaḍi Siṅgeya-Nāyaka in the 17th year of the reign of Yādava Rāmachandra corresponding to A.D. 1287-88. It may be noted that this is the **first epigraphical reference to Kummaṭa** which is the same as Orynamata of Nuniz. Kummaṭa must have been, as the capital of this chief, situated in Doravadi-nāḍu over which he was ruling. It has been rightly identified with Kumṭa-Rāmanas Kummaṭa situated at a distance of about eight miles from Anagondi.⁴ It is clear from the above account that the rebellion raised by Mummaḍi Siṅgeya in defiance of the overlord power at Dīvagiri was quelled on two occasions by the Yādavas, by despatching a force to the very heart of his chiefdom. The insurrection being thus subdued, Siṅgeya himself was probably made to acknowledge the Yādava overlordship. We find his son Kuṃpilaḍēva, also called Khaṇḍajaya-Rāya,⁵ figuring as a subordinate of Yādava Rāmachandra in A.D. 1300 and renewing the gift of Hariharapura which had been formerly granted to Brahmans by king Kṛṣṇa-Kandhāra. Since the Haligere country was held by the viceroys appointed by Rāmadēva in A.D. 1287-88⁶ and 1295-96⁷ and since portions of the Chitaldrug District, especially Dīvagere, were held by this king till at least A.D. 1300, it is evident that Mummaḍi Siṅgeya's chiefdom did not extend beyond Doravadi and never included the Nolaṃbavāḍi province⁸ after the killing of Vira-Chāruḍaṭama mentioned above. It is not unlikely that after the death of Mummaḍi-Siṅgeya, Vira-Kaṃpila was entrusted with the government of the country extending up to the northern border of the Hoysala kingdom, so that he might not only stem the Hoysala invasion on the Yādava kingdom but also acquire new territory by making fresh conquests in the enemy's country. Kaṃpila is accordingly seen fighting with the Hoysala subordinates in the latter's territory in A.D. 1303⁹ and 1325¹⁰, and Hoysala Ballāḷa (III) opposing Kaṃpila in Doravadi in A.D. 1320¹¹ and marching against Siruguppe¹² where Kaṃpila met him with a big force and probably killed his general Chudha-Daṇḍanāyaka. When the Yādava power was weakened by the invasion of Mallī Kafar, Kaṃpila might possibly have declared independence in the ensuing political chaos.

In one of the inscriptions of Lakshmīśvar,¹³ reference is made to the death of Kaṃpila and Sidila Bonna in a military campaign from Dillī. The inscription is unfortunately not dated :

¹ *Ep. Cora.*, Vol. VII, Channagiri 24.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, Hiriyer 88. In the published text of this record, however, the name Siṅgeya is not fully preserved.

³ *B. R.* No. 23 of 1925-26.

⁴ *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 58. Mr. Rama Sharma, depending upon a note in *Chozas-Bazem-porras* thinks that the fortress (Kummaṭa) was built nearly by Kaṃpila (*ibid.*, p. 11). This is not tenable as the Lakshmīśvar inscription of A.D. 1287-88 mentions Kummaṭa as the capital of Mummaḍi Siṅgeya. Kaṃpila might, however, have strengthened the fortification by fresh constructions.

⁵ *Ep. Cora.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 26, *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1921, No. 121.

⁶ The Lakshmīśvar inscription quoted above.

⁷ *Rom. Cora.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 530.

⁸ See Dr. Rameswara's *Tijaynapura—its Origin of the City and the Empire*, p. 31. He holds that Mummaḍi Siṅgeya's territory included the Nolaṃbavāḍi province. But from *Ep. Cora.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 26, 59, 81, etc., it is evident that this was held by the Yādavas.

⁹ *Ep. Cora.*, Vol. XI, Hojalake 106. The name of the chief is given in the published text as Kamḍalāḍēva, which may be a wrong reading for Kaṃpilaḍēva.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, Tipur 24.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 10.

¹² *Mys. A. R.* 1923, No. 121.

¹³ *B. R.* No. 21 of 1925-26.

but it may be assigned on paleographical grounds to the first half of the 14th century A.D. According to the Muhammadan historians, Kāmpila was slain by Kīwājā Jahān, the leader of the Muhammadan army in A.D. 1327.¹ The *Kumāra-Rāmanu Saṅgatyā* gives a graphic account of the fight between the forces of Kāmpila and of the Turuṣka king at Kummaṭa and states that Kumāra-Rāmanātha's head was cut off from his body and despatched to Dillī. The fact that his statue is set up at Saṅgūr in the Hāvēri taluk indicates that Kāmpila's sway was recognised in that part of the country, which was probably under the enjoyment of his minister Balchavēggade and continued to be held in his family for at least two generations more. In fact, in another² inscription, at Saṅgūr, of the reign of Dēvarāya I. and dated in the Saka year 1334, mention is made, among the ancestors of a local chief (name lost), of a certain Balchavēggade as the *Kāraṇāṭhi* (chief guard or officer) of Saṅgūr, included in the Eighteen-Kāmpaṇa province of Gutti. It is just possible that this Balchavēggade is identical with the minister of Kāmpila.³ It is not known what circumstances actuated Mādarasa to set up the image of Rāmanātha after a lapse of 80 years from the latter's death.

Among the places mentioned in the record, *Gōveya-rājya* and *Chandragutti-nāḍu* are too well-known to require identification. *Chāṅgāpura* is the modern Saṅgūr where the inscription is found.

TEXT.⁴

1 Svasti (1) Samastabhuvanāśraya Śī-pra(p)ṛthivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara Satyā-

2 śraya-kuṣa-tīlaka śri-Vīrapratāpa Harihara-Mahārājya Kumāra Dēvarāya-

3 ra suka(kha)ḍiḥ rājyaś-geyuttitaddallu (2) Gōveya-rājyakke saḍha(va) Chāndra-
guttiya-nāḍa/agaṇa

4 Chāṅgāpuradalu Kāmpilarāyana Bāhattaravinōgādhipati⁵ pati-kāryya-dharmā-

5 dharmam-uppa Bayichavēggadeya matima Sēnādhipati Saṅgamana Kumāra

Mādarasa

6 Kumāra-Rāmanāthadēvara pratishṭheya Śaka-varsha 1329 naya Sarva(ji)tu
samvatsarada A-

7 āvayuja suddha 10 Ādityavāradaḷa mēḍisida(ru)(1) Māṅgaḷa mahāśī

8 Śri Śri Śri Śri ||

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 3) Hail ! When Dēvarāya, an asylum of the whole world, the illustrious *Prīthivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Rājaparamēśvara*, an ornament of the family of *Satyāśraya* and son of *Vīrapratāpa* *Harihara-Mahārāja* was ruling in happiness,

(Ll. 4 to 8) *Mādarasa* son of the *Sēnādhipati* *Saṅgama* and grandson of *Balchavēggade* who was the devout servant and *Bāhattaravinōgādhipati* of *Kāmpilarāja* set up (the image of) *Kumāra-Rāmanāthadēva* at *Chāṅgāpura* in *Chāndragutti-nāḍu* belonging to *Gōveya-rājya*, on Sunday, 10th (day) of the bright half of *Āvayuja* of the (cycle) year *Sarvaḷit* (falling in) the Śaka year 1329.

¹ See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 140.

² D. K. No. 170 of 1922-23.

³ It is now held by some scholars that the line Vijayanagara dynasty grew out of the wreck of the kingdom of Kāmpila (Q. J. M. S., Vol. XX). For different views on the subject, see Dr. Ramaswamy's thesis *Vijayanagara—the Origin of the City and the Empire* where previous opinions also are summarised. See also Dr. Salatore's article, *Theories concerning the Origin of Vijayanagara* in the *Vijayanagara Ses-centenary Commemorative Volume* (1936), pp. 130 ff.

⁴ From ink impressions.

⁵ *Rasā-miṣṭhādhipati*.

NO. 29.—FRAGMENTARY STONE INSCRIPTION OF QUEEN UDDALLADEVI:
V. S. 1294.

BY M. M. NIGAR, M.A., SARNATH MUSEUM, BENARES.

The inscription was secured by Mr. B. M. Vyas from Nagod State,¹ Central India, for the Allahabad Municipal Museum wherein it is now preserved, and was kindly placed at my disposal by him together with an estampage for editing it. I am here publishing it for the first time.²

The Inscription is incised on a rectangular block of buff-coloured sandstone measuring 18½" by 12½" and is broken at the top. Consequently, some of the opening lines of the record have been lost; what may have been their exact number cannot be ascertained.

The writing which is in 22 lines covers a space of 18½" by 12½" and is in a fairly good state of preservation excepting some letters of the last four lines which are only partly preserved. The opening and concluding letters of some of the lines are also much worn out. The letters are cut shallow and being much corroded at places present some difficulty in decipherment. Their average size is ½". The characters belong to the Northern variety of alphabets of the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. They resemble modern Nagari, the exceptions being the letters *cā*, *ṛ* (l. 8), *ṣ* (l. 12), *ṣ* (l. 16), etc. The language is Sanskrit and up to the first half of line 12 it is in verse and thereafter in prose. The orthography is regular and calls for no remarks.

The epigraph refers itself to the time of one Uddalladēvi, the chief queen of the illustrious Mahamandadēva, and the daughter of the illustrious Mahāmānava Bharabhadra of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. Mahamanda was a feudatory of the illustrious Āṇakamalla who seems to have belonged to the Gahadavāla family. It records the erection of a shrine for the illustrious Viṇḍhyāxara Siva on [Thursday], the Damanaka Chaturdaśī, Śarvāt 1294, corresponding to Thursday, 13th March, A.D. 1237. To judge from the description of the temple it seems to have been an imposing structure. The eulogy was composed by the learned, the illustrious Sūbhākara.

Line 2 of the extant record eulogizes some lady but it is not certain who she is as the major part of the verse has been lost. Supposing she be Uddalladēvi, even then, owing to the lacunae in the epigraph it is not possible to ascertain the exact relation between her and the illustrious Lakṣmaṇa of l. 3-4 and the overlord Dharmadēva³ of l. 5.

The inscription shows that even after the extermination of the Imperial Branch of the Gahadavāla of Kannauj by the Muslims, local chiefs of the same dynasty were in existence in various parts of Central India and Rājputāna. One such chief was Āṇakamalla and that he was of some importance is clear from the mention of Mahamanda as his feudatory.

King Harichandra (c. A.D. 1197-1200)⁴, the last known ruler of this dynasty, meeting his final defeat in A.D. 1226 at the hands of Iltutmish, fled with his family towards Farrukhābād

¹ Mr. A. Ghosh mentions Man (U. P.) as its indopet, which is denied by the discoverer. [Mr. Vyas tells me that he had got the inscription from Unchahra in Nagod State.—Ed.]

² A note on this inscription has appeared in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, July 1923, Vol. VIII, Pt. I, pp. 21-23 by A. Ghosh, M.A., who is referred to in the notes below as A. G.

³ [According to the context Rāman Dharmadēva belonged to the mother's family of Lakṣmaṇa and was probably his maternal uncle.—Ed.]

⁴ Though A.D. 1200 is the last date hitherto known of Harichandra from his Maachhahar Grant (above, Vol. X, p. 36), it appears that his power lingered in the more inaccessible parts of Kannauj up to A.D. 1226 when it was finally captured by Iltutmish. Dr. H. C. Ray seems to be correct in his assumption that the battle of Chandwar gave to Muslims 'only the possession of the more important cities and strongholds: the countryside beyond the reach of the Muslim posts still continued to be under Hindu rule' (*Dynamic History of N. I.*, Vol. I, p. 347).

(U. P.) from where after a short time his son's son Sihāji is said to have gone to Mārwār and with the assistance of the Brahmins of that place to have established a principality of his own after defeating the Muhammadan marauders of Multan.¹ Tod also records that² in S. 1268 (A.D. 1212), eighteen years subsequent to the overthrow of Kanauj, Sihaji and Setratu, grandsons of the last monarch, abandoned the land of their birth, and with two hundred retainers, the wreck of their vassalage, journeyed westward to the desert.....³ His date regarding the final overthrow of Kanauj and the exact relation of Saitrām and Sihāji may be accepted with a grain of salt, nevertheless the fact that Sihāji moved towards Mārwār remains unquestioned.

Mahamandadōra, who was certainly a Hindu ruler, adopted this Muslim-like name⁴, obviously to please the sensibilities of his Muslim overlord (Iltutmish or Queen Razia) of Delhi. This is by no means a solitary instance of the assumption of a Muhammadan name by a Hindu ruler. We also know that a Chauhān king of Rajpathambhor (c. A.D. 1283-1301) called himself Hachmīra (हमीरभूपतिरविंवदत भूतधाया) ⁵ which is a Muslim name⁶ and was used by certain Sultans of Delhi on their coins.⁷

TEXT.

- 1
- 2 न गुणेन भान्ति सुदने सर्वे [त]या न्यकृतास्तथा — — — — —
- 3 त्वविचलं राज्यं प्रशाम्भुतम्⁸ ॥ [१*] सामन्तराजतिलकः प्र[वि]तः प्र[वि]-
- 4 त्वां वीरकण्ठो [— — —]⁹ लब्धवतुल्यकीर्तिः । यथावत्तु इह रा[ज]-
- 5 कचक्रवर्त्ता यादार्थतः खलु तथा स च धर्मदेवः¹⁰ ॥ [२*] योविन्धे-
- 6 श्वरगुलिनोद्धततः सुभावनौबोभितः प्रासादोय[मने]-
- 7 कभद[स्त्र]चितो¹¹ नानापताकान्वितः । य[स्त्र]ङ्गेण दिवंस्त्र[या] म]-
- 8 तिहरो विन्धो रवेरखितो व्यालाद्य(धो) [ध्व]जपंक्तिपातित[नति]-
- 9 यो(भो)तो गुरोर्वाक्यतः¹² ॥ [३*] प्रासादोयं तथाकारि योविन्धेष्ट-
- 10 रघुर्जटे । पुत्रपौत्रादिसम्पत्त्यै(त्यै) दिवसान्तरणाय च¹³ ॥ [४*]

¹ Rao's *Princely States in Rajwade* (in Hindi), Vol. III, pp. 114-115 and 118-119.

² Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (ed. Crooke), Vol. II, p. 940.

³ Bhambherkar, *List of Inscriptions of N. India*, No. 682 wherein Muhammad the Tughlaq has been called Mahamandir Saka.

⁴ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 30, l. 8. (This was also the name borne by a ruler of Chitor. — Ed.)

⁵ Badliin inscription of Lakhanpala, above, Vol. I, p. 62, n. 5; and Mahoba inscription, *ibid.*, p. 221.

⁶ S. Lane-Poole: *Coins of the Sultans of Delhi in British Museum*. Coins Nos. 9, 24-26, 32-33, 38-42, 51-52, 62-66, 70-72 and 95-98.

⁷ Metra: *Śaundilyasūtrīya*.

⁸ Three syllables have been left out probably by the engraver through oversight.

⁹ A. G. reads *Formantim*. Metra: *Vamantatila*.

¹⁰ May be [१]चितो in which case the translation of यदेष्टमद्वरिते would be 'made of or containing much gold'.

¹¹ Metra: *Anushubhā*.

- 11 प्रगस्तिरचनाश्रुते पण्डितः श्रीसुखाकरः । सुजनाङ्घ्रिसरोज-
 12 मरवोरचितसुर्ध्व(र्ष)जः¹ ॥ [५^{*}] इति श्रीकन्यकुब्जदेवगोष्ठतया रा[ष्ट्रा(इ)]-
 13 कुल(कुट)वंशप्रदीपमहासामन्तराजश्रीभरद्देवसुतया श्रीम-
 14 दहडवालकुलकमलविकासमहसांशु² श्रीचा[ण्ड]मह-
 15 सासान्तशरणायतवचपञ्चर³ श्रीमन्महमन्ददेवपट[रा]-
 16 थ्य श्रीदहडवा स्वकुलैकविंशतिपुरुषसंतरणार्धमा[त्मनः]
 17 पोरमनिधेयमग्राह्यै पुत्रपौत्रादिसम्पत्त्यै संव[त्][रा-
 18 चां] द्वादशमतेषु चतुर्थवत्सधिकेषु दमनकचतुर्दश⁴ [सु-
 19 र⁵]वारे श्रीविन्ध्येश्वरदेवस्य स्वप्ना [पा⁶]-
 20 सारोयं कारितः प्रतिष्ठापितश्च ॥ वा
 21 रिणा पण्डितश्रीसुखाकरेण प्रगस्ति[लिखिता⁷]
 22 [दि⁸]तमस्तु सर्वेषां स

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) all being eclipsed by her in merit, do not shine in the world, may rule [her] firm and unique kingdom.

(Verse 2) The illustrious Lakshmana, the ornament (lit. mark on the forehead) of the great feudatory chiefs, is renowned on the earth (and) possesses a fame like that of Lakshmana on whose mother's side (was born) in this world the foremost of the *Rājās* who was justly (called) Dharmadīva.

(Verse 3) This temple of the illustrious Vindhyaśvara Śūlin (lit. the trident-holder, lord of the Vindhya) is beautified by series of pillars, is carved with many auspicious (scenes) and is endowed with many banners. It stands as the very Vindhya (mountain) with its summit touching the sky and obstructing the movement of the sun (but), taking fright at the command of the preceptor (i.e., the sage Agastya) [has bent down] under the semblance of the series of banners.

(Verse 4) This temple of Śiva, the illustrious Vindhyaśvara, has been caused to be erected by her for the prosperity of (her) sons, sons' sons, etc., as well as for the deliverance of (her) forefathers.

(Verse 5) The learned, the illustrious Sukhākara whose hair is tinged by the pollen of the lotus flowers that are the feet of good-men, effected the composition of [this] eulogy.

¹ Meter: Anuṣṭup.

² Cf. 'सोमसंपदीप' of Copper-plate Grant of Viśvaśrpaśena of Bengal. *J. H. Q.* Vol. II, p. 84.

³ Cf. 'कुलकमलविकासमंजर' *Ibid.*, and 'श्रीभरद्देवकुलकमलविकास' of Hāthi plates of Dhāravaraha. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XLIII, p. 103, l. 3.

⁴ Cf. *J. H. Q.* Vol. II, p. 84, l. 3 and *J. B. R. S. A. S.* Vol. XXI, p. 225.

⁵ दमनकचतुर्दशी is the particular चतुर्दशी falling in the bright half of Chaitra. See चतुर्दशीसूत्र (Bonn. ed.) p. 23. Also see B. K. Pillai's *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 60.

(Lines 12-20) Thus this temple of the illustrious God Vindhyādeva has been caused to be erected and consecrated on [Thursday] the Dumanaka Chaturdasi, in the (Vikrama) Samvat 1294, for the deliverance of twenty-one generations of her own family, for the attainment of the supreme bliss for herself and for the prosperity of (her) sons, sons' sons, etc., by the illustrious Uddaladēvi, born in the country of Śrī-Kaṣyakubja, daughter of the illustrious Bhurahadēva, the prince of the Maḥāsūmantas and a lamp to the family of the Rāshtrakūṭas (kūṭas) and the chief queen of the illustrious Mahamandadēva, who was a cage of adamant to those seeking refuge (= him) and a feudatory of the illustrious Āḍakkamalla, the very sun causing to bloom the lotus of the illustrious family of the Gahaḍavālas.

(Line 21) The eulogy [was composed] by the learned, the illustrious Sakḥākara.....

(Line 22) Let there be welfare to all.

No. 30.—SANGUR INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA MAHADEVARAYA : SAKA 1186.

By R. S. PANTHAMURTHI, M.A., MADRAS.

Sangūr which is variously called as Saṅgavūra, Saṅgūr, Chaṅgūra and Chaṅgūpara in the inscriptions of the place, is situated at a distance of about 8 miles south west of Hāvēri on the road to Sirsi in the North Kanara District. The inscription¹ edited below is engraved on the Nandi pillar standing near the temple of Virabhadra in the village. It covers an area of 3' 7" by 1' 4" and contains sixty-six lines of writing. The size of each letter is approximately between $\frac{3}{8}$ " and $\frac{1}{2}$ " in height. The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation.

The characters are medieval Kannada of the 13th century A. D. to which the record belongs. The secondary forms of *g*, *v* and *m* are used in *deṇya* (l. 48), *mudala* (ll. 63 and 64) and *madura* (l. 61). It is noteworthy that the record indicates the aspiration of *ṣh*, *ṭh* and *ḍh* in *praṇḍa* (l. 24), *ṭaḥya* (l. 31) and *nidhānam* (l. 31) by a vertical stroke at the bottom of the letter. In respect of orthography it may be remarked that vowel *i* is wrongly used in the body of the word *kaṇḍavulu* (l. 55) and the *anuvāda* is employed superfluously in some cases before conjunct consonants as in *paṇḍya* (ll. 2, 17), *hiraṇya* (l. 44); *b* is used for *v* in *dharma-byayya* (l. 38), *arḍha* (l. 42), *pūṭḥakam* (l. 44), etc.; the consonants coming after a *vēpha* are doubled as in *śchāryya* (l. 6), *urvi parvi* (l. 4), *dharma* (l. 38), *Madikārijuna* (l. 6), *vatti* (l. 39), etc.; dental *s* is used in place of *ṣ* throughout the record which may be due to the influence of Kannada phonetics on Sanskrit vocabulary. *Ṣ* is used for *sh* in *pariṣa* (l. 26) and *Paṣya* (l. 43), etc.

Excepting the benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 1-3 and 57-58, the whole record is in prose. Lines 4-19 and 45-57 comprising the two *vaśakas* of Suddharāma and lines 59 to 66 giving the specification of certain estates to be enjoyed by private persons are in Kannada, while the description of the king and the minister and the grant portion (ll. 19-44) are in Sanskrit. In respect of the Sanskrit language, it may be noted that its vocabulary is influenced by the Kannada phonology as for example *padama* for *palma* (l. 26), *labudha* for *labḍha* (l. 33), etc.; the insertion of the Kannada word *neya* in the date portion in Sanskrit (ll. 42-43) may also be noted. The language of the two *vaśakas* is rhythmic, elegant and simple Kannada. There are, however, several redundant expressions used perhaps for the sake of alliteration and balance as e.g., *embāna āna mūḍa mūḍa pūra* (ll. 13 and 50), *valayaḍaḷaḷa vaḷaḷa* (l. 45f.), *chaturārayaḍa mūḥma deṇya* (l. 48), *bēṇa nīḥana* (ll. 16 and 53).

¹ D. K. No. 172 of 1932-33.

The subjoined inscription belongs to the reign of the Yādava king Mahādēva who began to rule in A. D. 1260. It introduces his minister Dēvarāja whose pedigree for three generations is given as follows: Chāvupṇarasa was born in the family of Vasishṭha and was a devotee of Śiva. To him was born Amitarasa who begot Dēvamantriśa. This Dēvamantriśa is described as having obtained a great boon from god Śōmanāthadēva and as protecting the southern region at the command of king Mahādēva. The record states that the Mahāpradhāna Dēvarāja visited Sonnalige-nagara which had been formerly the residence of the saint Siddharāma and feeling himself purified at the sight of the god Kapilasiddha-Mallikārjunadēva there, made a gift of the village Chaṅgūr included in Bāsūra-*vishaya* together with a right over all treasure-troves, etc., and with various incomes accruing from fines and *śulka*s, to provide for worship and offerings to the deity and for the expenses of renovation of the temple, maintenance of the poor and the orphans and for conducting several charities such as water-sheds and daily oblations. Lines 59-68 contain a stipulation that certain estates and incomes of the village specified therein must be enjoyed by the Gaudas, Hūṇakāras and Chaudarasa, the *Hogade* of the temple (*dēvara man*).

The record is dated on the day of *arddhōdaya* in Pushya of the cyclic year Raktākṣin falling in the Śaka year 1186. *Ardhōdaya* is an astronomical combination of "Śravaṇa", Vṛatipāṭi and Sunday on the new moon day of Pushya.¹ These details coincided in the year quoted in the record and regularly corresponded to Sunday, 18th January, A.D. 1265 on which day the nakṣatra Śravaṇa ended at 88 of the day.

The chief interest of the record lies in the fact that it contains two *vachanas* (ll. 4-19 and 45-57) of saint Siddharāmanātha who is one of the famous *vachanakaras* of the Viralaṅga sect. *Vachanagane* in Kannada literature denotes a particular class of works embodying sayings of great saints, particularly of the Lingāyat sect, who flourished in and after the 12th century A. D. From the *Siddharāmaparṇava* of Rāghavāṅka (A. D. 1165), it is learnt that Siddharāma constructed a tank at Sonnalige, installed therein several *Līṅgas* and defeated a mendicant Karpasa in disputation, who had borne the hirsute *Tidyāsomakha*.² Other Viralaṅga works add that he received *Śikṣā* from Chennabasava, the sister's son of Basava who flourished in about A. D. 1160. Prabuddhēva alias Allama (A. D. 1160) is also credited with having taught the Śaiva doctrines to Siddharāma.³

The first of the two *vachanas* is reproduced in an inscription from Sorab⁴ which records the gift of a village by a local chief Birama for the benefit of the temple of Kapilasiddha-Mallikār-

¹ S. K. Pillai's *Indian Astronomy*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 64.

² *Kannada Samachara*, Vol. I (Revised Edition), p. 183.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 180. For further details regarding the life and works of this saint, see *ibid.*, under Siddharāma.

⁴ Mr. Murugaya Jangina, a leading Lingāyat gentleman of Bagalkot (Bijapur District), whom I had addressed, has kindly communicated to me the following information on Siddharāma: Siddharāma was born at Sonnalige, one of the sixteen hamlets of the modern Sholapur. A stone image of this saint still exists there. Close to the place where he attained *siddhi*, is planted a stone with *śaṅkha-kṣema-mudra* which is still worshipped by all the devotees. In front of this *siddhi* over which are set up two *hōyas*, stands the extensive temple of Siddhārāma. Just behind this temple there stood formerly a shrine of Mallikārjuna-Līṅga, the *apṛagādhya* of Siddharāma. But during the Muhammadan rule some difficulty was experienced in offering worship to the deity on account of the mosque built in its vicinity and the *hōya* was therefore removed from its place and installed in a temple in the town which is now known as the temple of Mallikārjuna. The present temple is at the most one hundred years old. Siddharāma is credited with the authorship of more than a lac of *vachanas* of which only a few hundreds have appeared in print.

⁵ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VIII, Sorab 561. This same *vachana* is found in the beginning of the unpublished inscriptions at Kothāgi (No. 447 of 1926 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection) and Yodhaṅgi (R. K. No. 95 of 1928-1929, in the Bombay-Karnatak). The second *vachana* is only partially reproduced in the introductory portion of an inscription of Siddharāma, dated in Śaka 1278 (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Chikilōrneg 4). But it is not specified there as the *vachana* of Siddharāma.

junadeva of Sonmalige in Saka 1176, i.e., exactly ten years before the date of the present epigraph. But the text given in the *Epigraphia Carvatica* is mutilated and corrupt. Both the *cacharias* given in the present inscription relate to the merit or sin of protecting or destroying the gift of land or money made to the temple of Kapilaisidha-Mallikarjunadeva of Sonmalige. From their wording, it would appear as if Siddharāma composed them as a preamble to some grant to the temple made during his time. They are incorporated in the present record to serve as passages enjoining the protection of the gift under all circumstances.

Only a few inscriptions of the Yādava dynasty—and none of Mahādēva¹—have been edited so far. The subjoined inscription will, therefore, be the first document of the king to be published. Mahādēva is described here as “a god to the elephant of the Gūrjara king, a three-eyed God (i.e., Śiva) to the Cupid of the Mālava king and the shatterer of the skull of the Teluṅga king”. In his Koṭhāgi inscription² dated in the same year as the present record, he is given the additional epithet *Hoysaśārāja-kāśāhala*. Thus it would appear that the Yādava monarch Mahādēva had to contend for power and territory with the four neighbouring kings namely the Hoysalas in the south, the Kakatiyas in the east, the Gūrjaras, i.e., the Chāṇukyas of Anhilvāda in the west and north-west and the Paramāras of Mālava in the north. It may be noted that these epithets are borne with slight modifications by every king from Bhīllama³ downwards, which would only indicate that in their attempt to expand their empire by fresh conquests, the Yādavas had to fight with these neighbouring powers since the very beginning of their political career.

From a close study of the stone and copper-plate documents of the family, we learn that Bhīllama,⁴ Jaitugi,⁵ and his son Siṅgaṇi waged constant wars with the kings of Mālava, i.e., the Paramāras of Dhārā. According to his Rahat inscription⁶ and the Polihān plates⁷ of Rāmachandra, Siṅgaṇi defeated one Arjuna who has been identified with the Mālava king Arjunavarman⁸. The *Hamamāmadamardana*, a Sanskrit drama of the 13th century A. D., records an additional fact that he defeated and killed the Mālava king's feudatory, Chāhamāna Sindhurāja of Lāṭa⁹. The *Vasantavilāsa*, a Sanskrit mahākāvya of the 13th century A. D., contains another historical fact that Sindhurāja's son Śaṅkha was taken prisoner by the leader of the Yādava army and was subsequently released by Siṅghaṇi¹⁰. On a later occasion, Śaṅkha sued Siṅghaṇi for help and with his army marched¹¹ against Viradhavala, the king of Gujaraṭ who had forcibly occupied Cambay in Lāṭa¹². Simultaneously with this, the Mālava king Dēvapāla also invaded Gujaraṭ, apparently to assist his feudatory chief of Lāṭa in wresting back the lost Cambay. As stated in the *Hamamāmadamardana*, the Gujaraṭ king appears to have managed to break the coalition through the strategic skill of his minister Vasupāla and turned the events of war in his favour¹³. This is testified to by the Dahhot fragmentary inscription¹⁴ which records that Viradhavala routed a combin-

¹ A date of his Hulgūr inscription is noticed in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 128.

² *Mumbai Epigraphical Report*, 1926, No. 447 of Appendix C.

³ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 24 E; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 313.

⁴ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 31 ff. Bhīllama must have entered the territory of Kāṭhaga, the Chāhamāna king of Kāṭal, after defeating the Mālava and Gūrjara kings on the way (*Ibid.*, Vols. IX, pp. 72 and 77, and XI, pp. 72 and 73).

⁵ Above, Vol. V, p. 21.

⁶ Above, Vol. III, p. 113.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 316.

⁸ Above, Vol. III, p. 111.

⁹ Gaskard's *Oriental Series*, No. X, Act II, p. 17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, No. VII, *Scaps* V, Verso 42.

¹¹ *Hamamāmadamardana*, Introduction, pp. vi, f.

¹² *Vasantavilāsa*, Introduction, p. ix.

¹³ *Hamamāmadamardana*, Introduction, pp. viii and ix.

¹⁴ Above, Vol. I, p. 28.

ed attack of the lord of Dhārā and the king of the Deccan who must be Yādava Sindhaga. This enmity between the Yādava and the Mālava kings¹ is continued in the time of Kṛishṇa-Kandhāra and Mahādēva who are described in their inscriptions as the destroyers of the Mālava king.

The attitude of the Yādavas towards the Gūrjara, i.e. the Chauḥukya of Aṇhilvāḍa is one of frequent warfare. Viradhavala's son Visaladēva (A. D. 1243-1263) wanted to take revenge on the Mālava and the Yādava kings who had invaded Gujaraṭ during his father's time. He is described in his inscriptions as 'a submarine fire that dried up the ocean of Sindhaga's army'. The Paṭhan plates of Rāmachandra attribute the defeat of Visala to Mahādēva which would show that the latter had to cross swords with Visala within two or three years of his accession to the throne. We have seen above that the Gūrjara king had seized Cambay and portions of Lāṭa from Sindhurāja, a feudatory of Dēvapāla. It is not impossible that he carried his arms still further to the south as a result of which north Konkan came under his sway. Or, Konkan must have been annexed to Gujaraṭ during the time of the Chauḥukya king Kumārapāla (A. D. 1143-74)², though its northern portions had been occupied by the Mālava king in the intervening period. An inscription of Arjunavarman (A. D. 1233), the predecessor of Dēvapāla, states that the king was encamped at Bhṛgukachchika at the time of the grant³. This shows that the Paramāra kingdom extended up to the Broach District on the west in the early part of the 13th century A. D. According to Marco Polo (A. D. 1290)⁴, the chiefs in the west coast of north Konkan were dependent on the Aṇhilvāḍa kings. Rashid-ud-din (A. D. 1300)⁵ states that Gujaraṭ included at the close of the 13th century A. D. Cambay, Somnath and Konkan-Thāpā. Thus it is evident from these references that the Paramāra hold on the northern part of Konkan was dislodged and the Gūrjara sway established in the latter half of the 13th century A. D. Hēmadri records in his *Vrata-khaṇḍa*⁶, Mahādēva's fight with Sūmēśvara who was the Sindhāra chief of north Konkan and refers to the latter's drowning in the sea as a result of ship-wreck. Since Sūmēśvara's inscriptions⁷ dated in Śaka 1171 (A. D. 1249) and Śaka 1183 (A. D. 1260) are found in Ranvad and Chudiche near Uran, his fight and death must have taken place some time after 1260 A. D. As the last year of Visala is known to be A. D. 1263, the defeat of Visala and Sūmēśvara might possibly have formed part of a single campaign undertaken by Mahādēva soon after his accession to the throne.

The epithet *Teluguḡarūpa-śīraṣṭha-kamaja-mūlāpṛāṇa* borne by the king is significant as it indicates that Mahādēva had crossed arms with the Kākatiya king of his time and inflicted a crushing blow on his power. It is noteworthy that his brother Kṛishṇa is called 'the establisher of the Teluṅga king' in his Mamāpur inscription⁸ of Śaka 1172 and the Arjunvāḍ inscription⁹ of Śaka 1183 which was the last year of his reign. According to the chronology of the Kākatiya kings, the Teluṅga contemporary of Mahādēva was Rudramānḍā, the daughter of Gayapati whose latest known year is Śaka 1183. Since Hēmadri says that the Āndhras placed a woman on the throne thinking that the Yādava king Mahādēva would not deign to fight with her, the crushing

¹ For particulars see also D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp. 206-217.

² *Early History of the Deccan* by Bhandarkar, p. 242.

³ *History of the Konkan in Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 24.

⁴ *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 33.

⁵ *History of the Konkan*, p. 25.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Early History of the Deccan*, App. C.

⁸ *History of the Konkan*, p. 21, n. 1.

⁹ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 29.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 92.

of the Telugu power suggested by the above epithet must have a reference to the wars conducted in the time of Gajapati especially after A.D. 1260¹. Mahādēva must have taken away from him (the title of) *Pañchamahābhūta* and the elephants of war as recorded by Hāmādrī, soon after his accession to the throne.² It is not, however, possible to understand the exact circumstances which favoured the rising of the Silhāra, Gūjara and Kākatiya kings immediately after the death of Kṛishṇa.

Mahādēva, like his predecessors, entrusted the government of his southern country to his minister Dēvarāja³ apparently to guard against the Hoysala invasion into his territory. The Hoysalas of Dōrasamudra who had lost considerable territory in the north-west of Mysore to the Yādavas under Siṅghapa and Kṛishṇa must have endeavoured to wrest back from them their past possessions and the struggle seems to have continued till the last quarter of the 13th century A. D. when we find some Yādava regiment stationed at Hāvēri⁴ marching against Dōrasamudra. The Māndāpur inscription of Kṛishṇa (Śaka 1172) records the defeat of Hoysala Sōmēśvara by the king, perhaps in conjunction with his brother Mahādēva who was the *Yusurāja* under him. The epithet *Hoysapārājya-bhāṭakala* may bear reference to this or any subsequent fight undertaken by Mahādēva against the Hoysalas.

Incidentally, the record throws some light on the extent of the Kannaḍa language in the north in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. Sonnalige which was the home of Siddharāma now forms part of the modern Sholapur, the headquarters of the Sholapur District in the Bombay Presidency. The Kannaḍa language must have been prevalent in this part of the country in the 12th century A. D.⁵ This view finds confirmation from the statement in the Marāṭhī work *Uttar-charitra* of the Mahānubhāva school, written in A. D. 1190 that the sixty-lac Mahārāshṭra country extended as far as Tryambaka-kshētra (i.e., Nāsik) on the bank of the Gōdāḡ (i.e., Gōdāvari) in the west⁶. Jñānēśvara the celebrated saint of Mahārāshṭra who flourished about 1200 A. D., praises in his *aḥṁāras* the god Vjñhala of Paṇḍharpur as the deity of Kannaḍa and Karṇāṭaka and also remarks in his *Gītābhāṣya* that the southern limit of Mahārāshṭra in his time was the south bank of the Gōdāvari⁷. This would show that even as late as the 13th century A. D. Kannaḍa which is a southern neighbour of Marāṭhī, extended up to at least Nāsik and the Gōdāvari, not to speak of Sholapur and Paṇḍharpur on the bank of the Bhīmā in the farther south. There can, therefore, be no doubt about the veracity of the statement contained in the *Kavirājamanjari* that the northern limit of the Kannaḍa language in the 9th century A. D. was the Gōdāvari⁸.

¹ This was the last year of Kṛishṇa. See Fleet, *Dynasties*, etc., p. 327.

² The Yādava sway in the territory of the Kākatiyas is testified to by the discovery in 1922 of a pot of treasure buried in the earth at Bāchapaṇṇam in the Kalkatur Taluk of the Kanta District. The pot contained 43 gold coins known by the name of *padma-potina* which bear the legends Siṅghapa, Kāṇhapa, Mahādēva and Śaī Rāma in Dēva-Nāgarī script (*J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXI—Numismatic Supplement No. XXXIX, pp. 6 ff). The find may be taken to support the epigraphical and literary evidence regarding the defeat of the Kākatiyas by the successive Yādava kings from Siṅghapa downwards.

³ Dr. Fleet thinks that he may be identical with Toṇḡaleya Dēvarāma appearing in an inscription at Hāvēri. See *Dynasties*, etc., p. 328.

⁴ B. K. No. 75 of 1932-33.

⁵ Pooṭ Chandrajūna (cir. 1300 A. D.) is supposed to have lived at Paṇḍharpur. *Karṇāṭaka Kaviśarita*, Vol. I, p. 403.

⁶ *Marāṭhī Śāstrā-saṅgraha* in śloka by Mr. Kulkarnī, pp. 191-2.

⁷ *Mahārāshṭra-māla* by Mr. S. B. Joshi of Dhārwar, pp. 40 and 49-50.

⁸ *Parichchheda J. Kuvēra-Bhāṣya*—*Itihas* of Nanjunda (cir. A. D. 1325) also states, in conformity with the evidence of the Marāṭhī literature, that Karṇāṭaka was bounded on the north by the Gōdāvari and on the south by the Kāvēri in his time.

The following geographical places are mentioned in the record: Kaviśāsa, Sonnallige-nagara, Bāsura-vishaya and Chāṅgūru. Kaviśāsa which is mentioned under this form in an inscription of Chajjakere¹ is evidently the Mount Kailāsa, the abode of Śiva. It should not be confounded with Kaviśāsapura whose greatness is extolled in ll. 50 to 55 of the Arjunavāda inscription and which is identical with the modern village of the same name near Nāḷagāma, in the Hukkeri taluk of the Belgaum District². Sonnallige which is called *abhinava-Śrīlāṣa* is, as stated above, a part of the modern Sholapur. Bāsura-vishaya, which included the gift village Chāṅgūru, comprised 140 villages and included the southern part of the Hāvēri taluk of the Dhārwar District. Chāṅgūru is the modern Saṅgūr where the inscription is found. It may be noted that this village was included in the Chāndragiri-nāga during the Vijayanagara period³.

TEXT.⁴

- 1 ॐ श्री-सिद्धारामनाथ सायन ॥ नाम-तुंगेश(ॐ)-
- 2 रा(ॐ)-तुम्भि(चुम्भि)-चन्द्रा-चामरा-चारव ॐ त्रि(ॐ)काम(ॐ)का-नगर-६-
- 3 तम्भवा(भा)-मु(मू)ला-तम्भा(भू)या सा(सा)म्भवा ॥ ८-॥
- 4 श्रुति श्री ॐ ॥* जया परमेश्वरा परमात्मा यि(ॐ)श्वरानु-उर्वी-पर्व(य-)
- 5 शङ्गिकोद्विपानु वरुणमङ्गिर-ॐ यो(ॐ)गा-मनुदा कोन्या
- 6 जितेश्वरानु विसम्भवा रूप-ॐ (यु)मामनानु अचार्यरानु त-
- 7 नेय-ॐ यो(ॐ)गा-सम्पदा-ॐ (यु)मामनानु अचार्यरानु त-
- 8 गा-तारु(ॐ)या कश्चित्-वरा-सा(ॐ)य-ॐ (यु)मामनानु अचार्यरानु त-
- 9 दि-कपिलसिद्धा-मल्लिकार्जुनसद्वरा-नला-निधु-पुन्य(पुन्य)-पामगा-
- 10 वरानु पद्म(ॐ) (ॐ)य-ॐ (यु)मामनानु अचार्यरानु त-
- 11 नाला मन्त्र-ॐ वरुणमङ्गिर-ॐ यो(ॐ)गा-मनुदा कोन्या
- 12 हस्त-उद्विपानु मङ्गिर-ॐ यो(ॐ)गा-मनुदा कोन्या
- 13 न-उद्विपानु मङ्गिर-ॐ यो(ॐ)गा-मनुदा कोन्या
- 14 वरानु पद्म(ॐ) (ॐ)य-ॐ (यु)मामनानु अचार्यरानु त-
- 15 वे पामगा ॥ यि(ॐ)श्वरानु-उर्वी-पर्व(य-)
- 16 पामगा-उद्विपानु मङ्गिर-ॐ यो(ॐ)गा-मनुदा कोन्या
- 17 वे पुन्य(पुन्य)-पामगा-ॐ यो(ॐ)गा-मनुदा कोन्या
- 18 लु पद्म(ॐ) (ॐ)य-ॐ (यु)मामनानु अचार्यरानु त-
- 19 दु गुरु सिद्धारामनाथसद्वरा वचना ॥ श्रुति ॥* श्री-प्रिथ्वी-वल्लभ(वल्लभ)-
- 20 महारजि(ॐ)या-परमेश्वरा-परमेश्वरा-परमेश्वरा-परमेश्वरा-परमेश्वरा-
- 21 वर-पद्म(ॐ) (ॐ)य-ॐ (यु)मामनानु अचार्यरानु त-
- 22 करा-गुरुरारया-वरपामगा-मल्लिकार्जुन-मल्लिकार्जुन-मल्लिकार्जुन-
- 23 तेलुङ्गारया-सि(ॐ)या-ॐ (यु)मामनानु अचार्यरानु त-
- 24 या-नारय-ॐ (यु)मामनानु अचार्यरानु त-
- 25 चक्रवर्ति-ॐ (यु)मामनानु अचार्यरानु त-
- 26 दा-पद्म(ॐ) (ॐ)य-ॐ (यु)मामनानु अचार्यरानु त-
- 27 माजानि वारि(ॐ)या-ॐ (यु)मामनानु अचार्यरानु त-
- 28 तेलुङ्गारया-ॐ (यु)मामनानु अचार्यरानु त-
- 29 ना ॥* त-ॐ (यु)मामनानु अचार्यरानु त-
- 30 र-ॐ (यु)मामनानु अचार्यरानु त-
- 31 हारि(ॐ)या-ॐ (यु)मामनानु अचार्यरानु त-

¹ Ep. Cor., Vol. XI, Chajjakere 22.² Above, Vol. XXI, p. 11.³ B. K. No. 173 of 1925-26.⁴ From ink-impressions.⁵ The *śaṅka* is superfluous.

32 pati-kāryya-du(dhu)raṁdharah sarbb(rev)ādihikāri(ṭ) sujan-ōpakāri(ṭ) samārō-
 33 dhū(dhi) ta-bhūdvah kṛi-Sāmanāthadēva-labūtha(bilha)-vara-prasādō Dēvarā(ṣ)ab
 34 kṛi-Mahādēva-nra(nṛ)ṇi-p-ājilyā dakṣhiṇāṁ bhuvāṁ pālayathā(pālayan)
 35 kṛi-Siddharāma-ādihishṭhitaṁ (1) Sonnalige-nagaram-avalūkyā kṛi-Kapilasiddha-
 36 Mallikārjuna-ādikana-pūt-āntaradigō dharmmā (dharmā) manō
 37 nidhāya mayā dēvasy-āṅga-rūṅga-bhōg-ārthāṁ jīrṇōddhār-āntātha-
 38 samrakṣhaṇa-vāri-satṛa-nitya-kōm-ādy-anēka-dharmma-b(v)ya-
 39 yāya || Hāsūra-vishaya-madhya-varṭimāṁ prasūidha-simā-samāh(ma)nvitāṁ

Chāṅgūra-nāmlhāyam grā-

40 manī nidhi-nikahēya-jala-pāṣ(ah)āya-samam(sama)nvitāṁ daridra-sū(au)-
 41 lk-ādi vividiḥ-āy-āṁnvitāṁ (ānvitāṁ) rāja-purnahar-āntaraguli-prō-
 42 khaṇṇiṣṭh sarbbha(vra)-namasyaṁ kṛi(kṛi)ṭṭā || Saka(Sakṣ)ā-ārabhya 1(1)86 ne-
 43 ya Raktākṣhi-sarhvaśaurasya Puṣ(ah)ya-māsā arddhōdaya-
 44 tithau hiraṇy(hirany)-ōdaka-pārbbha(vra)kām pra(ṣ)lāt || ॥
 45 Yirajam pagalut pariva koṭṭi-kallan-ādoḍaṁ mahāsyā
 46 mahāmāṇḍalāśvaran-ādadam dharmyan-ā(vr) Chakravartīy-āda-
 47 dām śrīmān-mahā-mahima Kapilasiddha-Mallāśvaradēvara
 48 kahōṭṭaḍa dhatarārayaṁ nālikum-deśya vaṣṇyadoḍage vo-
 49 jagu-hoṇṇ-ippu dharmakka arāṅga(ṇ)akku koṭṭi-kallaro(akku) manarā pēn-
 50 de kaṣṭadukṣhēḍen-āṇhātāṁ ātānā māṭā-māṭā-pitṭurgga(pitṭiga)-
 51 {-ellāṁ^c The rest of the *śloka* is a reproduction of ll. 13-19 of the previous *śloka* to 57. (ll. 4-19) with slight orthographical variations.
 57-58 Imprecatory verse beginning with *dāna-pāṇa*
 59 [Sō]dara Sōma-Gauḍa Sōdara Sōma-Gauḍa Hittukā-
 60 rariṇe aṇuvāṇa mattarūṅge hamnere(ṇ)o hoṇṇa mariyā-
 61 de kōḷu koḷaga dēvarige || Māduvey-āya mān-ēṇṇo (ēṇṇo) hēḍiyade
 62 tippa-sūṭka śāḥṭa bhōḷa-tāja-sūṭmya (sūmya) [gau]ḍagaliḥ Hiriyā-
 63 Sōma-Gauḍaṇa vūṁbaḷi mattara eṇḍu Chikla-Sōma-Gauḍana vūṁ-
 64 baḷi mattara eṇḍu yī Gauḍu Hittukāra boḷada boḷasin-āya-
 65 va tammaḷu || Dēvara-manaya Hēṇṇaḍe Chāṇḍarasahge mattaru eṇḍu
 66 manayumāṁ sūṁmāmya(mānya)v āḡi koḷṭaru ||

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

(Line 1) Invocation to Siddharāma.

(Ll. 2-3) Invocation to Sambhu.

(Ll. 4-19) A *śloka* of Siddharāma.

(Ll. 19-25) While *Prasūdhapratāpachakravarṭin Mahādēvarāja* who was *Prāśrisaṁlabha Mahādēvādihīrāja*, *Paramāśura* and *Paramādhyātaka*, a chosen lord of *Dvādvatīpura*, a vanquisher of *Gūrjara*, *Mājava* and *Telūṅga* kings, a *Rāja-Nārāyaṇa* was ruling the earth, (and)

(Ll. 26-34) his minister, the *Mahāprasādita Dēvarāja*, son of *Amitarasa* and grandson of *Chāṇḍarasa* of the *Vasishṭha* family was governing at his command the southern country. (the latter)

(Ll. 35-44) visited *Sonnalige-nagara*, the former residence of *Siddharāma* and being pleased at the sight of god *Kapilāsiddha-Mallikārjuna* made a gift of the village *Chāṅgūra* in *Hāsura-vishaya* together with a right over treasure-troves and the incomes derived from

^c Read *Mallikārjuna-dāna*.

since, *śulka*, etc., for the worship of the deity, renovation of the temple and for water-shed and daily oblations, etc., on the occasion of *arddhodaya* on the new moon day of Pushya in the (*ceṇḍī*) year Raktākṣin, the Śaka year 1186.

(Ll. 45-58) Another *vachana* of Siddharāma.

(Ll. 59-66) Specifies certain estates and incomes in the village to be enjoyed by some *Gauḍas*, *Hittakāras* and *Chaudarasa*, the *Heṇḍa* of the temple (*dēvara-mane*).

NO. 31.—A NOTE ON THE TIRIYAY ROCK INSCRIPTION.

By B. CH. CHIDABRA, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (LEUD.), OOTACAMUND.

This interesting epigraph was brought to light in the year 1931.¹ The rock on which it is engraved is situated on the north-eastern sea-coast, near the village of Tiriyaṅ, in Ceylon. The inscription has recently been published by Mr. S. Paranavitana.² It is written in the Pallava-Grantha script and in the Sanskrit language: both these features are rather uncommon in Ceylon. It is not dated, but is palaeographically assigned to the late seventh century A.D. Like the other few Sanskrit records discovered in the island, the present one also is associated with the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism. Its contents constitute a hymn in praise of a sanctuary, called in the inscription itself *Tirikuppi-chauya*, which had apparently been set up by a guild of sea-faring merchants. The principal deity in the shrine is Sugata (i.e., the Buddha) attended by Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuvāg. For a detailed discussion on these and kindred points, the reader is referred to the exhaustive study of the record made by Mr. Paranavitana.³ In the present paper, special attention is drawn to what has somehow escaped the notice of that scholar concerning the text.

Mr. Paranavitana has taken the inscription to be entirely 'in prose', whereas to my observation it has revealed itself to be almost wholly in verse, the last line apparently being the only exception. It will be seen that the composer has displayed his peculiar taste in employing throughout one and the same metre and that of a very rare occurrence, namely *Nardataka*. The engraver, on his part, has exhibited a like trait by allotting one line to each stanza. Thus the first ten lines of the text, the whole of which consists of eleven lines, comprise ten stanzas.


The above discovery has led me to a further conclusion that the record is not fragmentary as Mr. Paranavitana has shown it to be. 'Lines 1 to 4', says he, 'are totally illegible at the beginning for a distance of nearly three feet and the ends of lines 4 to 10 are much damaged'. One does get such an impression while glancing at the illustration of the record. On comparing the text, however, it becomes manifest that, in spite of its irregular appearance, the document has reached us almost in its entirety. Thus, in contradiction to Mr. Paranavitana's remarks, I may state that no inscribed portion has been lost at the ends of lines 4 to 10. The same can be said of the beginnings of the lines 1 to 4, with only this reservation that the portion in question does seem to have originally contained some sort of engraving on it,⁴ and that about eight

¹ *An. Rep. on Arch. Survey of Ceylon for 1931-32* (Pt. IV.—Education, Science and Art (3)), p. 19; *An. Bibliography of Ind. Arch.* (Korn Institute, Leyden), Vol. VII (1932), pp. 34-35; *J. A. S. B. Letters*, Vol. I (1935), p. 12.

² *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, pp. 151-160 and Plate.

³ I may add that the portion might have contained some letters. The second line of our text begins from (*śulka*), but before these letters the stone shows traces of at least two more syllables, though as such they are superfluous in our text. It may also be pointed out that there are three signs, one below the other, facing the extremities of the lines 4-6, but they do not have any bearing on the text, although they have the appearance of regular letters *sha*, *dal* and *pha* respectively.

aksharas at the commencement of the fourth line have peeled off along with the engraving above.

The space occupied by the inscription roughly corresponds to this shape , the upper rectangle containing the first three lines of the writing and the lower the remaining eight. It will further be noticed that there are some natural cracks and rough patches which existed on the stone even at the time of the incising of the inscription and which the engraver has carefully avoided. For example, blank spaces between *vishāda-harāḥ* and *kanaka-vibhūṣaṇa*, l. 6, and *gandha-jalāḥ* and *kara-bhāṛita*, l. 7, are original gaps and not the lacunae in the text.

It is obvious that in the light of the observations made above, the task of deciphering the record has become particularly easy, as it always happens in case the composition of a document turns out to be metrical. It is, I believe, possible now to restore the text more or less completely by examining either the original epigraph or a good estampage of it, neither of which has been at my disposal. The photographic reproduction accompanying Mr. Parānavitana's paper being too inadequate for the purpose, it has not been possible for me to amend all the doubtful readings or to read all the portions left undeciphered. Below I suggest some alterations and additions in the text given by Mr. Parānavitana :

- L. 2. At the end we may read [*Girikūṇḍi*] *ken=ity=aditē*.
- L. 3. Instead of *-agara-ṇa(na*)*—I would read *-(nāḥṇa) rāḥ(a)*.
- L. 4. The reading appears to be *-natam* where *-nata-* has been read.
- L. 5. Perhaps we have to read *siddha-* instead of *madā*, and *-pūjyatamaḥ* in place of *-pūjy-tamaḥ*. Before *Girikūṇḍi* we may read *namāmi*. The last letter is final *m*, so indicated by its smaller size. Thus we have to read *=alam* and not *=aham=an(p)*.
- L. 6. The reading is *=madana-dīkṣa-vishāda-harāḥ* and not *=manō-dīkṣa-rishā-dahara*. So also *-ruchir=anigatam=* and not *-ruchir=anigatam=*; *-varam* and not *varam*.
- L. 7. Read *-jalāḥ* instead of *-jala*, and *pūjanām* for *pūjani*. The two letters after *Girikūṇḍi* seem to read *jashah*.
- L. 8. Instead of *praṇipātam karutē* the reading is probably *praṇipātam=karutē*.
- L. 9. The *anusvāra* indicated within square brackets is not found in the original, nor is it necessary. Read *-kārayam=* for *-kārāṇa(m)=*, and *-gatam Sugatam(tam)* for *-dāta-angata*.
- L. 10. The last word is *jagat* and not *jagatāḥ*.

It may also be pointed out that after the first half of each stanza, except perhaps the third, fourth and sixth, a single *dayda* is clearly visible on the stone. A superfluous *dayda* is found after the first quarter of the second verse. In certain places Mr. Parānavitana's reading is not tenable as warranted by the metre, e.g., *Buddhāśāsurē* (l. 5). His translation will naturally have to be considerably modified after so many changes in the text.

NO. 32.—FOUR COPPER PLATES FROM SORO.

By N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

These copper plates, which are edited here for the first time, were unearthed at Bailikhari near Sōrō in the Balasore District of Orissa, and recently acquired by the Ravenshaw College Museum, Cuttack. Prof. N. C. Banerji of the College brought the plates to me for decipherment in March 1937, and as they had a thick incrustation of veruigris they were chemically treated in the Indian Museum, Archaeological Section. I am obliged to the authorities of the Ravenshaw College Museum for the loan of the plates, as also for the permission to edit them in this Journal.

These are four plates (A, B, C and D), representing four separate documents, each complete in itself. Their respective sizes are as follows:—A, $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$; B, $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$; C, $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ and D, $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$. The plates are engraved on both sides, there being 19 lines of writing in A, 21 lines in B, 19 lines in C and 21 lines in D. Originally each plate had a seal attached to it at the left hand side, but the seals of plates A, B and C are missing. Plate D still retains the seal, but it is very much worn out and its details are completely obliterated.

The characters are a form of the Northern alphabet, representing an earlier phase of the writing as compared with the Gañjām plates of Sasānka.¹ Palmographically, Plate A, which shows slightly earlier forms of letters, should be placed first in the series, while Plates B, C and D between A and the Gañjām plates. The chief points of difference between the Gañjām and the Sôrô plates in respect of alphabet may be noted. The characters of the Gañjām plates are of 'the acute-angled type with tail-heads,' which, as pointed out by Bühler,² forms the transition from the Gupta to the Nāgarī alphabet. These acute-angled letters are absent in the present records. In the Gañjām plates the medial *ṣ* and *ṭ* strokes are more developed and often extend below the head of the letter; and the letter *y* is of the later type in which the top bar is reduced to a mere stroke, and the bottom bar, and often also the middle bar, hang down, in which respects it resembles the same letter in Plates B and C. Some examples showing these tendencies of the letter *y* occur also in Plates A and D; but in Plate A, and in some cases in Plates B, C and D, the top bar is not reduced. The letter *ṣ* in the Gañjām plates has a stroke added to its base on the left side, which is absent in the Sôrô plates. Plate A shows uniformly the earlier bipartite form of *y*, while in Plates B, C and D it is of the later bipartite type akin to that used in the Gañjām plates. The letter *ṣ* in the Gañjām plates shows in the majority of cases an oval loop at the top, while in the Sôrô Plates it still retains its angular form, often having the shape of a perfect rectangle. The Gañjām plates are dated in the Gupta year 300, i.e., A.D. 619-20. Plates B, C and D, which should be placed somewhat earlier than this date, may be assigned to the second half of the sixth century, while Plate A which must be still earlier, to the first half of the sixth century. Palmographically, Plate A closely resembles the Paṇḍikollā grant of Mahāśāha Śrīvāṣṭha.³

The language of the copper plates is Sanskrit. Each has the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, but the rest of the document is in prose. As regards orthography, *ṣ* final is occasionally joined to the following consonant, a consonant following or preceding *r* is occasionally doubled, and both *ṭ* and *ṣ* are uniformly expressed by the sign for the latter, the only exception being in Plate A, in which the two letters are clearly distinguished in *śaṣṭhi-śaṣṭhi* (l. 16).

The general character of the four plates, so far as their phraseology is concerned, is more or less uniform. This is to be expected in view of the fact that they belong not only to the same age but also to the same locality. First is mentioned the place of issue of the charter, which is followed by the name and title of the donor. Next is introduced the name of the province or subdivision wherein the grant is made, and in this connection are enumerated the various officers forming the administrative machinery of the province to whom the document is addressed. The name of the village as well as the names of the donors in whose favour the charter (*śikṣapatta*) is issued is then given. The prose portion of the plates recording all these details of grant is followed by benedictive and imprecatory verses. These are followed by the names of persons entrusted with drafting of the document, mechanical execution of the copper sheet by heating, and also

¹ Above, Vol. VI, Pl. facing p. 144.

² *Indian Palaeography*, English translation, p. 42.

³ Above, Vol. IX, p. 223 and Pl.

(in Plate C) with engraving. The date of the grant is specified either at the end (in A), or immediately before the names of the draughtsman and others (in Plates B and C), or just before the commencement of the metrical portion (in Plate D).

Plate A records a grant of eight *supikas*¹ of land by *Mahārāja Sambhuvāsa* of the *Mudgala* family in a village called *Ghaṭṭākaraṇakahōtra* adjoining *Sarēphā*, evidently the headquarters of the same *vishaya*, in *Uttara-Tōsalī*. It was issued from the royal camp at *Tamparavaḍama* to a Brahmin named *Bharaṇasvāmin*, belonging to the *Bharadvāja-gotra* and the *Kāṇva-śākhā* (of the *Yajurveda*). The draft was made by the *Mahāśākhagrohika Nārāyaṇa* and the plate was 'heated' by the *Mahattara Viśāsasvāmin*. It is dated in the year 260, the 30th day of *Kārttika*. This date in view of the palaeography is referable to the *Kalachuri* era and becomes therefore equivalent to A. D. 505-9. ✓

Plate B records the grant of a village called *Aḍḍayāra* situated in the *Sarēphāśākhā-vishaya* in *Uttara-Tōsalī* which again formed a part of the *Ōdra-vishaya*. The donors are *Dhruvamitrasvāmin*, *Āruṅgasvāmin* and others of the *Vāṇya-gotra* and the *Vāṇya-śākhā* (of the *Yajurveda*). The grant was issued by the *Mahāśākhagrohika, Antivāṇya* and *Mahāśākhagrohika Sōmadatta*, from his camp at *Āmrataḥśaka*. It was written by the *Sādhavagrohika Kāvāva* and 'heated' by the *Mahattara Sūryadēva*. It is dated in the year 15, the 13th day of *Vaiśākha*. ✓

Plate C is another grant of the same *Mahāśākhagrohika, Antivāṇya, Mahāśākhagrohika Sōmadatta*. It was issued from a place called *Sāśchātaka*, the grant consisting of a village called *Bahirvātaka*, situated in *Varukāpa-vishaya* in *Sarēphāśākhā*. The donors are *Dhruvamitrasvāmin* and *Āruṅgasvāmin* of the *Vāṇya-gotra* and the *Vāṇya-śākhā* (of the *Yajurveda*). The grant was written by *Subhānṛtha* and 'heated' by the *Pajāpātaka Divākara*, while the engraving was carried out by *Nārāyaṇa*. It is dated in the year 15, the 24th day of *Māgha*. It should be noted that in this plate *Varukāpa-vishaya* is said to have been within *Sarēphāśākhā* which itself was also a *vishaya*, as we know already from Plates A and B.

Plate D was issued from a place called *Viraṇḍā* by the *Mahāśākhagrohika, Mahāśākhagrohika Sōmadatta*. The same *Bahirvātaka* village, which is mentioned in Plate C as having been granted to *Dhruvamitrasvāmin* and *Āruṅgasvāmin*, is hereby granted once again. The donors this time are *Priyamitrasvāmin*, *Vāṇyamitrasvāmin*, *Dhruvamitrasvāmin* and *Āruṅgamitrasvāmin*, all of them belonging to the *Vāṇya-gotra* and *Vāṇya-śākhā*. In this plate the village is stated as being within the *Sarēphāśākhā-vishaya* and not *Varukāpa-vishaya* as in Plate C. The grant was written by the *Sādhavagrohika Arunadatta* and 'heated' by the *Pajāpātaka Pratishthitachandra*. The date is the year 5, the 17th day of *Phālguna*.

It has been already stated that the year 260 of Plate A, which refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Sambhuvāsa*, should be assigned to the *Kalachuri* era of A. D. 248, the date line corresponding to A. D. 505-9. The difficulty in assigning the year to a later reckoning such as the *Gupta* or the *Harsha* era is obvious, because palaeographically the record is not referable to a date later than the middle of the sixth century. The same difficulty also arises in the case of the *Pajāpātaka* plate of *Mahārāja Śivarāja* of the year 283. R. D. Banerji, who has edited it, refers the date to the

¹ The word *supika* which occurs also in the *Plakod* and *Nivāṇa* grants (above, Vol. XI, p. 236, l. 44 of the text and Vol. XXI, p. 76 and n. 1) denotes a unit of land measurement.

² (See below p. 201 n. 6.—Ed.)

Gupta era,¹ but as pointed out by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar,² the palaeography of the record is not in favour of this assumption. The latter has accordingly suggested that the year 283 should be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to this view, with which I entirely agree, the Pajjākellā plate should be placed twenty-three years after the present record.

The Pajjākellā plate records a grant of land in Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalī by Mahārāja Śivarāja. In line 3 of the plate occurs a passage containing the name of the immediate overlord of Śivarāja, which has been read by Banerji as *Paramamahādeva-śrī-Saggayayyana-tāsa*. This he translated as, "when the great worshipper of Mahādeva (Śiva), the illustrious Saggayayyana . . . was ruling". In an editorial note on Banerji's article Dr. Sten Konow observed, "I am unable to see *Saggayayyana*, but I cannot suggest a satisfactory reading; I think I see *Sambhuyayyana*." The plate which is now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, was subsequently re-examined by Banerji, but he found himself unable to accept Konow's emended version.³ Recently I had occasion to examine the record very closely in connection with my study of the Sōrō plates, when I found that neither of the two readings could be accepted. The actual text in the Pajjākellā plate is *Paramamahādeva-śrī-Sambhuyayyana-anutāsa*, i.e., "during the rule of the illustrious *Sambhuyayyana*, the great devotee of Mahādeva". There is no doubt that this *Sambhuyayyana*, who also belonged to the Mudgala family, is identical with Mahārāja *Sambhuyayyana* of the Sōrō plate. The expression *Paramamahādeva-śrī-Sambhuyayyana* and *Paramamahādeva* used in reference to him in line 4 of the Pajjākellā plate shows that *Sambhuyayyana* held the position of a paramount ruler. It should be noted that he has only the epithet *Paramamahādeva* prefixed to his name in this grant, while in the Sōrō plate he is described as a *Mahārāja*. It is difficult to say what position he precisely held in the year 260 when the latter record was issued. It is likely that he enjoyed a sort of independent status. The combined evidence of the Sōrō and Pajjākellā plates shows that King *Sambhuyayyana* ruled over the whole of Tōsalī. The expression *Paramamahādeva-śrī-Sambhuyayyana-anutāsa*, i.e., 'meditating on the feet of his father who was (to him) like a great divinity,' used in reference to him in line 5 of the Sōrō plate may be compared with similar phrases occurring in the land grants of the kings of Kālīṅga, e.g., the Komarti plates of Chappavarman⁴ which describe him as *bappa-bhaktāraṇa-pādābhaktak*.

Mahārāja Bhānudatta of Plate D, who calls himself also *Mahāpratihāra*, must have been a vassal chief like Śivarāja of the Pajjākellā plate. That he was under some *Paramamahādeva*, i.e., a sovereign ruler, follows from lines 8-9 and 13 of Plate D, although we do not know who this ruler was. Of a somewhat lower rank was Sōmadatta, the donor of Plates B and C, who is styled *Mahā-bhāṇikṛta*, *Antarāṅga* and *Mahāśūradhivirahaka*. His overlord, who likewise remains unknown, is referred to as *Paramamahādeva-śrī-Sambhuyayyana* or *Paramamahādeva*, and *Paramamahādeva*. Neither Bhānudatta nor Sōmadatta is known from any other sources. There could not be a difference of more than a generation between these two persons, as the donees Dhruvasūtrasvāmin and Ārunasvāmin of Plate C issued by Sōmadatta were evidently identical with the donees of the same names mentioned in Plate D of Bhānudatta.

As is well known, Tōsalī is first mentioned in Aśoka's Rock Edicts at Dhauḍ near Khuvānēvara in Purī District which itself must have been comprised in that province. From several copper plates from Orissa it appears that the province was divided into two sections, namely,

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 287.

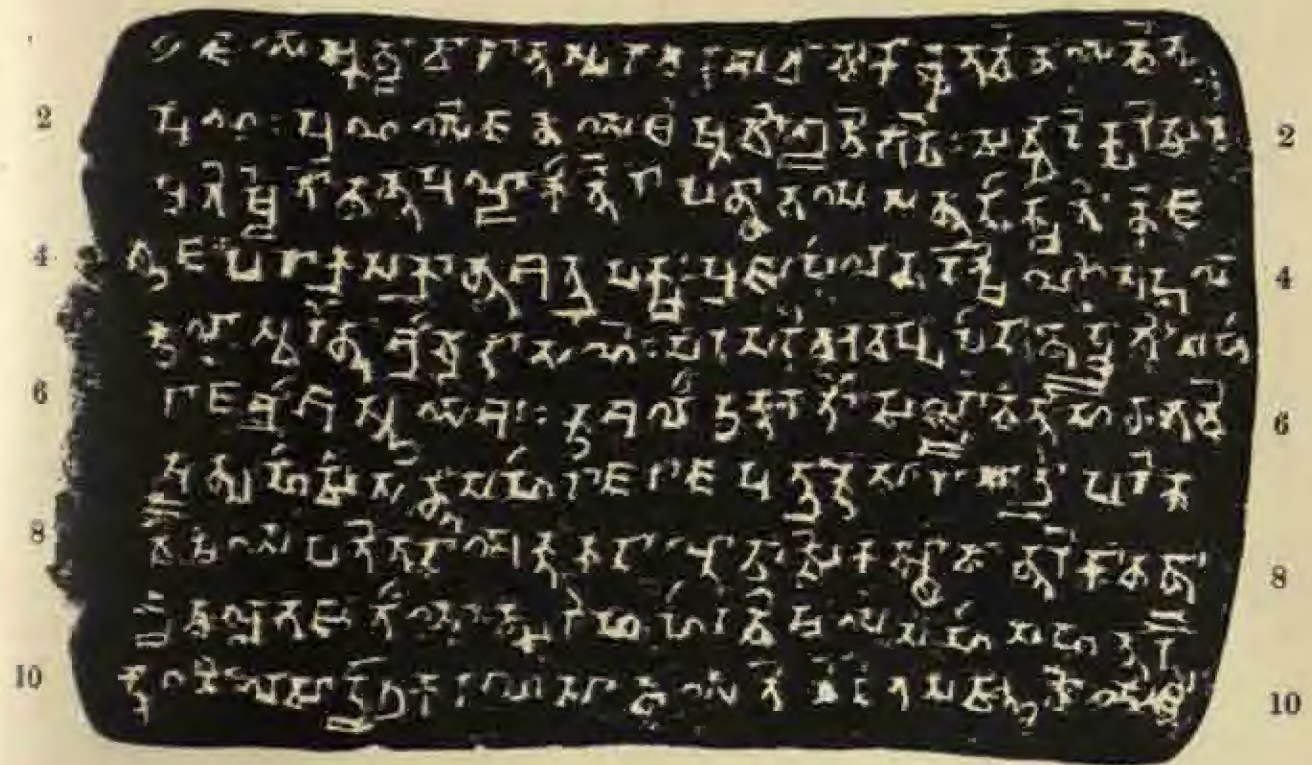
² Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 160 (No. 1293) and n. 2.

³ *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, 1930, p. 118.

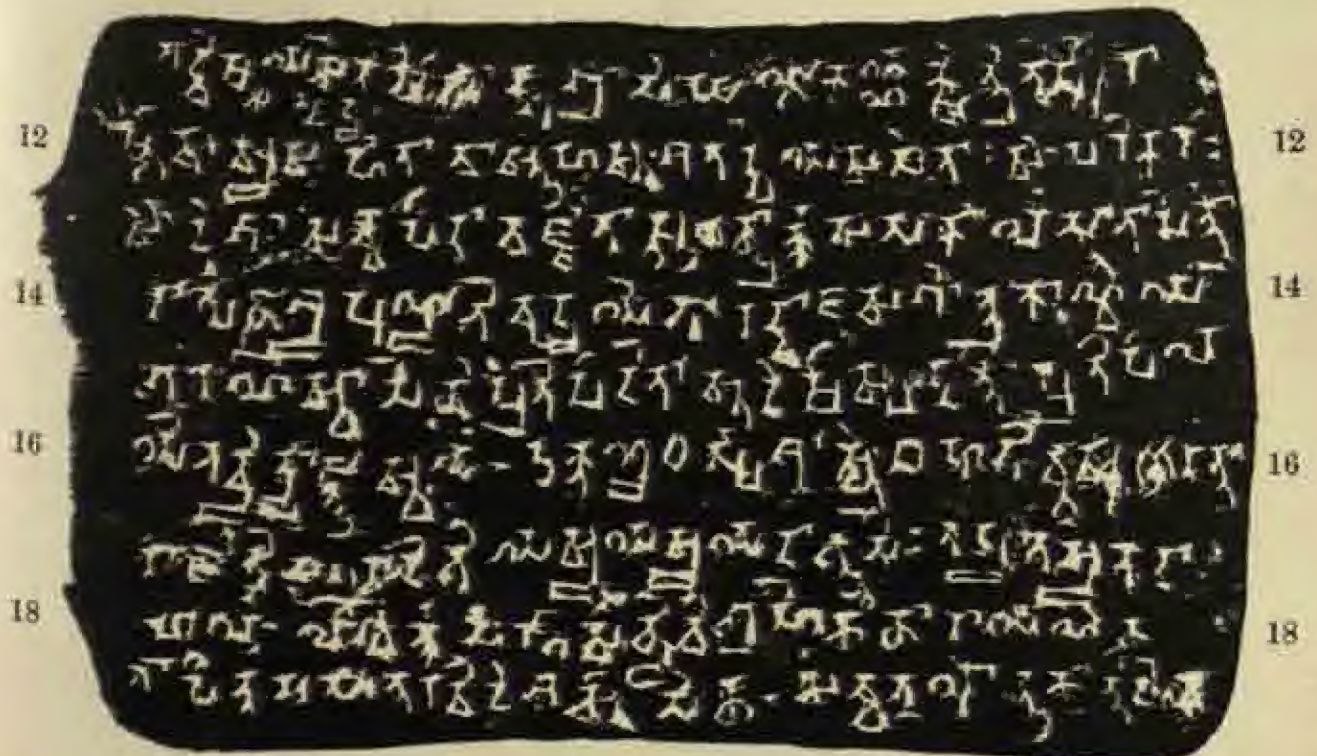
⁴ For similar expressions used in other records see Fleet, *O. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 120-127, note.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, p. 164.

Obverse.



Reverse.



Obverse.

၁ မှု၍သေမျှတရားသမ္မာသန္တတိယာယဉာဏ်ရိက္ခာသန္တ
 ၂ ပာပုဒ်တရားသမ္မာသန္တတိယာယဉာဏ်ရိက္ခာသန္တ
 ၃ ဝိဂ္ဂဟိတသမ္မာသန္တတိယာယဉာဏ်ရိက္ခာသန္တ
 ၄ နာယိယသမ္မာသန္တတိယာယဉာဏ်ရိက္ခာသန္တ
 ၅ ဘဒ္ဒိယသမ္မာသန္တတိယာယဉာဏ်ရိက္ခာသန္တ
 ၆ ဘဒ္ဒိယသမ္မာသန္တတိယာယဉာဏ်ရိက္ခာသန္တ
 ၇ ဘဒ္ဒိယသမ္မာသန္တတိယာယဉာဏ်ရိက္ခာသန္တ
 ၈ ဘဒ္ဒိယသမ္မာသန္တတိယာယဉာဏ်ရိက္ခာသန္တ
 ၉ ဘဒ္ဒိယသမ္မာသန္တတိယာယဉာဏ်ရိက္ခာသန္တ
 ၁၀ ဘဒ္ဒိယသမ္မာသန္တတိယာယဉာဏ်ရိက္ခာသန္တ
 ၁၁ ဘဒ္ဒိယသမ္မာသန္တတိယာယဉာဏ်ရိက္ခာသန္တ
 ၁၂ ဘဒ္ဒိယသမ္မာသန္တတိယာယဉာဏ်ရိက္ခာသန္တ

Reverse.

၁၃ ပာပုဒ်တရားသမ္မာသန္တတိယာယဉာဏ်ရိက္ခာသန္တ
 ၁၄ ဝိဂ္ဂဟိတသမ္မာသန္တတိယာယဉာဏ်ရိက္ခာသန္တ
 ၁၅ နာယိယသမ္မာသန္တတိယာယဉာဏ်ရိက္ခာသန္တ
 ၁၆ ဘဒ္ဒိယသမ္မာသန္တတိယာယဉာဏ်ရိက္ခာသန္တ
 ၁၇ ဘဒ္ဒိယသမ္မာသန္တတိယာယဉာဏ်ရိက္ခာသန္တ
 ၁၈ ဘဒ္ဒိယသမ္မာသန္တတိယာယဉာဏ်ရိက္ခာသန္တ
 ၁၉ ဘဒ္ဒိယသမ္မာသန္တတိယာယဉာဏ်ရိက္ခာသန္တ
 ၂၀ ဘဒ္ဒိယသမ္မာသန္တတိယာယဉာဏ်ရိက္ခာသန္တ

Uttara-Tōsalī and Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalī. The latter included Kōngōda-maṇḍala, which according to some scholars was to the south-west of Puri and might have extended as far as the borders of the (Asāpāṃ District).¹ As regards the extent of Uttara-Tōsalī, light is thrown by the Naulpur grant of Śubhākuraśvā² and also by the present copper plates. The Naulpur plate records the grant of certain villages in Uttara-Tōsalī which are to be located in the Balasore District.³ All the four plates published here refer to grants of land in Sarēphā-śāla which also was situated in Uttara-Tōsalī. **Sarēphā** (or Sarēpha) should be identified with Sōrō in Balasore, in the vicinity of which the present copper plates were discovered. In the Revised Rent-roll of Shalā Sujāḥ (circa A.D. 1650) Sōrō appears as one of the principal divisions of Sarkar Jalesar. It is also mentioned as Sōrō-dandapāṭa in the *Mādhav-pūjī*.⁴ Even now Sōrō is an important station in the Balasore District. **Varukāṇa**,⁵ the name of the adjoining *viśaya*, is perhaps to be identified with the present Barūḥ pargana which appears as Barwa, a *mahāl* under Sarkar Bhadrak, in the *Am-ā-Alkāri*.⁶ The other localities I am unable to identify.

A.—Plate of Mahārāja Śambhuvāśas, the year 260.

TEXT.

Olcerna.

- 1 Om[?] jaya-skandhāvānta-Tamparavaḍama(?)-vāśakāśa-chakranta-vinaya-vibhū-
- 2 śhaṇḍaḥ prajāyī-janta-yatāśāta-bhāgya-vibhavaḥ sarva-dik-parisara-
- 3 pratichhīn-ānanta-puṇya-kīrtti-āpāna-ābhaya-mantra-dikṣhīṇa nija-
- 4 bhūja-patākrama-kṛtā-tattva-pakṣhaḥ prajā-pālana-dakṣiṇo Mudgala.⁷
- 5 kul-āmra(mba)ṇ-āndu-āśi-chāḍḍa-maḍiḥ paramahārata-va(ba)ppa-pād-ārudhīyātā Mahā-
- 6 rāja-āśi-Śambhuvāśaḥ; kuśālī Uttara-Tōsalīyām varitamāna-bhavi-
- 7 śhyaṇ-mahāśāmanā-mahārāja-rājaputtra-kumārāmṛty-āparika-
- 8 viśayapati-tadāyuktaka-āpādvāśaka-sihānāntarikān-anya[m]-
- 9 ā-cha-yallabha-jātyān-Sarēpha-(ph.ā)hāra-viśaya-mahāmahattara-
- 10 [kū]ṭakāśa-ādy-adhikarāṇaḥ mēnayatī viditān-asta vō yatā-al-

Reverse.

- 11 tad-viśaya-samva(taba)ḍhā-Sarēph-āśāga-grām⁸ Ghantākaraṇa-kṣhōtrē tūpīr-ā-
- 12 śhaṇḍaḥ saṁya-sahitā vāsta-hasta-śata-dvaya-samētāḥ ā-āparikarāḥ
- 13 ā-śāḍḍa[?] sarva-prajā-varjītā ā-chandr-ārka-samakāśaḥ mātā-pittā-
- 14 r-ātmanā-cha puṇy-āśhāv-jhāyāḥ Bhāradvāja-sagōttma-Kārvāya-
- 15 Bharaṇasavāminō pratipādītā=tad-āśāśāmanā-dattīḥ pentipāla-

¹ Cf. above, Vol. XXI, p. 34.

² Above, Vol. XV, p. 1.

³ Maps, Orissa under the Blakona Kings, 1934, p. 5.

⁴ M. Chakravarti, *J. F. A. S. B.*, 1916, pp. 46, 48.

⁵ [The reading may be Vāciḍa or Varukāṇa. Names of villages ending in *āṇa* are not uncommon; cf. *Balasore* in the 'Indian Museum Places of Deśādharmasman' (above, p. 74) and *Pāṇakāṇa* in the 'Saktipur copper-plate of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa' (above, Vol. XXI, p. 214). It may be pointed out that there is a place called *Māṇa* (on the B. N. R.) only ten miles to the south-west of Sōrō.—Ed.]

⁶ See *J. F. A. S. B.*, 1916, p. 44.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ For this reading I am indebted to the Editor.

⁹ This word, which was omitted at first, has been added below.

¹⁰ [Reading appears to be Sarēph-ā(ha)pa-grām, i.e., in the village in the vicinity of Sarēphā.—Ed.]

Obverse.

७ मुद्रा निः १२ ॥ अक्षय्यादिप्रतिदिनाप्यक्षय्यादिप्रतिदिना
 २ सप्तम्यादिषष्ठ्यादिपञ्चम्यादिचतुर्थ्यादि
 ४ त्रयोदश्यादिद्वयोदश्यादिपञ्चम्यादिचतुर्थ्यादि
 ६ त्रयोदश्यादिद्वयोदश्यादिपञ्चम्यादिचतुर्थ्यादि
 ८ त्रयोदश्यादिद्वयोदश्यादिपञ्चम्यादिचतुर्थ्यादि
 १० त्रयोदश्यादिद्वयोदश्यादिपञ्चम्यादिचतुर्थ्यादि

Reverse.

१२ ॥ अक्षय्यादिप्रतिदिनाप्यक्षय्यादिप्रतिदिना
 १४ सप्तम्यादिषष्ठ्यादिपञ्चम्यादिचतुर्थ्यादि
 १६ त्रयोदश्यादिद्वयोदश्यादिपञ्चम्यादिचतुर्थ्यादि
 १८ त्रयोदश्यादिद्वयोदश्यादिपञ्चम्यादिचतुर्थ्यादि
 २० त्रयोदश्यादिद्वयोदश्यादिपञ्चम्यादिचतुर्थ्यादि

No. 33.—TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS FROM BEHAR.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

Two sets of copper-plates, each consisting of three plates, complete with ring and seal, were discovered in 1930 in the possession of a Muhammadan of Sirso, a village two miles north of Murtizapur, the head-quarters of a *talukā* of the same name in the Akola District, Berār. They have since been acquired by the Local Government and deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. I am obliged to the Curator of the Museum for permission to edit them. To distinguish the sets, both of which were found at Sirso, I name them here as Sisavai grant and Lohārā grant after the villages granted by them.

A.—Sisavai grant of Gōvinda III; Śaka Year 729.

These are three copper-plates each measuring about 12·6" in length and 6·5" in breadth. Their ends are either raised or thickened for the protection of the writing. The first and third plates are inscribed on the inner side and the second on both the sides. About 6" from the centre of the proper right side of each plate there is a roundish hole about 9" in diameter for the ring which has joined it to other plates of the set. The ends of this ring, which is about 5" in thickness and 2·9" in diameter, are soldered into the socket of a round seal 1·6" in diameter. The latter contains in relief on a counter sunk surface the figure of Gaṇeśa, facing full front and squatting on a lotus. He carries a serpent in each hand. The ring was cut before the plates reached the Museum, but there is no reason to doubt its connection with the grant. The weight of the three plates is 212 tolas and that of the ring and the seal 56 tolas.

The plates are fairly well preserved. Some letters here and there and especially in the centre of both the sides of the second plate are damaged by veridigia, but they can be read without much difficulty from the traces left behind. There are sixty-two lines in all, of which sixteen are inscribed on the first plate, seventeen and sixteen on the first and second side respectively of the second plate and the remaining thirteen on the third plate. The letters are beautifully formed and deeply engraved. Some of them can be marked on the back of the first and the third plate. Their size varies from 2" to 3". The writer has treated ornamentally the *mātrās* for medial *ā*, *ai*, and *ē* and the curve for medial *i*, especially in the last line on each inscribed surface. It may be noted in this connection that the uncurling curve for medial short *i* resembles that seen in the Khāṣṣī plates.¹ A floral device is incised to fill up the empty space to the left of the hole opposite ll. 24-26. The writer has inadvertently omitted letters and even words in some places; see e.g., *py-akṣaya-charitā bhavā* in l. 2. In some cases these mistakes are corrected by inscribing the omitted letter immediately below; see e.g., *va* in *drishyān-cakṣaya* in l. 17, *va* in *vijñā* and *pa* in *vaya-paṇi* both in l. 25. In a few cases letters are unnecessarily repeated; see e.g., *py-amāyā* in l. 7.

The characters are of the North Indian alphabet and resemble those of the Nāgarī and Rāṣṭhanpurī plates of Gōvinda III. The forms of the initial *ā* in *va* (l. 8), the rare *ph* in *vijñāna* (l. 11), *th* in *guthā* (l. 33) and of *pā* in *phalā* (l. 22) are noteworthy. The superscript *r* everywhere appears above the line; see e.g., *indur-guthā* (l. 15). The form of the superscript *ā* is not different from that of *a*; see *chakṣuṣā=cha* (l. 10). A final consonant is generally indicated by a slanting stroke to the left of its vertical. The sign of *vanaya* is in many places used as a mark of

¹ *Alders*, Vol. XXII, p. 93.² Cf. H. Kuhn—*Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan* (Marathi), Vol. I., pp. 15 & 16.³ *Alders*, Vol. VI, pp. 230 & 231.

punctuation. The **language** is Sanskrit. The first thirty-three lines and part of the thirty-fourth, which contain the eulogistic portion, are in verse. Then comes the formal part of the grant in prose, which is followed by the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses. The record ends with a line in prose which states the names of the writer and the *dātaka*. In respect of **orthography** we may note that (a) the consonant following *r* is in some cases doubled, e.g., in *mayāra-māra*, l. 8, *durmmārgyam*, l. 12; (b) one of the two similarly sounding members of a conjunct is often dropped; see e.g., *rudhā*, l. 10, *matam* for *mattam*, l. 12, *-calabhō* for *vallabhō*, l. 14; (c) the final consonant is wrongly omitted in many places; see e.g., *Pallavā*, l. 11; (d) the final *v* is either dropped (e.g., in *vidhā*, l. 25) or changed to *anuvāda* as in *tanvān*, l. 19, *śilimukhām*, l. 23, etc.; (e) the final *vizarga* is omitted, in accordance with a *vārtika* on Pāṇini VIII.3, 30, in *Karṇa-śāha-sthita*, l. 7 and *-vibhāṣitā sphutam-*, l. 18, etc.; but wrongly in some cases; see e.g., *pāda antah*, l. 15; (f) the vowel *ri* is used for *ri* in many places (e.g., *iriyam*, l. 29) and vice versa, though rarely, as in *vriṭi*, l. 30; (g) *y* is used for *j* in *yēśhthō*, l. 6 and vice versa in *śkalayya*, l. 50; (h) *v* is used for *b* throughout (e.g., *vāpāra-*, l. 23), and the palatal *s* for the dental *s*; see e.g., *śudūram*, l. 13, and vice versa in *ten-sara-śekhlayā*, l. 30. In one case the lingual sibilant takes the place of the palatal in *prāśhaya*, l. 43. As instances of wrong *sandhi* may be cited *Vimūhy-śārēṣa-śaśhā*, l. 26, *pārmish-paraiḥ*, l. 27, *narakavāṣṭhāyā*, l. 57, etc.

The plates were issued from **Mayūrakhaṇḍī** by the **Rāshtrakūṭa** king **Gōvinda (III)**, who is described in ll. 34-35 as *Parimabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* with the *bindas* the illustrious *Prithivīśālaka*, the illustrious *Prabhātanaraka* and the illustrious *Vallabhanarādara*, who meditated on the feet of the *Parāmabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Dhārāvaraḥa**. The **object** of the inscription is to record the royal gift of the village **Sisavai** together with the site of habitation in another named **Mōragana** on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the full moon day of **Bhādrapada** in the cyclic year **Vyaya** in the (expired) **Śaka year 729** (expressed in words only). This date corresponds to Saturday the 21st August A.D. 807, when there was a lunar eclipse as stated. The cyclic year according to the southern luni-solar system was, however, **Sarvajit** and not **Vyaya**. The latter cyclic year can be connected with the expired Śaka year only by the so-called northern luni-solar system, which, as Kielhorn has shown,¹ was current in the south down to Śaka 855.

The donated village was situated in the **Māṣaka** *śaṣṭha* and was bounded on the east by the village **Haripura**, on the south by **Khairājā**, on the west by **Athakārājā** and on the north by **Lakhaipari**. The **donee** was the illustrious **Risīyapabhaṭṭa** of the **Kāśyapa** *gṛha*, a religious student of the **Rigvēda**, who was the son of **Annaśvī-bhaṭṭa** and the grandson of **Vijaya** who had studied the four **Vēdas**. He is described as a resident of **Dhārāvra** and a member of the community of the **Uchāreidyas** of that place. The charter was written by **Arunāditya**, the son of **Vairājā**. The *dātaka* was the illustrious **Jadavulabhaṭṭa**.

¹ If notwithstanding the wording *Śaka-śripa-kāśhā*, etc., we take the Śaka year as current as proposed in some cases by Kielhorn (see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 260) the date would correspond to the 1st September A.D. 806, on which day also there was a lunar eclipse. Besides, the cyclic year was **Vyaya**, as required, according to the southern luni-solar system; but as in all other dates of Gōvinda's reign the Śaka years cited are expired and the system followed is the so-called northern luni-solar system, I prefer to interpret the date as above.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 268-269. The cyclic year mentioned in the **Wapi-Diṇḍori** plates also is **Vyaya**. As we find the northern luni-solar system used regularly in all other records of Gōvinda III, the same was in all probability adopted in the **Wapi-Diṇḍori** plates. The expired Śaka year intended to be mentioned in that grant was, therefore, 729 as in the present plates, but the word *śhina* was inadvertently omitted before *triniś* in l. 46 of that record. Or, the year 730 may be taken as current, notwithstanding the wording *Śaka-śripa-kāśhā*. The lunar eclipse which, on no hypothesis, occurred on the full-moon day of **Vāśikha** (see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 11) was another mistake of the scribe. The nearest lunar eclipse was that which occurred in the previous **Pāṭikya**.

Unlike the earlier Pāṭhan¹ and Aḥṇavātī² plates the present plates contain a long description of the conquests of Gōvinda III. They do not, however, make any addition to our knowledge of the events in his reign as the draft followed here is identical with that used in the Rādhāpur plates, the number of introductory verses being exactly the same. The earliest record in which this draft is known to have been adopted is the Maṇḍe plate³ of Śaka 724 recording a grant of Gōvinda III's brother Saucha-Khaṇḍha (or Saṁbha). The draft continued to be used regularly in all the plates issued subsequently by Gōvinda III from his capital.⁴ It was also generally used by the Governors of the Karṇāṭaka. The longest form of this draft is that seen in the Nēart plates where we find five verses (cc. vv. 21-25) not occurring in any other grant. As shown below, the same draft is used in the Lōhārā grant. Its importance in fixing the chronological order of events in Gōvinda III's reign will be discussed later on.

As for the geographical names occurring in the present grant, **Sribhavana** has now been satisfactorily identified with Sarbhūn in the Breach District.⁵ **Vāṅḡ**, the capital of the Eastern Chālukya, is too well-known to need identification. I have elsewhere⁶ suggested an identification of **Mayūrakhaṇḍī**, the capital of Gōvinda III, different from the one originally proposed by Bühler. **Sisavai**, the donated village, is evidently Sirsa where the plates were discovered. **Mōra-gana**, which must have been situated in its vicinity, cannot now be traced. Its site may have been occupied by modern Mūrtisāpur. **Māṇaka** which gave its name to the district in which the donated villages were situated is probably Mānā, a station on the Bombay-Nagpur line of the G. I. P. Railway, 8 miles east of Mūrtisāpur. Most of the boundary villages mentioned in the present grant can still be identified in the neighbourhood of Sirsa. Thus **Haripura** is undoubtedly modern Hirpur two miles to the east, **Khairaḡā** may be Khairādi three miles to the south-east, and **Athakavāḡa** Atkal about three and half miles to the west of Sirsa. **Lakhaipari** is clearly Lākhpurī five miles north of Sirsa. **Dhārāsiva**, where the donee resided cannot be definitely identified, but may be Dhārur in the Akōḡ tālukā of the Akōḡ District.⁷

TEXT.⁸

[Metres: Vs. 1, 22, 23, 25, 26 and 28 *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 2, 6 and 9 *Paśāntikā*; vv. 3-5, 7, 8, 10-20 *Śāḍālarīḡita*; v. 21 *Āryā*; vv. 24 and 27 *Indravajrā*; v. 29 *Śālīrā*; v. 30 *Pushpi-lāḡā*].

First Plate.

1 [चो⁹ । स वो¹⁰]वादेधसा घाम यं नाभि¹¹कमलं कृतं(तम्)[।¹²] इरव यस्स
कतिदुकलयाः¹³ कमलंकृतं(तम्) ॥१¹⁴ — —¹⁵ [भव]-

¹ Above, Vol. III, p. 105.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 13 ff.

³ *Ep. Christian.*, Vol. IX, Nelmangala Taluka Inscriptions, p. 51.

⁴ It is not used in the British Museum plates and the Kadali plates, but the former were granted not at the capital, but at the Khambhava Grha on the Tungabhadra, and the latter are supposed to be spurious.

⁵ This identification first suggested by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 133) has been shown to be satisfactory by Dr. Alukaḡ (see his *Bāhuvāḡa* etc., pp. 67-68).

⁶ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 12 f.

⁷ (Dhārāsiva may with greater probability be identified with the village of the same name (spelt Dharsao in the Imperial Gazetteer Atlas, Plate 42) now changed to Osmanabad, the headquarters of the district of that name in the Nizam's Dominion, and famous for its caves described by Burgess in the *Arch. Surv. of Western India*, Vol. III (pp. 4 ff.).—N. L. E.)

⁸ From the original plates. The facsimiles accompanying this article are prepared from ink-impressions kindly supplied by Mr. Nataraja, Superintendent, Government Press, Nagpur.

⁹ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁰ Only faint traces of the characters in the brackets can be seen on the plate.

¹¹ Read नभिम.

¹² Read कलया.

¹³ Supply भवो.

- 2 [इ(इ)च]दुरसलराजमानयोकोसुभायतकरैरुपशूदकण्डः [1*] सत्थान्तिनो विपुलचक्र-
विनिर्जितारि[चक्रो].
- 3 प्यल्लपा¹राजः [12*] पल्लच्छेदभयान्(चि)ताखिलमहाभूमत्कुलम्बाजितात्² दुर्गच्छाद-
परैरनेकविमलम्बाजि[णुरक्षा].
- 4 न्वितात् [1*] यच्चालुक्कुलादनूनविदु(वु)धप्राताययो वारिवेञ्चि(चो)मंदरवल्-
लीलमचिरादाहृष्टवान्वत्तमः [13*] तस्या-
- 5 भूत(त्त)नयः प्रतापविसरैराहंत³दिद्यच्छलवण्डांशो[1*] सदृशोप्यच्छकरताप्रहृदित-
स्मातल[1*] धीरो धैर्यधनो विप-
- 6 [चव]नितालकुां(वु)जचोहरो हारीकृत्य यशो यदीयमनिगं दिद्यायिवाभिर्धितं⁴
[14*] येष्टो⁵लंघनजातया[प्यम]लया
- 7 प्यमलया⁶ लक्ष्म्या समेतोपि संन्योभूत्रिभूलमण्डलस्थितिमुतो दोषाकरो न क्वचित् [1*]
कण्ठाधस्मितदान[संततिभू].
- 8 तो यस्यान्यदानाधिकं दा[नं]⁷ योक्ता सुलजि(जि)ता इव दिशां प्राप्ति स्मिता
दिग्ग[जा]ः [15*] चत्वे⁸ ज्ञातु विजितं गुरुश-
- 9 क्षिप्तारमाक्रांतभूतलमनं(न)न्यसमानमानं(नम) [1*] येनेइ वध(वद)नवलोका
चि[रा]य गंगं(गम) 1⁹ दूरं स्तनियचभि-
- 10 येव कलिः प्रयातः [16*] एकचात्माव(व)लेन वारिनिक्षिप्तां(ना)प्यन्यथ हृष्टा-
(हु) घनं 1¹⁰ निष्कृष्टासिभटोद्वेतेन विचरदृषाहतिभीमेन च ।
- 11 मातंगान्मदवारिनिर्भरसुचः प्राप्यान्न(न)तात्पञ्जवा[त्]¹¹ तच्चिचं मदलेग्रमप्यनुदिनं
य स्पृष्टवा¹² न क्वचित् [17*] जेलायो(लो)क-
- 12 तगौडराज्यकमलामतं(त्त) प्रवेष्ट्याचिरात् दुर्गानां मरुमध्यमर्षतिव(व)लैर्यो वल-
राजं व(व)लेः [1*] गौडीयं मरदौदु¹³पा-

¹ The writer has omitted seven aksharas here by haplography as his eye caught only the second of the twice occurring word कृष्. Read "मज्जस्यपरितो भुवि कृष्णराजः".

² Read पाणिताद.

³ Read "राजान्".

⁴ Read वृत्तम्.

⁵ Read लोकोपपन्न.

⁶ These four aksharas are redundant.

⁷ The akshara is redundant.

⁸ The engraver at first cut न् and afterwards cancelled the subscript द्.

⁹ Mark of punctuation superfluous.

¹⁰ Read मृष्टवा.

¹¹ Read मरदौदु.

- 13 दधवत् च्च^१इयं केवलं ।^२ तक्षाना(वा)[ङ]त तद्यथोपि ककुभां प्राति
स्थितां(तं) तक्षणां(क्षणम्) ।[८*] लब्ध(स्व)प्रतिष्ठमचिराय कलिं शु(सु)-
दूरम्(सु)-
- 14 च्छा(का)यं शुध(ह)वरितैर्हरणौतलस्य ।[*] छ[त्वा] पुन[:*] जतयुनाः(गा)वृ(व)यम-
प्यशेषं चिचं कथं निरुपमः कलिवत्(न)भोभूत् ।[९*] प्राभूचै(है)र्यव-
- 15 तस्ततो निरुपमादिदुर्यथा वारिधिः शुद्धाका परमेस्वरीनत^३ग्रिःसंसक्तपाद[:*]
सुतः ॥(१) पद्मानंदकर^४प्रतापस^५हि-
- 16 ती नित्योदयः सोक्षतेः पूर्वोद्रेविष मानुमानभिमतो गोविंदराज[:*] सतां ।
[१०*] यस्मिं^६ सा(स)र्व्वगुणाश्च ये चितिपतौ चो-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 17 राहकुटान्वयो जाते^७ यादववर्षवर्ष^८पुरिपावासीद[स्]ष्यः परैः ।[*] दृष्टायात^९धयः
जता[:*] सु(सु)ग्र(स)दृशा दानेन धेनो[ङ]ता
- 18 मुक्ताहारविभूषिता स्फुटमिति प्रत्यर्थिनोप्यर्थिनां(वाम्) ।[११*] यस्याकारममानुषं
वृ(चि)भुवनव्यापति(सि)रचोचितं कृष्णस्यैव निरोक्ष यच्छति
- 19 पितै(त)र्यैकाधिपत्यं भुवः ।[*] आस्तां^{१०} तात तवैतदप्रतिज्ञता दता(ता) त्वया
कषिठका किं नास्तेव मया दृतेति पितरं युक्तं यचो योभ्यधात् [१२*]
तस्मिं^{११}
- 20 ^{१२}[स्मिं]र्नविभूषणाय जनके जा(या)ते यशःशेषतां^{१३}मैकीभूय समुद्यतां^{१४} वसुमतीसं-
हारमाचिच्छया^{१५} ।[*] विच्छायां^{१६} सद्गता व्यधत(त्त) नृपतीने-

^१ Read च्च.

^२ Read परमेस्वरीनत.

^३ *Supra* superfluous.

^४ It would be better to read पद्मानंदकरः दृष्टा- as in the Rādhapur plates.

^५ *स* which was first omitted is written below the line.

^६ What looks like an ascender on so may be due to a fault in the plate.

^७ Read यस्मिन्.

^८ The engraver at first cut ती but subsequently cancelled the stroke for medial चो.

^९ Read संमतव्यधु-

^{१०} *स* which was at first omitted, is written below the line.

^{११} The ascender here is a little displaced.

^{१२} Read तस्मिन्.

^{१३} The engraver first cut स्मिं which he afterwards tried to change into सु without cancelling the curve for medial ि and the ascender. Read सुयं.

^{१४} The ascender is redundant.

^{१५} Read समुद्यताम्.

^{१६} Read वाचिच्छया.

^{१७} Read विच्छायाम्.

- 21 को[पि] यो हादय ।¹ स्याताम्यधिकप्रतापविभरे[ः*] संवत्कीर्त्तानिच ।
[1१३*] येनात्वंतदयालुनाथ मिगडलेभादपाश्यायतात्² स्वं देशं
- 22 वामितोपि दर्पविमराथः प्रातिकु(कु)ल्ये स्थितः [1*] यावं न भुङ्गुटो सत्ता-
[ट*]फलके यस्थोन(च)ते लक्ष्यते विचेयेण विजित्य तावदधिराह(ह)य[ः*] स
- 23 गंगः पुनः ।[1१४*] संधायाम् श्री(शि)लीसुखां(खान्) समसयावा(वा)णामनखीपरि
प्राप्तं वर्धितव(वं)धुजोवविभवं पद्माभिहृद्या(हृद्या)न्वितं(तम्)[1*] संन³वचमुदी-
- 24 ष्य यं शरदत्तं पञ्चम्ययदूर्जरो नष्ट[ः*] ज्ञापि भय(वा)त(त्त)या न समं
स्वप्रेपि पश्येद्यथा [1१५*] यत्पादानतिमाचकैकशरणामा-
- 25 लोक्व लच्छि(क्षी) निजां दूरां⁴भालवनायको नयपरो यं प्राणमस्यांललिः [1*]
को विद्या[न्*] व(व)लिनो(ना) सहाय्यव(व)लकः स्यां वि[ध*]ति(त्ते) परां
- 26 नीतेस्तधि(हि) फलं यदात्मपरयोराधिकसर्वेदनं(नम्) [1१६*] विंध्यादे⁵भटके
निविष्टकटकं युत्वा चरैर्य(यै) निजै[ः*] स्वं देशं समुपा-
- 27 गतं ध्रु[व]मिव ज्ञात्वा भिया मेरित[ः*] मारागर्वमहीपतिर्दुतमगादप्राप्तपूर्व⁶भरेः
यस्येच्छामनुकूलयां⁷ कुलधनेः पा-
- 28 दौ प्रणामैरपि ।[1१७*] नीत्वा श्रीमवने⁸ धनो धनधनश्यामां(व)रं प्राहयं
तस्यादागतवं(वान्) समं निय(ज)व(व)लैरातुंगमद्रात-
- 29 टं(टम्) [1*] [त]वस्त्र[ः*] ⁹स्वकरस्वितामपि पुनः निग्नेष¹⁰माकृष्टवां विचेपैरपि
विचमानतरिपुर्वैः पल(ज)वानां श्रयं(त्रियम्) [1१८*] लेखाचारमुखी-
- 30 दिताह(हं)वचसा ¹¹यचैत्वं वे(वं)मोक्षरो निर्व्वं की(कि)करवज्रधादविरत(तं)
कर्म श्र(स्व)स(य)मैच्छया [1*] याद्याली[त्रि](व)तिरस्त्र येन रचिता खे(खो)-

¹ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

² Read "दयालुनाथम्."

³ Read "वाचम्."

⁴ Read "दूरान्."

⁵ वि which was first omitted is written below the line.

⁶ The sandesh is superfluous.

⁷ य which was first omitted is written below.

⁸ Read "विजयः कटकः."

⁹ Read "पुर्व्वः पूर्व्वेति."

¹⁰ Read "मनुकूलम्."

¹¹ Read "श्यामलवचनाय" as in the Rādhapur plates.

¹² य which was first omitted is inserted below.

¹³ Read "निःस्वितामपि."

¹⁴ The engraver at first cut य; but subsequently cancelled the stroke for initial यः.

- 31 माधलमादचट'ानै(नौ) मौक्तिकमाणिक्यामिव पुता मूर्धन्यतारागणै [181^{*}] संवा-
सात्परचक्रराजकमगात(त्)युर्वसेवा-
- 32 विधिव्याव(व)वांललिगोभितेन गरणं मूत्रा(ध्री) यदंज(ञ्जि)दयं(यम्) [1^{*}] यय-
दतं प[रा]वाभूषणगणैना(नौ)ल्लुतं तत(त्)या मा भैयो-
- 33 रिति मत्त्वपालितयमःश्रित्या यथा तद्विरा [12^{*}] तेनेदमनिलविद्युच्च(च)श्लम-
वलीक्य जीवितमसारं(रम्)[1^{*}] क्षितिदा-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 34 नपरमपुष्प[1^{*}] प्रवर्तितो व्र(त्र)द्यादयोयं(यम्) [121^{*}] स च परमभहारकमहा-
राजाधिराजपरम(मे)श्वरश्रीमहारावर्षदे-
- 35 यपादानुध्यातपरमभहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीमद्यभुतवर्षश्रीवल्लभन-
रेन्द्रदे-
- 36 व[1^{*}] कुमली मर्त्यानेव यथास(सं)[व^{*}]ध्वमानकं(कान्) राइपतिविषयपतियाःमकुटा-
दुक्तका(क)नियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्(त्)-
- 37 रादो[न^{*}] समादिशत्यस्तु[†] व[1^{*}] संविदितं(तम्) । यथा श्रीमयूरखलीममा-
वासितेन मया मातापिचोरात्मनवेहिका-
- 38 सुषिकपुष्पयमोभिद्व(ह)ये[†] । वारासिवा[स्तु]व्यतचातुर्विद्यसामाख्य(य)काम्ब(य)-
पसमोचव(व)वृषमत्र(त्र)व्यचारि-
- 39 विष्णुचतुर्वेदपौत्राय यक्षमायिमहसुताय श्रीरमियपमहाय मातृकविषयांतर्गतो
मौरगणधामधा-
- 40 मममन्वितो^{*} सौमदे^{*} नाम याम[1^{*}] तस्य चावाटनानि पूर्वतः हरिपुरयामः
दक्षिणतः खैरडे पश्चमतः च-

^{*} In the Bādhānagar plates also the reading was corrupted but Kiehn proposed to amend it as *aparchad-* for reasons stated above, Vol. VI, p. 245, E. N. I. I would read *नपरचटानौ मौक्तिकमाणिक्ये विपता*, etc. The Nom. singular *पुता* which is evidently intended as an adjective of *मौक्तिकमाणिक्ये* shows that the latter also must have originally been in the Nom. singular. *वदन्* is ariyat, third person singular form of *वृ*. The intended sense is that the circular emblems of the royal group looked beautiful at night like a garden of *याम* by clusters of stars.

^{*} Read *ययदत*.

^{*} Read *स्मादिमति* । *यय*.

^{*} The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

^{*} Read *वारासिवास्तु* as in the Bhārua Rūḥas Saubōdhaka Mānjala and Līlās plates.

^{*} Read *समन्वित*.

[†] What looks like a slanting stroke on the top of *स* is an accidental scratch.

44

[The page contains handwritten text in Devanagari script, which is mostly illegible due to extreme fading and significant damage. A large circular hole is visible near the top center.]

[illegible]

- 41 यजयाड उत(त्)रतः लक्ष्मिपरिणाम एवमर्थ चतुरावाटनोपलक्षितो याम[1*]
सोदंगः सपरो(रि)-
- 42 कर[1*] मदण्डदयापराव[1*] सम्भूतोपात(त्)प्रत्याव[1*] गो(सी)प्रद्यमानविटव[1*]
सधाश्व(न्व)हिरण्य-
- 43 देयो¹ सचाटभटपादेव्य(श्च) मज्जरा[वकीयानामहस्त]प्रसेपणोय आनंदशालोष्णैरचिति-
सरित्-
- 44 चैतसमकामोन[1*] पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग[1*] पूर्वप्रतदेवप्रा(त्रा)छा[दा]परहित-
म(तो)भ्यंतपर(र)निध्या(का) भूमिच्छि-
- 45 दन्वायेन यजकृपका[ना]तोतम(ने)वच्छ(क)रम(ग्र)तेषु सप्तपु(त्र) एकूनतृपत्यधिकेषु
व्य[य*]नाम्नि [संवत्सरे] [मा]द्र-
- 46 पदपौष्णसात्वा सोमप्रहणपर्वणि व(व)न्नि[चर]पेयदेवान्निष्टोवातिधिपक्षमवायजक-
(क्लि)योत्त[य]णा-
- 47 ये खात्वाद्योदकातिप्रमोष प्रतिपादि[तो]² यतोऽखोचितया ज्ञा(त्रा)दावास्त्वत्वा
भुजतो भोजयतः
- 48 ह्यतः क्षम्यतः प्रतिदिशती वा न क्षेष्टिदन्वापि परिपंथना कार्या तदा-
मामिमद्रुपति-
- 49 भिरष्ठाहंश्वैरन्मैर्वा सामान्य भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युल्लोकान्निस्त्र्यंश्याणि तृणा-

Third Plate.

- 50 यजन्मजलवि(त्रि)दुचक्षलक्ष जीवितमाकलय्य(श्च) स्वदायनिर्विमे³षोपमसादा(हा)यो-
नुमंतव्य[1*] प्रतिपा-
- 51 ल[यि*]तल्लक्ष [1*] यथाज्ञानतिमिरपटलाहतमतिराच्छिद्यादाच्छिद्यमान[कं] वा-
नुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्नृपापात-
- 52 कैद्योपपातकैश्च संयुक्त[1*] स्वा⁴ इत्युक्तश्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्याघेत [1*] पट्टि
वर्षमहत्या(सा)नि स्वर्गे तिष्ठ
- 53 ति भूमिदः । आच्छेता(त्ता) चातुर्माता च तान्मेव नरके वसेत् [५२२*]
विध्वाटनोक्त(च)तोयासु यज्जकोटरवाग्निनः [1*] छ-

¹ Read देवोपाट.² The engraver at first cut अ and then changed it into इ.³ Read एकोनविंशदधिकेषु.⁴ Read प्रतिपादिता ।⁵ Read निर्विमेको.⁶ Read क्षादिति । कश्च,⁷ Read चातुर्माता.

- 54 ष्याहयो हि जायते भूमिदानं हरति ये ॥[२३*] धनैरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं
भूर्वेऽथवी सूर्यस्तथा गावः [1*]
- 55 लोकावर्गं तेन भवेधि(हि) दत्तं(त्त) यः काश्चनं गावु मही च दद्यात् ॥[२४*]
व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादि-
- 56 मिः[1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[२५*] सुवर्ण-
मेकं नामैका भूमेम(र)प्येकमेगुलं(लम्)[1*] च-
- 57 रं नरकवासो स्यात् यावदाहु(भु)तसंज्ञं(धम्) ॥[२६*] यानौह दत्ता(त्ता)नि पुरा
नरेदैर्दानानि धनार्थयमस्कराणि [1*]
- 58 निर्भुक्तमात्रप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु[1*] पुनराददौत[॥२७*] स्वदत्तां
परदत्तां वा यज्ञाद्वज्र नराधिप । मही^१ मद्भि-
- 59 तां चेष्ट दानां चैयोनूपालनं(नम्) [॥२८*] तथा चोक्तं राममद्रेन(ण) [1*]
सर्वानेतां भाविन[1*] पार्थिवेद्रां^२ भूयो भूयो याचते रामम-
- 60 द्रः[1*] सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुनृ(नृ)पाणां काले काले पालनौयो भवहिः [॥२९*]
इति कमलदत्ताविविहुलोलां शु(त्रि)यमगुचि-
- 61 ल्म मनुष्यजीवितं च [1*] अतिविमलमनोभिरात्मनीनैव(नं) हि पु[॥३०*]र्वै[1*]
परकीर्त्तयो फिलोप्याः [॥३०*] लिखि-
- 62 तं श्रीधरराजचतुना श्रीधरणादित्येन । श्रीजडबुलभट्टतकं ॥^३

B.—Lōhārā grant of Gōvinda III ; Śaka Year 734.

There are also three copper-plates, each measuring 10·6" in length and about 7·7" in breadth. The first two plates are thinner than the third. Though their total weight is exactly the same as that of the Siarai grant, they are smaller in length and larger in breadth than the latter. All the edges of the third plate and the proper right edge of the other two are raised, while the rest are flat. The first is inscribed on the inner side only and the other two on both the sides, but, as the record ended about the middle of the outer side of the third plate, its lower portion measuring about 3·2" in breadth is blank. About 4" from the middle of the proper right side of each plate there is a roundish hole about 1" in diameter for the ring which joined it to the other plates of the set. The ring and the seal attached to it, though more substantial, resemble those of the Siarai grant. The ring was not cut when the plates reached the Museum. The seal contains a worn out figure of Garuḍa larger in size, but otherwise of the same type as that of the Siarai grant described above. The plates weigh 213 tolas and the ring and the seal together 86 tolas.

¹ The engraver first cut ॥ and then abridged it into ॥

² Read इत्तं नराधायकः

³ Read मही.

⁴ Read दानाकेयो.

⁵ Read नराधायकः

⁶ Read पार्थिवेन्द्रा

⁷ Read कमलदत्ताविविहु.

⁸ The punctuation mark is followed here by several dots and an ornamental figure indicating completion of the record.

The plates are generally in a state of good preservation. Only a few letters at the end of lines 7-14 have been completely damaged by rust and two letters, one in the beginning of line 24 and the other at the end of line 40, have been lost on account of the subsequent widening of the hole for the ring; but these can be easily supplied from cognate records. There are seventy-two lines in all, of which sixteen occur on each inscribed surface except the second side of the second and third plates which have fifteen and nine lines respectively. The letters are deeply engraved, but do not show through on the back of the plates. Their average size is 3'. The characters are of the North Indian alphabet. As we shall see below, the writer of the present record is stated to be Aruṇḍitya, the son of Vataarāja, who, as stated above, was also the writer of the Sisavai grant, but to judge from the formation of letters, the present inscription seems to have been actually written by a different person. We do not, for instance, find here any ornamentation of the *mātrās* such as that noted above in the case of the Sisavai plates. The formation of several letters, again, is different. The stroke for medial *u* is not round as in the other inscription and is added not at the lower end of the vertical stroke but a little above; see *epihud-ara-* and *ripala* both in l. 2. The forms of *i*, *th* (whether independent or subscript), *u*, *ā*, the subscript *v* of the conjunct *ev* and the final *i* are considerably different from those occurring in the earlier record; see e.g., *iva* (l. 10), *katham* (l. 16) and *prayarīthiṇo* (l. 21), *vinirjā-* (ll. 2-3), *sadriṣo-* (l. 6), *karṇa-ādha-* (l. 9) and *hārājūm* (l. 3). *R* as the first member of the conjunct *rya* does not rise above the line but appears as a horizontal stroke to the left at the top; see *dhairya-* (ll. 6 and 16), *m-uteśya* (l. 15), etc. The language is Sanskrit and like the previous record the inscription is partly in verse and partly in prose. It shows many of the orthographical peculiarities noticed in connection with the previous record and though not altogether free from orthographical and other kinds of mistakes is, on the whole, more correctly written than the latter.

The plates were granted by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III, residing at Mayūra-khaṇḍi. His genealogy, titles and *śrutas* are identical with those in the previous record. In fact the text of the whole inscription, with the exception of the names of the donated village and its boundaries, the *śūlaka*, the date and some minor details and with the omission of seven verses three of them being from the eulogistic portion,¹ generally agrees with that of the Sisavai grant edited above. The object of the present inscription is to record the royal gift of the village Lohārā in the Murumba district to Bhaṭṭa Rishiyappa of the Kātyapa-gotra, who was a religious student of the Rīgveda, the son of Aṅgamabhaṭṭa and the grandson of Bhaṭṭa Māṇḍarāsin. He is described as residing at Dhārāsiva and belonging to the community of the Traividyaś of that place. The donated village was bounded on the east by the smaller Lohārā village, on the south by two villages² named Madupa, on the west by the villages Pīpparikā and Mārutika and on the north also by two villages Śamaripalla and Khēja. It is also recorded that Rishiyappa, reserving 100 *śivatanas* of the land in the afore-mentioned village for himself, divided (the revenue of the remaining land) into 120 parts of which he assigned sixty to Mādhaba, Śrīdhara, Dōdhāma, Aghakuṇḍi and others and the remaining sixty to Lōkabhaṭṭa, Śrīdhara Dīkshita, Madhuka Dvirādin, Pīṭhivibhaṭṭa and others. These transactions took place on the occasion of the solar eclipse on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha in the expired Śaka year 734 (expressed in words only). No cyclic year is mentioned in the grant. We find that in the expired Śaka year 734 there was a solar eclipse on the previous day which was the new-moon day of Kārttika. The first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha was current at sunrise of and therefore civilly connected with the next day, Tuesday the 9th November, A.D. 812.

¹ These are vv. 7, 10 and 17 of the Sisavai grant.

² These were probably the smaller (*highe*) and the larger (*hēṇḍ*) Madupa.

which is thus the date of the present plates.⁴ The charter was written by Arupāditya, the son of Vatsarāja. There were two sūtakas Chandiyamma and Vayama.

It will be noticed that the donee of the present plates is, in spite of slight discrepancies in his description, identical with that of the Sisavai grant. He is also the donee of the Bhārata Iṭhōsa Sainasāhaka Maṇḍala plates⁵ of Gōvinda III. The provenance of the latter is not known but it is not unlikely to be some place in Berār. The villages⁶ mentioned in the plates were, therefore, probably situated somewhere in Berār, not very far from Siro (Sisavai of the previous plates) where he or his descendants seem to have lived, and not in distant Gujjarāt as surmised by the editor of the above plates. It may also be noted that Arupāditya, the son of Vatsarāja, who is mentioned as the writer of this grant whether he actually wrote it or not, figures in that capacity in five other sets of plates, viz., the Nēsarī plates⁷ of Śaka 726, the Waṇi-Dindōri plates⁸ of Śaka 730 (for the expired Śaka 729), the Sisavai grant of Śaka 729, the Bahulāwāḍ plates of Śaka 732 (for the expired Śaka 731)⁹ and the B. I. S. M. plates of Śaka 733. He was also probably the writer of the incomplete Rādhanpur plates of Śaka 730, judging by the writing on them which resembles that on the Nēsarī and the Sisavai plates. He was thus the official writer in Gōvinda III's secretariat at least from Śaka 726 to Śaka 734.

Having disposed of the formal part of the grant, let us now turn to the historical information furnished by it. The charters granted by Gōvinda III fall into two main groups. Under the first of these come the Palḥan plates of Śaka 716 and the Añjanavati plates of Śaka 722. The second group includes almost all the rest.¹⁰ The draft of the genealogical and eulogistic portion adopted in the two grants of the first group consists for the most part of old verses descriptive of the ancestors of Gōvinda III, which are known from the earlier records of Dantidurga, Kṛishṇa and Dhruva. To the glorification of the reigning king, the draft devotes only two verses which mention no historical event except that he obtained the kingdom from his father in supercession of his brothers. No exploits of Gōvinda III,—not even his victory over the twelve kings headed by

⁴ [There are instances of the *śukla* which commenced some time after sunrise being cited as the current *śukla*. (See e.g., Nos. 215 and 296 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1918, whose dates have been calculated by the late Mr. Sankulakam Pillai on pages 54 and 55 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1918.) It is, therefore, not necessary to take Tuesday the 9th November A.D. 812 as the date of the record for, the *postquam-facta* commenced at 24 *ghaṭikā* after sunrise on the previous Monday which was also the day of the *śukla*. The latter, viz., A.D. 812 November 8 Monday may thus be the date of this charter.—N. L. S.]

⁵ These plates were first noticed by Mr. V. H. Gupta in the *Journal of Indian History* for 1925, pp. 106 f. and subsequently edited by Mr. G. B. Khare in the *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. III, pp. 27 f. The grandfather of Rishiyappa is called Vyākṣa in the Sisavai grant, but Māṇḍapavāṇ in the B. I. S. M. plates, so is the present plates; his father is called Appama in the present record, but Appamvi (not Saṅgaṇavi as Mr. Khare has read in the B. I. S. M. plates) in the other two records. Rishiyappa is said to belong to the community of the Chāturvidya in the Sisavai grant, but is that of the Trāyavīda in the other two records. His name, *ghṛa*, *Viḍa* and place of residence (which both Mr. Gupta and Mr. Khare seem to have incorrectly read as *Vāṇḍava*) are the same in all the records.

⁶ The plates record the grant of the village Dadvāra which was bounded on the north by the Vindhya mountain. This is likely to be Dadvr in the Ellichpur tahsil of the Akola District, situated only two miles to the south of the Sāṭpura hills which were in ancient times called Vindhya. Some of the places mentioned in the grant can still be traced in the vicinity of Dadvr. Thus Lājāvallikā, Pimpurkū and Kūḍḍa of the grant are probably modern Ghat-Bhiki, Pimpri and Kher in the neighbourhood of Dadvr. The Ambhī trade at which the king busied himself making the grant was probably a *kuṇḍa* at the source of the holy river Payāḍvati (modern Purnā) not far from Dadvr.

⁷ G. B. Khare—*Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 23.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 166.

⁹ *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, pp. 12 f.

¹⁰ The only exceptions so far known are the British Museum and the Kasab plates, for which see above, p. 206, n. 1.

Samudra and the release and subsequent reimprisonment of the Gaṅga king, events which we know happened soon after his accession¹—are alluded to. And this is but natural; for that draft is found used as early as Śaka 718, within a year of his father's death. When it was prepared, none of the afore-mentioned disturbances may have occurred. The same draft is again used in the Añjanavati plates issued six years later, without adding any verses descriptive of Gōvinda's achievements. It would scarcely be correct to infer from this that these six years in the beginning of Gōvinda's reign were altogether uneventful. At least the revolt of Stambha and the Gaṅga prince and their subsequent defeat must have happened during this interval;² but for some reason or other we find Gōvinda using the same old draft even in his Maṇḍe plates³ with his consent. Here we find for the first time the other draft describing the brilliant exploits of Gōvinda III,—his victory over twelve kings, the release and subsequent reimprisonment of the Gaṅga prince, the complete rout of the Gārjara and the submission of the Mālava king, the presentation of the choicest heir-looms to him by Mārāsares, his stay at Śrībhavana during the rainy season and his subsequent triumph to the bank of the Tungabhadra, the despoilment of the fortune of the Pallavas, the humiliation of the lord of Vēṅgi and finally the submission of the enemy's feudatories. It is incredible that all these events or even a majority of them occurred during the brief period of two years from Śaka 722 to Śaka 724. We have, therefore, to suppose either that the Maṇḍe plates are spurious or that some of these events occurred even before Śaka 722, the date of the Añjanavati plates. The first of these two alternatives will appear more plausible to the historian who knows the abundance of spurious records of this period in Mysore, to which Fleet has called attention.⁴ Again, until recently the draft was not known to have been used in any record before Śaka 730, in which year we find it adopted in the Waci-Diṇḍōri⁵ and Rādhapur plates. Besides, one of the events mentioned in that draft, viz., Gōvinda's victory over the Pallava king, seems to have occurred only a short time before Śaka 726 in which year he granted the British Museum plates while he was encamped on the bank of the Tungabhadra after levying tribute on the Pallava king. How then can that event be referred to in the Maṇḍe plates issued two years earlier? To add to these suspicious circumstances, the date of the above mentioned Maṇḍe plates, though Sewell has declared it to be usual,⁶ appears to be irregular. The grant purports to have been made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, the asterism being Pushya in the expired Śaka year 724. Sewell takes this as equivalent to the 13th November A.D. 802. He, therefore, evidently takes the lunar eclipse to be that which occurred on the full-moon day of Mārgaśrēṣa. But the asterism on that *tithi* was Rōhiṇi and not Pushya. One is therefore naturally led to conclude that the plates are spurious. As stated above, until recently the draft was not known to have been used in any genuine record before Śaka 730. It was, of course, known from the British Museum plates that Gōvinda's victory over the Pallava king had occurred before Śaka 726; but as his other exploits have not been mentioned in any genuine record dated before Śaka 730, Dr. Altkar in his history of the

¹ See p. 40, v. 12 of the present grant.

² I do not now hold the view which I previously advocated from the mention of (Chāḍḍi) as *dhruva* in the Añjanavati plates that the revolt of Stambha must have taken place after Śaka 722 (or A.D. 800); see above, p. 11.

³ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. LX (Nalmandala), p. 51.

⁴ *Ibid. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 294 and 212.

⁵ The date of the Waci-Diṇḍōri plates is more likely to be the expired Śaka year 729 as shown above, p. 203.

n. 2.

⁶ These plates have a sound date, naming the eclipse of the moon on the day stated. Sewell in *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* (ed. S. K. Altkar), p. 33. My attention to this apparent irregularity was drawn by Dr. Altkar.

Rāshtrakūṭas¹ has placed Gōvinda III's expeditions against the Pallava and Eastern Chālukya kings before his northern conquests which according to him occurred during the period A.D. 806-808. The draft adopted in the Wāpi-Dipdōri and Rādhanpur plates states, however, that from Śrīvardhana Gōvinda marched with his forces to the bank of the Tuṅga-bhadra, where he despoiled the Pallavas of their riches and humiliated the lord of Vēṅgi. Dr. Altekar, therefore, supposes that this was a second expedition of Gōvinda III against them, which must have been necessitated by their revolt during his absence in the north. According to him² this second southern campaign may have terminated in A.D. 810 or 811.

The discovery in recent times of several records of Gōvinda III, in which the second draft descriptive of his glorious achievements has been regularly used, must lead to a revision of the above conclusions regarding the chronological order of events in his reign. Besides the Maṅge plates (first set) of Śaka 724, we have nine other records with dates ranging from Śaka 727 to Śaka 734 in which the same draft is met with, *viz.*, the Nēari plates of Ś. 727, the Śaivai grant of Ś. 729, the Wāpi-Dipdōri plates of Ś. 730 (for 729), the Rādhanpur and the Radanaguppe³ plates, both of Ś. 730, the Bahulawāḍ plates of Śaka 732 (for Śaka 731),⁴ the B. I. S. Maṅgala and the Maṅge plates (second set),⁵ both of Ś. 732, and the present Iśhūrā grant of Ś. 734. Of these the Radanaguppe plates, like the Maṅge plates of Ś. 724, were issued by Gōvinda III's brother Stambha, while the rest were issued by Gōvinda III himself. The combined testimony of so many plates from different parts of the country renders probable the genuineness of Maṅge plates of Ś. 724. It may be noted again, that the first of these, *viz.*, the Nēari plates⁶ were issued only three years after the Maṅge plates of Ś. 724 and clearly show that all the important campaigns of Gōvinda III had been completed, in any case, before Ś. 727 (A.D. 805). As for the other arguments which seemed to render the authenticity of the Maṅge plates open to question, it may be pointed out that they are not inexplicable. A careful study of the British Museum plates of Śaka 726 will show that it was the second time⁷ that Gōvinda was encamped at the *tirtha* of Rāmāvara on the bank of the Tuṅga-bhadra when he had gone to exact tribute from the king of Kāśhī in Ś. 726. Obviously his first visit to the *tirtha* must have occurred when he was encamped on the bank of that river in the course of his earlier expedition against the Pallavas as stated in the Maṅge, Nēari and other later inscriptions of his reign.⁸ This second expedition must have been necessitated by the refusal or failure of the Pallava king to pay the tribute which had been forced on him when he was vanquished. The date of the Maṅge plates also is not so suspicious as might appear at first sight. It is clear that some

¹ See his *Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 64, n. 42 and p. 55, n. 49.

² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

³ *Mysons Archaeological Survey Report* for 1927, pp. 1128.

⁴ *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, p. 13. The name of the cyclic year Śarrādākhin shows that the Śaka year 732 is a mistake for Śaka 731 (according to the Northern system) : or the year may be taken as current. It may be noted that the plates were issued from Mayākrakhaḍḍi and the writer was Aruṇāditya. So the system adopted here was the northern luni-solar as in other similar cases.

⁵ *Journal of the Mysore Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 83.

⁶ The Nēari plates have undoubtedly a sound date. The cyclic year according to the northern luni-solar system was Tirāya as stated in the grant. The *satvatsāra* took place 52 *phalās* after mean sunrise on the 21st December, A.D. 805, when the 13th *tiṭhā* of the dark half of Pūṣya was current as stated in the grant. The *tiṭhā* ended 42 *phalās* after mean sunrise on the next day when the religious rites must have been performed and the gift made.

⁷ See Fleet's translation—'... when having at (his) first (visit) approached of the *tirtha* called Rāmāvara (by name) (here again) to appear the horses, etc.' *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 127.

⁸ See *s.p.*, v. 15 of the present inscription.

words like *Mārgaśīrṣa-paurṇamāsyām* are inadvertently omitted in the record.¹ As for the discrepancy of the *nakṣatra* Pushya not being current at the time of the eclipse as mentioned in the record, it can be explained by supposing that though the grant was made at the lunar eclipse the plates were actually issued four days later when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Pushya. Analogous instances in justification of this explanation can be easily cited from the records of the period.² There are, thus, no insuperable difficulties in admitting the Maurya plates of Śaka 734 to be genuine. All the important conquests of Gōvinda III seem, therefore, to have been made during the first seven or eight years of his reign.

It seems that soon after Gōvinda III's accession the twelve kings headed by Stambha rose in revolt against him. Gōvinda released the Gaṇḍa prince apparently to create a rival in the Kaṭṭaka to his rebellious brother, but as he seems to have joined Stambha and his allies, Gōvinda III defeated them all and put the Gaṇḍa prince into fetters again. The ease and rapidity with which these victories were attained are graphically described in two stanzas included in all records of the second group.³ These operations could not have taken more than two years (S. 716 and 717) after his accession. The next four or five years seem to have been occupied by his campaigns in the Northern and Central India at the end of which⁴ his son was born in circa S. 721. In Āshāḍha of the next year we find him again at his capital Mayūrakhaṇḍī, issuing his Abjanavati plates. Engrossed in planning and fighting wars as he was during all these years, he had apparently no time to think of getting a new draft prepared for the plates which he issued in that year. His expedition against the southern kings⁵ may have occurred in S. 722 and 723. At the end of it when his position was supreme both in the north and in the south, he seems to have caused a new draft descriptive of all his important conquests to be prepared which we find him adopting in all his later charters. This draft is composed in an ornate *kārya* style recalling, as Kielhorn has shown,⁶ 'many expressions and poetical devices' used in the works of Bāṇa and Subandhu. Noticing the king's predilection for it, his governors in the Kaṭṭaka also seem to have adopted the same draft in their charters issued during his lifetime.

If the chronological order of events in Gōvinda III's reign as stated above is correct, his son Amoghavarsha must have been a fairly grown-up youth of about sixteen, when he ascended the throne in circa Śaka 736. In that case the statement in the Sanjān plates⁷ that Gōvinda III went to heaven, because he felt sure that his son was able to bear the burden of the three worlds, need not be taken as exaggerated. Amoghavarsha I, must, therefore, have been nearly eighty at the time of his death.

¹ See the wording of the grant—'चतुर्विंशत्युत्तरं शुक्रवारे शुक्रवर्षे समतीर्तिष्यामः प्रथमोपनिषत्(पु)संकरे मासपुनर्वसि' विज्ञापयन्त्याहारे सोमवर्षे पुनर्वसौ शुक्रवरे.....'

² As shown above, the present plates were issued a day after the solar eclipse. [See note 1 on p. 214. —Ed.] We may also note that the date of the Maurya plates (account not) चतुर्विंशत्युत्तरं शुक्रवारे शुक्रवर्षेपौषमासपौर्णमासी सोमवर्षे सोमवरे पुनर्वसौ... According to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Epigraphy* the lunar eclipse occurred on the *tithi* mentioned in the grant, but the week day was Saturday and the asterism Punarvasu. It seems, therefore, that the plates were issued two days later on Monday when the asterism was Pushya as required.

³ See e.g., vv. 12 and 13 of the present grant.

⁴ See v. 24 of the Sanjān plates, above, Vol. XVIII, p. 246.

⁵ Two of them, the Pallava king and the lord of Vengi are mentioned in the present record. The kings of Kāśa, Pāṇḍya, Chōla and other countries are mentioned in verses 21-23 of the Nāgarī and v. 32 of the Sanjān plates.

⁶ See notes to his translation of the Rāthānpur plates, above, Vol. VI, pp. 246-250.

⁷ V. 23, above, Vol. XVIII, p. 246.

As for the places mentioned in the present plates, *Vāṅgi*, *Śrībhavana* and *Mayūra-khaṇḍi* have already been noticed. *Lohārā*, the donated village may be modern *Lohārā* about 8 miles to the west of *Kāraṇjā* in the *Murtizāpur taluk*. *Murumba*, the headquarters of the district in which it was situated, may be *Murambi*, 3 miles south-east of *Lohārā*. Of the boundary villages only two can be traced at present. *Mudupa* may be *Māṇḍav*, 3 miles to the south and *Pipparikā* modern *Pimpalgān* 4 miles to the east of *Lohārā*. The other villages cannot be identified.

TEXT

[Metres: V. 1, 19-22 *Arashtupak*; vv. 2, 6 and 8 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 3-5, 7, 9-17 *Sarāḍālarikī-dīpa*; v. 18 *Arjā*; v. 23 *Pushpāṅgrī*.]

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीमं^[1*] स योग्यादेवसा घाम यन्नाभि^{कमलं} कृतं(तम्) । हरय यस्य
यातिदुकलयया कमलकृतं(तम्) ^[12*] भूपीम-
- 2 बह(द्)बदुरस्वस्तराजमानयोकोभुभायतकरैरुपगूढकण्डः ^[1*] सन्धान्वितो विपुल-
चक्रविनिर्जि-
- 3 तारिचक्रोप्यङ्गणचरितं(तो) सुवि जणराजः ^[12*] पञ्चच्छेदभयान्त्र(सि)तासिलमहा-
भुम्भकुलभ्राजितात्⁴
- 4 दुर्लभादपरैरनेकविमलभ्राजिभुरखान्वितात् ^[1*] यच्चानुक्ककुलादनूनविदु(वु)वद्राता-
नयो
- 5 वारिधिः लक्ष्मी मंदारवल्लीलमचिरादाज्जट्वा(वान्) वल्लभः ^[12*] तस्याभूत्तनयः
प्रतापविसरै-
- 6 राज्ञांतदिग्नखलचण्डांशोः सट्थोप्यच्छकरतामजादितस्मातलः ^[1*] धीरो धैर्यधनी
- 7 विपलवनितायकां(वु)जन्मोदरो हारीकृत्य यशो यदीयमनिशं दिग्वा[यिकाभिधृतं]
^[18*][ज्ये]-
- 8 छोहचनजातयाव्यमलया रुचम्या समेतोपि सन्धोभूत्रिमलमल्लत[स्थिति⁵]-
- 9 युतो दीपाकरो न ज्ञचित् ^[1*] जल्लोपस्थितदानमंततिगतो यस्यान्व[दानाधि⁶]-
- 10 क(क) दानं योज्य सलक्षिता इव दिशां प्राप्ते स्थिता दिग्गजाः ^[18*]
अर्थैर्न जातु
- 11 विजितुं(तं) गुरुशक्तिभारमाकास्तभूतलमनन्यसमानमानं(नम्) ^[1*] येनेह व(व)[समव-
सोक्त चिराय⁷]

* From the original plates. The facsimiles accompanying this article are prepared from ink-impressions kindly taken by Mr. Katarajan, Superintendent, Government Press, Madras.

* Expressed by a symbol.

* Read वनाभि.

* Read वाजितार.

* Only faint traces of some of the aksharas in the brackets can be seen on the plate.

- 12 गंगं दूरं स्निग्धमिषेव कलिः प्रयातः ।[14*] हेलास्त्रीकृतगौडराज्यव ८ —
— — — — —
13 चिरात्¹ दुर्मार्गस्य समन्वयप्रतिव(व)र्त्तयौ वत्तराजं व(व)र्त्तयैः[1*] गौडीयं शर — ८
— — — — —
14 लं कचद्वयं केवलं तस्मात्वाहृत तस्यगोपि ककुभां पति स्मितं तत्त्वनात् ॥
[३*] — — — — —
15 मचिराय कलिं सुदूरमुत्सार्यं यवचरितैर्दरपीतलस्य [1*] कृत्वा पुनः कृतयुग(मा)-
न(च)य-
16 मण्युषो(धं) चित्तं कथं निरुपमः कलिवज्रभोभूत् ।[15*] मामूर्ध्ववतस्ततो
निरुपमा-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 17 दिदुर्धवा वारिधेः शुभाभा परमेश्वरोन्नतशिरसस्तकपादः सुतः । पद्मानन्दक-
18 रंप्रतापस्तज्ञितो निखोदयः सोकतेः पूर्वादेरिव भातुमानभिप्रती मोविदरा-
19 जः सता(ताम्) ।[12*] यस्मिं² सर्वगुणाद्यै चित्तिपती श्रीराष्ट्रकूटान्वयो जाते
यादवर्ष-
20 वस्मधुरिपावसौदलंध्यः परैः [1*] दृष्टाशावधयः कृताभ्युपदेशा दातेन येनो-
21 इता सुलाहारविभूषिता स्फुटमिति प्रत्नर्त्तिनीप्यर्त्तिनां(नाम्) [11*] यस्याकार-
ममानुषं तु(चि)-
22 भुवनव्यापतिरचोचित(तं) कृष्णस्यैव निरोच्छ वच्छति पितर्येकाधिपत्वं भूवः [1*]
आस्तां तात
23 तवैतदप्रतिष्ठता दत्ता त्वया कण्ठिका किं नास्तेषु मया दृतेति पितरं युष्म-
कचो यो-
24 ८धात् [111*] तस्मिं³ स्वर्गविभूषणाय जनने याते वयःश्रेयतामिजोभूय स-
25 सुखतान्वसुमती⁴ सद्धारमाधिष्ठया [1*] विष्वाया⁵ सज्जसा व्यधत्त वृषतीने-
26 कोपि यो दादम स्वातानप्यधिकप्रतापविसरैः[1*] संवर्त्तको[३०]मिव ॥ [12*]
येनाख्यतदया-

¹ Restore "मज्जमग एवेणा".

² Restore "कचप्रति".

³ Read "स्मिन्".

⁴ The last letter is, ac.

⁵ Read "विष्वाया".

⁶ Read "चिरात्".

⁷ It would be better to read "वत्तराजं".

⁸ The preceding is superfluous.

⁹ Read "स्मिन्".

¹⁰ Restore "दिदुर्धवा".

¹¹ Read "सुखतान्वसुमती".

- 27 कुनाय निगडक्लेशादपास्यायतात्वं देशं गमितोपि दर्पविमरायः प्रातिकूल्ये स्थि-
 28 तः [1^{*}] यावंन¹ झुङ्गुटी ललाटफलके यस्मिन्नेते लक्षते विक्षेपेण विजिह्य तावदवि-
 29 राड(ड)हः स संगः पुनः ।[1१३^{*}] संधायाय शिलीमुखां(खान्) खलमयाडा(डा)-
 शासनस्त्रीपरि प्राप्तं
 30 षड्विंशत(व)धुजोर्विभवः पद्माभिष्टया(ज्जा)न्वितं(तम्) [1^{*}] मन्त्रचवसुदीक्ष्य यं शरद्व-
 [त्] प[र्]जन्यव-
 31 हूर्जरो नष्टः(ष्टः) ज्ञापि भयात्तथा न समरं स्वप्नेपि पर्येक्षया ॥[१४^{*}] नीला
 यौभवने घनाघन-
 32 घनध्यातां(व)रां प्राडयं तस्मादागतवां(वान्) समं निजव(व)त्तेरातुंमद्रातटं तव-
 स्वः[ः] स्वक[र]-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 33 स्थि[ता]मपि पुनर्निष्पेयमाहृष्टवां(वान्) विक्षेपेरपि चित्रमानतरिपुर्वः पद्मवानां च-
 यं(यिधम्) ।[१५^{*}]
 34 लिखाङ्गारमुखोदिताहवचसा यच्चैव वेङ्गीश्वरो निखं किंकरवक्ष्यधादविरतं कर्म
 35 स्वयमेच्छया [1^{*}] वाङ्माळीउतिरस्थ येन रचिता व्योमापलम्नाकृत्वा रात्री भौक्ति-
 कमा-
 36 लिखामिव धृता मूर्धस्वतारागणैः ।[१६^{*}] संवागात्परशकराजकमगात्तत्पूर्वसिधावि-
 37 धि'व्यावृष्टां(व)लिगोभितेन शरणं नास्वा² यद'हृदयं(यम्) [1^{*}] यद्यदत्तपरार्थभूषण-
 गणै-
 38 नालंजतं तत्तथा मा भैषीरिति मन्त्रपातितयशस्विता यथा तद्विरा ॥[१७^{*}]
 * तेनेदम्-
 39 निरुचिद्युच्चलमवलोक्य जौषितमभारं(रम्) [1^{*}] जितिदानपरमपुण्यः प्रवर्तितो
 ज(व)ष्ट-
 40 दायोयं(यम्) ।[१८^{*}] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्त्रीधरा[व*]-
 41 पदेवपादातुष्पातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्त्री-
 42 मयभूतवर्ष्यदृष्टवोषजमस्त्रीवज्रमनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशलो सर्वानेव यथा संव(व)-
 43 ध्वमानकावाइपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटावुक्तकनिवृत्तजाधिकारिकमह-

¹ Read वावड.

² Read.

^{*} श्रीलिङ्गमाहिरिणि विप्रा. See above, p. 210, n. 1.

¹ Read विविजावडा².

² Read मुप्री.

^{*} Read यदवि.

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64 66 68 70 72

- 44 क्षरादो(दीन्) समादिशस्वस्तु यः संबिदितं(तम्) । यथा मयूरखण्डोममावामि-
 तन म-
 45 या श्रीमहादेवा ध्या¹ विघ्नमिकया मातापित्रीरामनर्षदिकामुचिकपुच्छयशोभिष्वये ॥²
 46 [धा]राशिववास्तव्यत³ वैविद्यमामान्यकाश्चपसगोचव(व)वृचसप्र(व)द्वाचारिणे भद्रमा[मो]-
 पवा-
 47 सिपौ[चा]य चण्डमभद्रमुताय महरिषिभष्याय मुरुस्व(स्व)विषयप्रतिव(व)इलोहारा-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 48 ग्रामः कोलद्वङ्ग[क—हरो]⁴कसमन्वितः⁵ तस्य चाघाटनानि पूर्वतः सवुलोहाराग्राम-
 49 : दक्षिणतः सुदुपग्रामद्वयं पश्चिम[तः] पिप्परिकाग्रामः माहरिजग्रामश्च ।⁶
 उत्त-
 50 रतः सामरिपलग्रामखेडग्रामौ । एवमयं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितो ग्रामः रि-
 51 यिगप्तेनापि निवर्त्तनशतचतुष्टयं(य)मात्मनिमि[त्तं] मान्यस्त्रिंशत्वा व(व)द्विंशत्वा(स्व)
 माधवशोध-
 52 रदो[धा]मषवकुटिदीक्षितप्रमुखानां षष्टिभागा[:⁷] तथा लोकभद्रयो[धर]दीक्षित-
 मयूक-
 53 द्विधेदिपुथिविभद्रप्रमुखानां प(ष)ष्टिभागाः एवं विंशोत्तरशत(तं) महाजनस्याङ्गरीकृतः
 मोदंगः स-
 54 परिकरः सदण्डदशापराधः सम्भूतोपात्तप्रन्थायः सौत्यदमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहिरण्या-
 दियः अघाट-
 55 भटप्रावेश्यः सर्वैराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः आचंदाकांस्वैर्वचि-
 56 तिसरित्पर्वतसमकाकोनः पुषपोचान्वयक्रमोप्रभोम्यः पूर्वप्रदत्तदेव-
 57 ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मदायवर्जितोभ्यंतरमिध्या⁸ भूमिद्वि⁹न्यायेन शकसृपकालातीतसंवत्सर-
 58 तेषु समस्त चतुस्तृहदधिकेषु¹⁰ मार्गेश्वर[:¹¹]श्वप्रतिपदि सूर्यमहमहापर्वणि व-
 (व)लिच-
 59 रुवैश्व(स्व)देवान्निहोत्तातिषिपश्चमहायज्ञकयो¹²ऋषेणात्मे स्थात्वाद्योदकातिसर्गे-
 60 च प्रतिपादितः यतोस्वीचिंतया ब्र(व)ह्मदायस्त्रिंशत्वा मुंजतो भोजयतः क्षयतः

¹ This shikha is redundant.

² These divides are superfluous.

³ Read: कवैरिषः.

⁴ The shikhas in the brackets appear to be inserted subsequently in place of the original ones.

⁵ Here and in some places below the rules of sandhi have not been observed.

⁶ This mark of punctuation is superfluous here.

Read: चिदा-.

⁷ Read: भूमिद्वि.

⁸ Read: कदमिकेषु.

⁹ Read: द्वितीयपर्वणात्.

- 61 कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैचिदस्यापि परिपंथना कार्या [१*] तथागामिभद्र-
रुपति-
62 भिरक्षरंश्वेरन्वीर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युज्जोलान्धनिर्वीक्ष्यर्थाणि तु-
63 शाश्वतमनवतविदुचक्षुर्ल च योवितमाकन्यस्य सदायनिर्विशीपोयमन्यदा(दा)(यो*)-
नुमंतव्यः

Third Plate : Second Side.

- 64 प्रतिपालयितव्यं [१*] यथाज्ञानतिमिरपटलाद्गतमतिराष्ट्रिंश्यादाच्छिद्यमानकं धातुमो-
65 देत स पंचभिर्महापातत्रैः संयुक्तः [१*] स्यात् [१*] उक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासिन
व्यासेन [१*] पट्टि
66 वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः [१*] आच्छेत्ता धातुमन्ता च तान्येष नरके
वसेत् [१*] । [१२८*] विंध्या-
67 टवीधतोयासु यथाकोटरवाभिः [१*] ज्ज्वाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदानं चरति
ये । [१२०*] व(श्)ह-
68 भिवंसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः समरादिभिः [१*] यस्य वस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
तदा फलं(लम्) । [१२१*]
69 सदात्ता(तां) परदत्ता वा यत्राद्रव नराधिप [१*] मही मही(मता)* येठ
दानाच्छ्रेयोत्पादनं(नम्) । [१२२*]
70 इति कमलदलाव(तु)विं(विं)दुलोलां शु(चि)यमनुचिंत्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [१*] धनि-
विमलमनीभिरा-
71 त्मनोर्गेन हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्या [१२३*] लिखितं च श्रीचक्रणादित्येन
वक्तराज-
72 सुतुता [१*] चंदिवकावयमा(मौ) दूतकी* ॥

No. 34.—SONE-EAST-BANK COPPER PLATE OF INDRADRA AND UDAYARAJA.

By HARIT KRISHNA DEB, CALCUTTA.

A copper-plate said to have been discovered in the river-bed near Sone-East-Bank, was brought to my notice by Prof. Satyendra Nath Bose, Professor of Physics, Dacca University, during the summer vacation of 1936. Prof. Bose has since then kindly sent me a photograph of the record after cleaning it at Dacca from which it is possible to read the text more clearly than from the original when shown to me before cleaning. I am grateful to Prof. Bose for his valuable help in the decipherment of the inscription.

* Read विंदु.

* Read महीमता.

* After श्री is inscribed a round figure indicating completion of the record.

The record consists of a single sheet of copper, engraved on both sides and contains 25 lines of writing, of which the first 24 occur on the first side. The last line on the reverse has a peculiarity; the original record had left a considerable blank space between its 13th *akṣara* (with which the text proper terminates) and the enumeration of the date in figures and words at the end: this space was afterwards filled out by another hand with 21 *akṣaras* out of which the last two could not be accommodated therein and were consequently inscribed lower down.

The language is Sanskrit. The text is partly in verse, partly in prose. There are a few mistakes due, no doubt, to the scribe; but these are of minor importance. The alphabet agrees more or less closely with Tafel V, columns XX-XXIII, in Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*.

The object of the document is to record the grant of a village called *Gambhāri*, by the *Mahāmāyādātā* Udayarāja whose overlord was the king Indradhavalā, jointly to the Brahmins, Dhārṣevara and Mahāditya in the proportion of three to two. The interpolated portion of line 28—*upādhyāya-Dhārṣevaraṇa panchakārya-dhūmīr-dātā Chakradhātā-grāma*—seems intended to specify the apportionment so far as concerned Dhārṣevara; if so, the village must have been alternatively designated *Chakradhātā*. The document (except this interpolated portion) was caused to be written by the Thakkura *Irī-Sujana*, the *Akṣapatalika*.

The record opens with an invocation to Śiva (ll. 1-2). It then proceeds to set out, with suitable eulogia, the lineage of king Indradhavalā: the founder of his family was Khadirapāla in whose lineage was born king Sādhava, from whom was born king Raṇadhavalā, whose son was the king Pratāpadhavalā, whose son was the king Śrī-Sāhana, whose son was the king Śrī-Vikrama, whose brother was the great king (*mahārīpati*) Indradhavalā. The next enumeration (ll. 12-16) appertains to the family of Udayarāja: his descent is traced back to the Kadambas, in whose lineage was born Samarasimha, whose son Praharāja became the Prime Minister (*pradhāna-mukhya*) to the (unnamed) king of the line of Khadirapāla; his son, Udayarāja, was a feudatory (*mahāmāyādātā*) under Indradhavalā.

It is stated (ll. 15-16) that Udayarāja was left 'in charge' while his overlord, king Indradhavalā, was engaged in sports, surrounded by women. Possibly, Indradhavalā was, at the time, staying at Udayana, which seems identifiable with the town Rihār (see *infra*, p. 225), since there is a reference to the place (ll. 9-10) in association with his ability for sport, *śloka* the sport of conquest (*Indradhātā upa Udayanaḥ* [*Irī**] *prajāt-pratāpa-lamana-śrīgā-gurudhātā-dyutiḥ*).

The grant was made (ll. 16-18) at Kavanāra (or Navinara)* *patṭaṇa** (= mod. Nabinagar), after notifying, ordering and explaining to the assembled inhabitants of the village Gambhāri as well as to the king's officers beginning with the heir-apparent (*yama-śiṣa*) and ending with the subordinate rulers and the military officers (*sāmanta-samudhātā*). The rights conferred by the grant are enumerated in ll. 18-19; they are the usual ones found in the records of the period. The date is given (ll. 19-20) in words as: Śrīmad-Vikramāditya *śūdraka-kāla-samantat-chakradhātāchakradhātā-chakradhātā Kārtika-māsasya pūrṇimāṇa* (yān) *tāda Śiva-dēva*, 'in the year of Śrīmad-Vikramāditya, twelve centuries and fifty-four, on the full-moon day (*pūrṇa*) of the Kārtika month, on Monday', and regularly corresponds to Monday, the 27th October, A.D. 1197.

In ll. 20-22 are set out the genealogies of the two donors: (1) *upādhyāya-Śrī-Dhārṣevara*, of the *Brāhmaṇa* caste, and the Bhāradvāja-*gṛha*, grandson of *parvita Irī-Vīra* (or) *deva*, son of

* The meter requires a syllable like *śrī*: in the record itself *śrī* does not occur. (The reading is *śrī*, not *śrī* and I suggest the restoration *śrī-śrī**) which is in keeping with the *śrī* introduced in the verse. According to my reading there should be no reference to Udayanapura or Rihār.—Ed.]

* [See below, p. 229, n. 2.—Ed.]

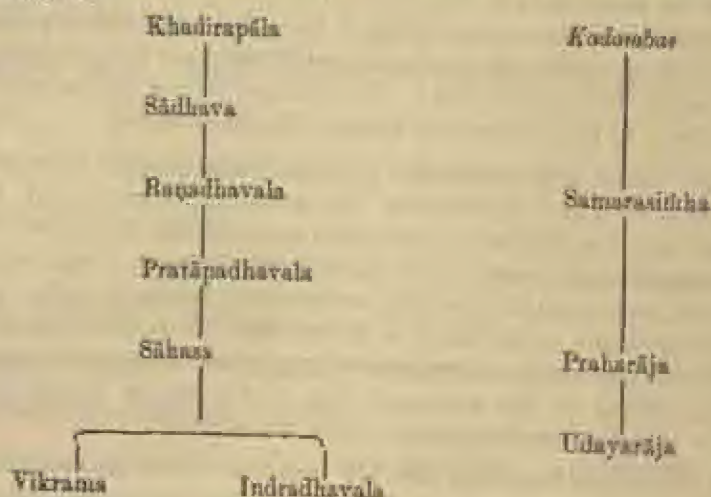
devastāśī¹ śrī-Ri(Ri)shi, and (2) *paṇḍita śrī-Mahāditya*, of the *Brāhmaṇa* caste, and the *Kauṭika-gōtra*, grandson of *paṇḍita śrī-Srīdhara*, son of *paṇḍita śrī-Kīrtipāla*.

In ll. 22-23 occur the statements that the grant was made by a copper-plate with the usual auspicious ceremonies and the injunction that the customary rights should be given to the donees in obedience to the established custom.

Lines 23-27 contain the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses relating to land-grants.

Lines 27-28 record that the document was caused to be written by the *Akṣhapāṭalika*, *Thakura śrī-Sujana*, a scion of the *Śrī-Vāstavya-kāyastha* community and the date is repeated in figures.

The historical value of this record is considerable. The following pedigrees of two ruling lines—one tracing itself back to *Khadirapāla*, another to *Samarasimha* of the *Kadamba* stock—are disclosed:



We already possess some knowledge about Pratāpadhavala. In his *Memoir on The Pālas of Bengal* (1913), the late Mr. R. D. Banerji wrote—

"During the reign of Lakṣmanapala the western part of Magadha seems to have passed into the hands of the Gāhādvāla Kings of Kanauj. The local rulers practically acquired independence, as an example of which we may cite the name of the Mahādāyaka Pratāpadhavala of Jāpūla.² The earliest record of this generation is a short rock inscription near the Totrahi Falls in the Shahabad District, the date of which corresponds to 19th April, 1153 A.D. According to an unpublished inscription at Rohtasgaḍh, the King set up some monuments on the 27th March, 1169 A.D. In the same district, there is another rock inscription at Tārāchandi inscribed in the Vikrama era 1225, corresponding to 1169 A.D. According to another inscription at Rohtasgaḍh, the family to which this dynasty belonged is called Khayāravāla *Paṭān*. The relation between this chief and the Gāhādvāla Kings of Kanauj has been made clear by the Tārāchandi inscription of the same prince. This inscription was edited by Dr. Pitt-Erward Hall in 1860. According to this inscription, in Samvat 1225 on Wednesday, the 3rd day of the dark half of Jyaisṭha, = 15th April

¹ The reading *devastāśī* was first made out by Prof. Thom. It signifies a person keeping the sacred fire known as *devastāśī* which, together with four other fires, would be called *pañcā-śrīnayaṇā*. We are reminded of the tradition that five *pañcā-śrīnayaṇa* Brahmins were imported into Bengal by "Adāśa."

² Cf. the expression... *śrīmaṇ-Jāpūlīga-Oṭāṇḍīga-charapa-panḍita-paryupāsana-jana* ... applied to Indradhavala in ll. 11-12 of our record. Jāpūla is modern Jagla.

1169 A.D., Pratāpādihavala announces that a certain copper-plate recording the grant of the villages of Kalabandi and Bagapiliā has been obtained by several Brāhmanas by bribing one, Deu, the slave of King Vijayacandra of Kānyakubja. The inscription finally adds that the proprietary share of the rent should be collected yearly as before. This inscription shows very clearly that though Pratāpādihavala was semi-independent, he was obliged to recognize the suzerainty of the Gāhādavāla King of Kanauj. The villages stated above within his territories could be granted by the King of Kānyakubja to anybody he liked." (Memoirs A. S. B., Vol. V, pp. 167-81.)

The *Khayāra* of the Rohtasgadh inscription is evidently the *Khadirapāla* of our record. Reading between the lines the conventional eulogies attached to the prince descended from 'the great family' of Khadirapāla, we feel that it was Pratāpādihavala who probably first attained an independent status by war; he is designated *Śankara* and specially likened to Śiva in his aspect as the destroyer of the pride of Dakṣha. His son, Sāhasa, was doubtless an independent monarch, since he is described as being revered by kings once his enemies (... *prajāntarī-karīndra-mauli-māṇikya-kākanada-pūjita-pāda-pīṣha*). I understand from Prof. Bose that there is a place called Sāhasapura near the find-spot of the record; it may have been named after Sāhasa. And it is interesting to observe the close resemblance, in style and phraseology, between our inscription and the copper-plate land-grants of the Gāhādavāla kings the cessation of whose suzerainty over rulers of this region must have been a matter of recent history when the present record was issued.

King Vikrama, son of Sāhasa, is described in rather tame terms. His enemies are stated to have avoided facing a fight with him out of fear for the strength of his arms (v. 7).

King Indradēva, also called Indradhavaladēva and Indradhavalā, was a brother of Vikrama. He seems to have considerably enlarged his kingdom by warfare. His titles, *parama-Mādhava*, *vār-Hara-vihāra-Chaturvāna* and *Mahānripa*, imply high status; the first two appear modelled on the styles *parama-Mādhava* and *Vāchaspati* of the Gāhādavālas. His other epithet, *amara-niṣkankamalla*, suggests connection with the Chālukyas; we may compare the epithet *Niṣkankamalla* applied to king Vallabhasena who married a Chālukya princess, Rāmadēvi, as proved by copper plate inscriptions of the Śena kings.¹ In Ceylon, also, about this time, we come across a king called Kittimissakka, said to have belonged to the Kalīnga race.²

Indradhavaladēva, according to our inscription, was successful with his sword against his foes and is described as having shone in the sport of conquest at *Udyanna* or *Udyanna*. *Udyanna* or *Udyanna* seems to be identical with Tāranāth's *Udayapuri*, going back to some such form as *Uddiyana* or *Uddina*.³ Alberuni⁴ gives the form *Udayapur*, in connection with his statement that the *Rhāṣṭrikī* lipi ("script used by Buddhist monks") was current in that place situated in *Pūrva-dāra*.

The laudatory chief Udayarāja claims to belong to the *Kalamba-kula*⁵ and is styled *Mahā-māṇḍalika*. He seems to have been connected with the Kadambas of Goa: our copper-plate

¹ The full given by Banerji are: *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 311; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, App., pp. 22, No. 152; *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 547.

In Buchanan's *Shalohad Report* (Patna 1934), we are told of an inscription setting out the succession of these rulers (p. 46), wherein Pratāpa, Vikrama and Sāhasa figure; but afterwards there are names which seem to indicate a change of dynasty. At p. 48 of this Report there is mention of another inscription naming Pratāpa and Sāhasa; it is apparently identical with No. 1730 of the "List of Inscriptions of Northern India" (above, Vol. XX, App.).

² Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, pp. 58, 107, 118 etc.

³ Chalmers (P. T. S. ed.), ib. 80.

⁴ *India*, Vol. I, p. 173 and Vol. 2, p. 314 (transl. Sachau).

⁵ There is now a regular trouble on the Kadambas entitled *The Kadamba-Kula* by G. M. Moraes (Bombay, 1931) a copy of which was kindly placed at my disposal by Prof. S. K. Chatterji.

⁶ [See above, p. . n. . . Ed.]

begins with an invocation to Śiva as enemy of the demon Tripura, and we know that the family deity of the Goa Kadambas was Śiva in the same aspect (as *Sapta-līṅ-guṇa*). The style *Mahā-māṇḍalikā*, known to have been affected also by Īṣvaraḥḍa in the Raṅganj copper-plate, seems to have been superior to the style *Mahāmāṇḍalikā* adopted by the feudatory families of the Kanarese Districts including the Goa Kadambas. In a copper-plate grant dated Śaka 1017, the Śiṅhāra prince Anantāditya (or Anantapāla) calls himself *Mahāmāṇḍalikā* as well as *Mahāmāṇḍalikarāṭhipati*; so that we may perhaps presume that Udayarāja had *Mahāmāṇḍalikā* under him. He may have been connected also with the Kadambas of Kaliṅga—a line of feudatory chiefs under the Gāḍga kings; his father's name, Prabhurāja, points in the same direction, since it is a family surname in Orissa; the surname occurs in Orissan records, e.g., in the Puri copper-plate of Nṛsiṃhadeva IV, dated Śaka 1305, and the inscription of A.D. 1436 on the Jayvijaya doorway in the Temple of Jagannātha at Puri.*

Prabhurāja, father of Udayarāja, is stated to have been Prime Minister (*pradhāna-samāna*) to an unnamed prince of the family of Khadīrapāla. This prince was in all probability Sāhasa. Some link between Prabhurāja and Sāhasa seems to be suggested by the circumstance that the words *sam*, *vairi*, *pragata* and *līṭi* employed by the composer of our record in his description of Sāhasa are repeated by him in his description of Prabhurāja, and both descriptions are couched in the same metre, *Varaṇalīlaka*. Regarding Samarāditya, father of Prabhurāja, described in our copper-plate as belonging to the Kadamba stock, it would be interesting to investigate data which might lead to his identity. In the *Prithvirāja Vijaya*, a *Kādamba-Vāma* figures as Chief Adviser to Prithvirāja who was victorious over the Muhammadans in 1192 A.D.¹ In the *Prithvirāja Rāsā*, a similar rôle is played by a *Samar-Sing*. Tod² who identifies him with the ruler of Chitor, says: "The bard represents him as the Ulysses of the host; brave; cool, and skilful in the fight; prudent, wise, and eloquent in Council; pious and decorous on all occasions; beloved by his own chiefs, and revered by the vassals of the Chaulian." It seems possible that Prithvirāja's Chief Adviser was remembered by his family-designation *Kādamba-Vāma* (*-Kādamba-Vāma*) in the tradition embodied in the *Prithvirāja Vijaya*, while he was remembered by his personal name *Samar-Sing* in the tradition relied on by the author of the *Prithvirāja Rāsā* and that the latter confounded him with a homonymous personage who ruled over Chitor long after Prithvirāja. If so, we might perhaps think of identifying this *Kādamba-Vāma Samar-Sing* with our *Kādambakuldevatama Samamānīya*.

Our inscription shows that Udayana (Bihār)³ was, even at the end of October, A.D. 1197, not yet conquered by the Muhammadans. But its fall was not delayed. The event is usually assigned to the year A.D. 1197. It probably happened slightly later. There is every reason to believe that the capture of Nadiā took place in the cold season of A.D. 1199. The data given in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* seem to have the effect of placing the capture of the 'Fortress of Bihār' less than one year before the fall of Nadiā. We are told⁴ that Muhammad-i-Bakhtyār, after obtaining a fief in the Mirāṭpur District, used to make occasional incursions into the territories of Monghyr ('Muṣur') and Bihār; and with the plunder thus secured, he organised an attack upon the fortified city called 'Bihār'. The attack succeeded, and the victor went with valuable booty to Qutb-ud-din who bestowed on him special favours. Meanwhile, astrologers at Nadiā announced their

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 35.

² *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIV (1899), pp. 132, 134; and Vol. LXV (1900), pp. 39, 92.

³ *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 277.

⁴ *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*. (Ed.—W. Crookes), Vol. I, p. 301.

⁵ [See above, p. 222, n. 1.—Ed.]

⁶ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, transl. Raverty, (Bibl. Ind.), Vol. 2, pp. 243E.

prediction that the man who had captured Bihār would invade Nadiā "next year", whereupon the king Rai Lakṣmanīya (=Lakṣmaṇasēna) permitted those who did not desire contact with the Muhammadans to leave his capital. We know from the *Adbhutaśūtra* that the king was a believer in astrology; we may take it that he believed in the prophecy and was preparing to leave Nadiā, when Muhammad-i-Bakhtyār, posing as a horse-dealer, made his surprise attack on the palace. It would be reasonable to infer that the surprise-attack was launched before the period assured by the prophecy; in other words, not more than about one year elapsed between the fall of the 'Bihār-fortress' and the capture of Nadiā.

It appears from the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* account that the district of Monghyr ('Munee'), Sbe Bihār, was at this period independent of Lakṣmagasēna ('Rai Lakṣmanīya'). Local tradition remembers it to have been under a Hindu king of Magadha called *Inderdaun* who is said to have succumbed to the Muhammadans led by Muhammad-i-Bakhtyār. The stronghold of Inderdaun is reputed to have been at Jaynagar (near Kiud) where, the story goes, his treasury was located. According to O'Malley¹, the Jaynagar tradition affirms that Inderdaun had "a trusted warrior, whom he raised to the highest posts, until at last he asked for the hand of his master's daughter in marriage. The king was very angry, and had a cavern made in which he placed all his treasure. When all was safely stowed away, the king invited his general to see his treasury, and when he unsuspectingly went in, he let fall the trap-door and sealed it with a magic seal. It was not long before he suffered for thus killing his best general; for the Muhammadans came down and drove him a fugitive from place to place, until he was obliged to fly to Orissa." According to Waddell² 'forts' ascribed to Inderdaun are pointed out by local people at Mt. Uran, 20 miles south-west of the town of Monghyr.

We may perhaps identify this *Inderdaun* with the *Indradhavalādēva* or *Indradēva* of our copper-plate. The element *-dhavalā* is found in the style *Vikrama-dhavalā* applied in a Kadamba record to a Chalukya king otherwise known as *Vikramāditya*³; our inscription also has a pun on *-dhavalā* with reference to our *Vikramārjuna* (i. *dhavalā-saramūrgaḥ Vikramārjunasya rājāḥ* .. II. 8-9). The name *Inderdaun* is usually restored to Skt. *Indradymma*, where the element *-dymma* seems to correspond to the *-dēva* in *Indradēva*. It is worth while enquiring if the 'trusted warrior' whom Inderdaun 'raised to the highest posts' was identical with our *mahā-mūḍgalika* Udayarāja.

TEXT.

[Metres: v. 1, *Śraṅgīharā*; vv. 2, 8, *Mālinī*; v. 3, *Śikharīṇī*; vv. 4, 6, 9 and 14, *Sārdulavīri-ḍita*; vv. 5, 7, 10-12, *Vasantatilakā*; v. 13, *Indrasujarā*; vv. 15-20, *Amśakulā*; v. 21, *Pushpilūgrā*.]

Obverse.

- 1 ॐ [१] सुव्यक्तमार्गवानि स्वलदमरधुवो भातिलचिह्नैराणि मस्यस्त्रोषोधराणि
मयस्रचतलोत्थिततारीकराणि ॥(१) मल्लदुमन्तलानि ममदसरसुरीमुत्तहाहा-
- 2 रणाणि वामस्ताम्बः समस्ताक्षिपुर्हरमजाताकवाडम्ब(म्ब)राणि ॥[११] मज्जति सदिश-
पातस्तान्वये दुर्द्धिवागसदसमर्षेभ्यः साधवः क्वाधरोऽमृत(त्) ॥(१) यद-
मिहलम[म]-

¹ Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Monghyr, Patna, 1926, pp. 218-9.

² J. A. S. B., 1902, pp. 111.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. IV, pp. 205-6.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

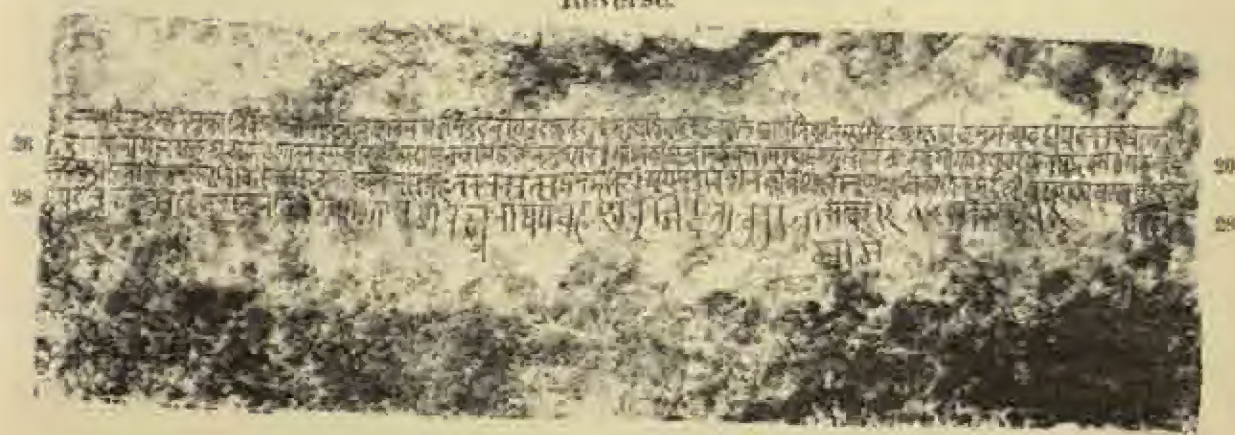
- 3 स्तारातिमत्तेमकुम्भस्त्रविगलितसुहृन्नाङ्गता संगरथीः ॥[२॥*] ततो जातः श्रीमान-
गणितगुणधामरुचिभिर्यशोभिस्तोत्रोभिस्त्रिजगद्वतीर्षाद्भुतभवः [१*] म-
- 4 हापोरो वैरिव्यतिकरशिरःशेषिमणिभिः स्फुरत्पादोपान्तो रणधवलनामा चित्तिपतिः
॥[३॥*] तत्पुत्रो भगवान्शीनकटकः सद्गतिशोभाकरः शङ्खाव(व)स्युरवीरभद्रसहितः
सं[रुक्त]-
- 5 शक्तिक्रमः ॥(१) नानादर्शनभोग्यमूर्त्तिमहिमाद्ययंप्रचारो वृषप्रस्थानीऽतिव(व)लः प्रताप-
धवलो लोकेश्वरः शङ्करः ॥४॥*] तस्वाब्जः प्रणतवैरिनरेन्द्रमौलिमाणिक्य-
शोभन[दपु]-
- 6 जितपादपीठः [१*] श्रीसाहसो नरपतिः सुरसुन्दरीभिरुद्गीयमानभुजविक्रमविभ्र-
मश्रीः ॥५॥*] वैकुण्ठीवकरप्रतिष्ठलवद्वयीजम्बु(म्बु)कान्तिच्छटानुष्टाकीभिरुदार-
विक्रम[तयो य]-
- 7 स्तोर्तिविस्फूर्तिभिः [१*] षटाः प्रस्फुरितोकिमेदुरचतुःपाशोपिविच्छेदितश्चाचक्रेण
करालिता युसुयुमायन्ते समन्तादिशः ॥६॥*] तस्यात्मजस्त्रिभुवनप्रवरप्रवीरः
चौ[वि]क्त-
- 8 मो नरपतिर्विजयो जगत्वा [१*] यस्य प्रचण्डभुजदण्डवलत्पाणवस्तारयो युधि-
शूरं विमुर्षीभवन्ति ॥७॥*] रिपुतिमिरनिजायः सस्तम्भगणकथीः सरति मि-
रिदरीभ्योऽखण्डजे म-
- 9 ण्डलाघे हृतरिपुकुसुदामे धामभिर्दामधाम्नी धयलितसुरमार्गे विक्रमाकैस्य राज्ञः
॥[८॥*] तद्वाता शितसङ्घर्षाण्डतरिपुर्चौरिन्द्रदेवो नृप उवाचे जगत्ताप-
शमनक्री-
- 10 जगतिष्ठद्युतिः । गोभिन्निवपराश्रयकारपटलसंलब्ध(व)प्रण्योदयः साक्षाच्चन्द्र इवापरी-
विलयते भूमीयन्वूडामणिः ॥[९॥*] दुग्धाब्जि(ब्जि)कैनरुचयो यदरिप्रिया-
णाम[प्यु]-
- 11 यतानि जहति स्तनमण्डलानि [१*] नेत्रोत्पलादिगलदन्धनमिश्रितायुसंपर्कसंभवकल-
हमिवैव हाराः ॥[१०॥*] शौर्यं श्रीमन्नापिलीयवर्षाण्डकाचरणपट्टेनपर्युपासन-
- 12 परपरमभास्त्रेखरसमरनिःशङ्कमङ्गसारितरविचारचतुराननमहानृपतिश्रीमदिन्द्रधवलदेवत वि-
जयिता । धामोत्कलो किल कदम्ब(म्ब)कुलावतम्भः(तंसः)
- 13 स्फूर्ज्यद्यथा समरसिंहे इति प्रसिद्धः । तस्यात्मजः खदिरपालकुलप्रदीपश्चाप-
प्रधानसचिवः प्रहराजनामा ॥[११॥*] पाचि खिरः सुरगुरोः स समान-
व(वु)ष्टिः प्रख्यातकौत्सरम-

* [See above, p. 223, n. 1.-24.]

Obverse.



Reverse.



- 14 वयस्यतानुकम्पी । यस्य प्रतापदङ्गासमतापतताः स्वर्गोपि शान्तिमुपयान्ति न
वैरिवीराः ॥[१२॥*] तन्नन्दनो वन्दिजनाभिन्नन्दो वामेक्षणावीक्षणागलवः [१*] [यी]-
15 मन्त्रहामाण्डलिकः संजात[स्मृष्टः] कलासूदयराजनामा ॥[१३॥*] यस्मोदयसमय-
सङ्गरमिलयत्वंधिपुष्पोपतिप्रोहामेभघटाभिपाटनपटौ दोर्दण्डधुम्ने
16 स्वयं । साम्नालं(न्यं) सकलं निधाय विजयद्रुमाजनेराहतः स्वैरं वीरनरेन्द
इन्द्रधवलः क्रौडारसं सेवते ॥[१४॥*] स महामाण्डलिकस्योदयराजः ।
न[वने]रपत्तना-
17 यो । मन्धाराधामनिवासिलोकानुपगतानपि च राज्ञो दुवराजमन्त्रिपुरोहितभाण्डा-
गारिकापटलिकप्रतौह्वारनैमित्तिकान्तःपुरिकदृतकरितुरगोद-
18 नौसाधनिकदण्डनायकसामन्तसैन्याधिकारिकानाज्ञापयत्यादिशति वो(वो)धयति च विदि-
तमस्तु भवतां यद्योपरिलिखितयामं स्वशी(सी)भापर्यन्तं सजलस्त्रलं
19 सलोहलवणाकरं सगर्तोपरः(र) साम्भधुक् वनवाटिकातुणजन्तुगोचरपर्यन्तं सोर्द्धाधव-
तुरावाटिविशुष्टं श्रीमदिकमादित्यश्च द्वादशशतसम्बन्धरे
20 चतुःपंचायहर्षे(र्षा)धिके कात्तिकमासस्य पूर्णिमास्यां(या) त्रिंशो सोमदिने ॥ भारद्वा-
जगोत्राय ब्रा(ह्म)ह्मणजातीयपण्डितश्रीवाच(सु)देवपौत्राय चावसधिशीरि(स्त्र)विपु-
त्राय उपा-
21 ध्यावशीधारेस्वराय यक्षै संयचयं १ तथा कौशिकगोत्राय ब्रा(ह्म)ह्मणजा-
तीयपण्डितश्रीश्रीधरपौत्राय पण्डितश्रीकौर्त्तिपालपुत्राय पण्डितश्रीमहादित्याय
यक्षै संय-
22 इयं २ विधिवत्(त्) कृत्वा मातापितोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिहृदये गोकर्ण-
कुशकुसुमकरतलोदकपूर्णे कृत्वा चन्द्राक्षे यावन्तामेधोदकपूर्वेण यास्योक्त्य
23 प्रदापितवानिति सत्वा भागभोगादिकं यथादीक्षमानं पूर्वप्रवाहेनाज्ञाविधेयीभूय
दास्यथ [१*] तथा हि भवन्त्यत्र पौराणिकाः श्लोकाः । भूमिं यः प्रतिष्ठन्नाति
24 यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति [१*] उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गमाप्तिनौ
॥[१५॥*] ष(व)डुमिर्व्यंश(सु)धा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिर्दंष्ट्रं यस्य यदा-
भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-

Reverent

- 25 जम् ॥[१६॥*] छिरण्यमणिमुक्तानि यस्माच्छाभरणानि च [१*] तेन सर्वमिदं
दत्तं येन दत्ता वय(सु)न्धरा ॥[१७॥*] षट्षिषसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति
भूमिदः [१*] चावेता चानुमत्ता(न्ता) च द्वे(षे)व नरकं व्रजेत(त्) ॥[१८॥*]-

* Road मुद्रात ग न जात.

* [I would read. पुनस्ता. —Ed.]

* Road कर्मादिभिः । यश्च.

- 26 तडागानां सङ्ख्येन शस्त्रमेधयतेन च [१*] गवां कीटिप्रदानेन भूमिहतां न
सु(श)ध्यति ॥[१८१*] गामैकां क्षणमेकं च भूमेरप्यहमङ्गलं [१*] हर-
रजमायाति यावदाहृतस(सं)ष्टवम् ॥[२०॥*] सकलमि-
- 27 दमुदाहृतविम(श)स्य क्षुतिविहितं हितमाकली नरेन्द्राः [१*] तरलतरतरङ्ग-
विमं स्वयमनुचिन्त्य न कीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[२१॥*] लिख्यपितमिदं
त्रोवास्तव्यकायस्त्रान्दयाच-
- 28 पटनिकठकुरच्योसुजननेति ॥ 'उपाध्यायधारेस्त्राय पंचहस्य भूमिर्दत्ता(त्ता) शु-
द्धया ग्रामे' सम्वत् १२४४ कार्तिक्यदि १५ बीमे ।

No. 35.—SRINGH-RISHI INSCRIPTION OF PRINCE MOKALA.

By SAMSKRITI PT. ASHRAYA KEERTY VYAS, M.A., UDAIPUR.

The inscription under consideration was noticed for the first time by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Śhā in the *An. Rep. Rajasthan Museum, Ajmer*, 1924-25. He has also made full use of this record in his *Rājaputāna kā Itihāsa*.¹ But as the record is not yet published in full I edit it here for the first time at the instance of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

The place known as *Sringh-rishi* is situated in the heart of hills about a mile and a half west of the village *Vikharagi* which is about four miles south-east of the famous shrine of Śrī *Eklingji* and is rather difficult of access.

The inscription is fixed in a niche in the western wall of a small verandah below the temple whose plinth is about 4 ft. high from a small reservoir of water the construction and subsequent consecration of which is the main theme of the record.

Excluding *Srīh(Srī)Viṣṇu Mō(trē namaḥ)* on the top, there are in all thirty-one and a half lines of writing in the inscription which covers a space about 1' 10" broad by 1' 3" high. The record is engraved on a slab of black stone which has been damaged by two big cracks running almost parallel to each other. In addition to these cracks the slab is broken in three places thus destroying portions of the inscription.

With regard to the palaeography attention may be drawn to the representation of the medial vowels *e*, *ai*, *ō* and *au* which are joined to the consonants both by *prishtha-mātṛā* and by *śiro-mātṛā* side by side; for examples of *e* and *ō* cf. *par-īsharēṣu* (l. 8) and *kṛōḥ-śikūḥ* (l. 6) and for *ai* and *au* cf. *uttamataraiḥ* and *svap-ādilaiḥ* (l. 18) and *tikau* (l. 17) and *prauḍha* (l. 9). This method of indicating the *mātṛā* may be due to the fact that though by this time Nāgarī characters had assumed almost a definite form, the representation of the medial vowels, particularly the diphthongs, was still in a state of transition.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Of the few minor mistakes it shows, it may be pointed out that the dental nasal has been employed for the palatal one in *gaḥā-gṛhāḥān-pitā* (l. 5); *kaichit-samāḥ* (l. 6) has been used for *kāichit-samāḥ* and *śō-yash-prajānāḥ* (l. 27, r. 28)

¹ This portion beginning with *उपाध्याय* is written in a different hand.

² The word *दामे* which the scribe could not fit into the space available was written below the line.

³ For quotations from this record, see *Rājaputāna kā Itihāsa*, Part II, foot-notes on pp. 649-50.

for *śrīgaurā pratisthā*. The word *gaurā* in *manḍal-śrīgaurā-gaḥ* (l. 9) is evidently a *śrī* word. Besides, there are some mistakes of engraving which are noticed in dealing with the text.

Regarding orthography we find that the dental sibilant has once been employed for the palatal one in *Sambhar-akṛpā* (l. 17). So also *r* has once been used for *ṛ* in *śrīśa śaṅk-śaṅk* (l. 29). Consonant after *r* is occasionally reduplicated. The whole inscription is in verse except adoration to *Vīṇa-Mā* (l. 15) (at the top) and *Bhagavati* (l. 1), as well as portions of ll. 28 and 32.*

The inscription belongs to the time of prince **Mokala** of **Mewār** whose date of accession† is not yet definitely known; and its object is to record the consecration of a small reservoir of water constructed by him at the hilly site known as **Śringī-rishi**, thereby to achieve bliss in the other world for one of his wives, named **Gaurāmbikā**, who was apparently not living at the time. She came of the **Rāgholā** family and was the daughter of some prince, only last three syllables of whose name, *... rāgholā* are visible in the text now preserved. The ceremony took place on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of **Śrāvaṇa** in the **Vikrama** year 1485 (= A.D. 1428). Mokala accompanied by his other wife **Māyagaurī** worshipped the sage **Rishyaśringa** and with the permission of his religious preceptor **Triśoḥana** consecrated the reservoir.

The inscription is important inasmuch as it gives some historical information with regard to the four successive princes **Hamūira**, **Kaḥṣira**, **Lakṣa** and **Mokala**. It opens with an invocatory verse in praise of **Bhārati**, the goddess of learning; in the next verse the poet declares his intention of describing the prince born in the family of **Bappa**. Then begins the genealogy from **Hamūira** to **Mokala**.

It has been said about **Hamūira** that he captured the city **Chōla** by name, and conquered by his might the notorious **Bhils** who were his enemies. He went to **Ranāthambhala** or **Ranāthambhor**, and there killed **Jaitrāsvara** who was inimical to him. He also reduced **Paṭṇapāpura** to submission.

Chōla as mentioned here is the **Chōla-vāṇa** of the **Eklingī** inscription of V.S. 1543* (= A.D. 1488) and the **Chōla** of modern times, situated on a high plateau on the north-western border of **Mewār**, overlooking the territory of **Gōḍwār**, a part of **Mārwār**. From the time of prince **Bai Mal** (A.D. 1473-1509), this place has been in the possession of a **Solankī** **Sardār** as his *phir*. Formerly this **Sardār** held authority over some portion of **Gōḍwār** also, which was in all probability conquered by **Hamūira** together with **Chōla**. Before the time of **Bai Mal**, the place might have been in the possession of the **Chauhāṇa**†. His victory over **Bhils** means that **Hamūira** had also acquired the portion of **Mewār** now known as **Bhāmata**, almost fully occupied by the **Bhil** community, which evidently was not a part of **Mewār** at the time. Or, it may hint at

* See *Hemachandra's Dīptamāvalī*, p. 49 (ed. Bühler).

† Below this last half line of the record is clearly visible in the impression a line of writing too carelessly engraved to be legible. It appears to read *श्रीगौरीप्रतिष्ठा* and seems to be a later addition made by a mason engaged to repair the older structure of the verandah containing the inscription.

* No record helpful in definitely determining either the date of the death of prince **Lakṣa**, the father of **Mokala**, or the time of the latter's accession to the throne of **Mewār** has till now been discovered. But it is certain that **Mokala** ascended the throne prior to V.S. 1478 (= A.D. 1421) as an inscription of his reign found in a ruined Jain temple at **Jhwar** is dated in that year.

† It is not certain whether this is the concluding part of a personal or place name as the compound may be either *Kurumbhāṇa* or *Umīṭī* *Tatparaka*.

* The reading appears to be *श्रीगौरीप्रतिष्ठा* which, by metathesis, may stand for *श्रीगौरीप्रतिष्ठा*—(58), *Ranāthambhala*, popularly known as **Ranāthambhor**.

* *Bhāmata* inscriptions, pp. 117-23.

* *Rāj. Dīp.*, Fam. II, p. 548 n. 4.

the acquisition of the part of Mewār now known as Vāgaḍa (Vaṭapadraka of inscriptions), which at present forms the territory of two different states, viz., Dūngarpur and Bānewāra.¹ About the identification of Jaitrāvara, who died at the hands of Hammira, the present inscription does not give any clue. But in v. 25 of the Eklūṅgi inscription of V.S. 1545 mention has been made of a Jaitrakarya born in Hāchala (Idar), sustaining the loss of life at the hands of Hammira. The *Eklūṅga-māhātmya* also mentions Jitakarya, the *1/3-durgā-nāyaka* or 'the lord of the fort of Idar' as conquered by Hammira. Thus it is not difficult to ascertain that Jaitrāvara of the present record was none else than Jaitrakarya of the inscription at Eklūṅgi and Jitakarya of the *Eklūṅga-māhātmya*. He was, as is evident, the master of the fort of Idar, but when killed by Hammira he seems to have been at Ranthambhor as known from this record. There is absolutely no evidence to prove that Ranthambhor was a part of his dominions; but as it was at that time the centre of Rājput confederacy against the Pathān monarchy of Delhi, it seems quite probable that he might have gone there in connection with some such activity. The last exploit of Hammira as mentioned here is the reduction of Palhaḡāpura to ashes. The latter is the phonetically decayed form of Prahlādanapura. This city was founded by Prahlādanaditya, the younger brother of Dhāravaraha, the Paramāra ruler of Ābu. Formerly it was a part of the Paramāra dominion, but now it is the capital of a separate state known as Pālāpur.²

Hammira was succeeded by his son **Kaḥṭra** popularly known as **Khṭai**. With regard to him it has been recorded here that he conquered **Amī Śāha** in battle, leaving alive not a single man of his army, and brought his entire treasury and numberless horses to his own capital. He also demolished **Māṇḍalgarh** which a monarch as mighty as Alā-ud-din had dared not touch.

Though the present inscription is of little help in identifying Amī Śāha we are in a position to do so from other records. Thus, this event has been mentioned in v. 158 of the *Princes' chapters* of the *Eklūṅga-māhātmya*, as a bygone illustration to prince Kumbhā's victory over Mahamūd Khilji of Mālwa, where Amī Śāha, conquered and killed by Kaḥṭra, has been described as *Mālarpurī* or the Sultān of Mālwa. It is therefore clear that Amī Śāha whom prince Kaḥṭra defeated, was the governor of Mālwa, and the scene of this battle was somewhere in the vicinity of the famous fort of Chitor as recorded in v. 22³ of the unpublished inscription of V.S. 1517 (=A.D. 1450) located in the uppermost story of Kumbhā's Tower of Victory at Chitor. Thus Amī Śāha was none else than Dillāvar Khān Ghūri who was the first Sultān of Māṇḍu (Mālwa) as known from the *Memoirs of Jahāngir*.⁴ He was contemporary to the Delhi Sultān Mahamūd Tughlak Humāyūn at Bakrol.⁵ Here he has obviously been misled by the bardic chronicles wherein 'Amī' might have been identified with 'Humāyūn' on the meagre phonetic semblance between the two names; or the name of a well-known monarch such as Humāyūn might have been inserted in place of that of one who was not so well-known, a practice that was not infrequent among the bards of Rājputānā. Humāyūn ascended the throne in V.S. 1587 (=A.D. 1530), whereas Kaḥṭra's accession had taken place in V.S. 1431 (=A.D. 1364). They, therefore, could not be contemporary to each other. Rāj Bahadur Ojha says that Col. Tod had in his knowledge the dates of accession of both Kaḥṭra and Humāyūn, but that the misstatement was due to not comparing them at the time of writing.⁶

¹ *Raj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, p. 549, n. 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 549, n. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 583, n. 1.

⁴ A. Rogers' Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 407.

⁵ Tod's *Rajastān*, Vol. I, p. 221 (W. Crooke's ed.).

⁶ *Raj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, p. 365, para. 2.

Kabīra was succeeded by his son Laksha, about whom it has been stated in the present inscription that he was a prince of great religious ardour and that he freed Gayā of the burdensome tax levied by the Muhammadans, which all Hindu pilgrims had to pay. This tax was a source of great discomfort and torment to the Hindus and evidently prevented them to a great extent from undertaking any pilgrimages. Laksha, the pious Hindu prince, pacified the Muhammadan governor of Gayā with offers of gold and horses and got this tax totally abolished for the Hindus. This tax was in force not only at Gayā, but was, in fact, levied over *Trishali* or the three main Hindu religious centres, viz., Kāśī, Prayāga, and Gayā. Laksha got all these sacred places freed from the tax as known from v. 207¹ of the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.S. 1517 (=A.D. 1460). This meritorious deed of Laksha also finds mention in v. 38² of Rājāśāl's inscription of V.S. 1545 at Eklingji.

Mokala, the son of Laksha, succeeded the throne of Mewār after his father's death. According to this record he fought two battles, one with Firūz Khān and the other with Ahmad, wherein he utterly defeated both. This Firūz Khān was the son of Shams Khān Dandānī, the brother of Zafar Khān or Muzaffar Shāh I, whom Muhammad Tughluq II had appointed as the governor of Gujarat in place of Fakhru-d-daula and who afterwards became an independent Sultan.³ When Tatar Khān, the son of Muzaffar Shāh, having deprived his father of his kingdom, himself seized the throne, he appointed Shams Khān, his uncle, as his minister. Shams Khān afterwards poisoned Tatar Khān at the instigation of Muzaffar Shāh,⁴ his brother, and the latter being pleased with this service had bestowed upon him the *jāgīr* of Nāgaur.⁵ When Shams Khān died, his son Firūz Khān became the owner of Nāgaur. When he began to annoy Mokala by his foul intentions, the latter attacked Nāgaur and Firūz Khān fled from the field of battle and his army was utterly routed. This victory of Mokala over Firūz Khān is recorded not only in this inscription, but also in v. 51 of the Samīdhādeva's temple inscription⁶ at Chitor of the same year as the present one and in v. 44 of the Eklingji inscription of V.S. 1545. The event is also described in Persian chronicles such as *Tuhfāt-i Akbarī*, but there it is said that Rājā Mokala was defeated by Firūz Khān and three thousand men of his army were killed in the battle.⁷ This discrepancy between the two records—epigraphical and historical,—has wrongly led the author of *Firozshāh* to think of two battles fought between Firūz Khān and Mokala in one of which the latter was victorious and in the other defeated.⁸

Mokala's second battle as known from this record was waged against Ahmad wherein also the latter was defeated. It is rather difficult to ascertain who this Ahmad was. In v. 221⁹ of the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.S. 1517, Ahmad of our inscription has been confused with Muhammad whom Col. Tod has regarded as Nāsir-ud-din Mahmūd, the grand son of Firūz Tughluq, and the son of Muhammad Shāh, and whom he believes to have been defeated by Mokala near Rāipur in Mewār, on his way to Gujarāt to which direction he was fleeing after his defeat at the hands of Timūr in the battlefield of Pānipat.¹⁰ But this is not possible, for Timūr reached

¹ *Raj. Hills*, Fasc. II, p. 572, n. 1.

² *Ibid.*, Fasc. II, p. 111.

³ *Raj. Hills*, Fasc. II, p. 584.

⁴ Briggs, *Firozshāh*, Vol. IV, p. 9 and *Raj. Hills*, Fasc. II, p. 584.

⁵ *Raj. Hills*, Fasc. II, pp. 584-85.

⁶ Above, Vol. II, p. 417.

⁷ Bayley, *History of Gujarat*, p. 148, n. 5.

⁸ *Raj. Hills*, Fasc. II, p. 585, n. 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 596, n. 1.

¹⁰ Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 331 (W. Crooke's ed.).

Delhi on December 18, A.D. 1398, a period much prior to the accession of Mōkala. Therefore Ahmad of our inscription seems to be Ahmad Shāh I. of Gajratī who was a contemporary of Mōkala and the latter might have defeated him in some battle. It also seems quite probable that the author of the Kumbhalgarh inscription might have inserted by mistake *Mahmūd* in place of *Ahmad*, the two names being phonetically similar.¹ An attack of Ahmad Shāh I. of Gajratī directed against Jilwārū in the dominion of Rāpā Mōkala, after extracting tribute from the ruler of Dūngarpur, has been referred to in *Tahkik-i-Albārī* and *Tārīkh-i-Afṣ*, but this event is said to have taken place in A.H. 836 (A.D. 1433) which is five years later than the time of our inscription.² This shows that the fight referred to in our inscription is quite different from that mentioned in the Persian chronicles. It is possible that Mōkala had to fight Ahmad Shāh twice.

Other historical information from the record with regard to Mōkala is that he erected a strong rampart with three gates round the famous shrine of Śrī Ekālāgōjī. He weighed himself against gold, silver and other precious objects and gave them in charity as many as twenty-five times. He performed one of these ceremonies at the holy *Tīth* of Pushkar, on the full-moon day of the month of Kārtika.

The record was composed by one Yōgisvara who had the epithets *Pāṇisiddha* and *Kamariya*. These epithets show that he was a very learned man and was held in high esteem at that time. Nothing else is directly known of him from this epigraph. The use of *ru* in place of the vowel *ri* in *Rushyadrisinga-rushi* (l. 20), however, seems to suggest that he was a native of South India.

The mason (*śilpādāra*) was Phanā, the son of Hādā. According to the inscription he was a famous figure and was held in high respect by others of his profession, and was fully conversant with works on literature and architecture.

The date of the inscription, which is given both in numerals and in words is Sunday, the 5th of the bright half of Śrāvṇa in Sāhivar 1485. It seems to be irregular for it corresponds to Saturday, 17th July, 1428 A.D.

TEXT.*

श्रीः*पिम्बमा[चे नमः]

1[†] ॥०॥ श्रीमगवतौ नमः । देवी देवकिरीटरत्ननिकरासंशोभिपादांजुजा वीणास्काटि[क]

— — — — — [— — — —][‡] — — — — — । — — — — — ।
— — — — —

2 [भ]ारती नल्ला मोहहरी परा सचननी मुखाकिमदूषणा[नाम] ॥१[‡] वीरान्व

मजवंमलान[धि] — — — — — [य]याजुषि तान्वा[स्त्रि] — — — — — ।
— — — — — [हंमौर]राजा[दि]-

* *Ep. Ind.*, Fac. II, p. 320.

[†] Bayley, *Hist. of Oaj.*, p. 120, n. 4.

[‡] From ink-impressions and the original.

[§] Read *Śrī*.

* Each line generally ends with one or two dashes which are for the most part to be regarded either as ornamental or superfluous.

[†] Syllables within these brackets are only partially visible.

[‡] Notes : *Sādānandāśrīdhā*.

- 3 कान् । शङ्खाचक्रवाहिकाधिकलसत्स्वर्णप्रदानोद्यताश्वप्रामादितपैरिराजनिकरागौरी-
श[सिवाप]रान् ॥२१॥ शीघ्रं वपुलसंशभूषण[सनी] रूपेण पुष्पादुषो हृष्यो-
- 4 रो धरणीधरः । [स]मभवद्भीरः सुधीरो रथे । शिव्या व्यासवराचरा विजयिनो
यस्येदुकुन्दो[च्छ]न्ना कौर्त्ति[मूर्त्तिरि]वैश्वरी विजयते मान्या सदा भूभुजां
[जाम्] ॥२२॥ शिलाख्यं पुरमप्रहौद-
- 5 रिमणाविलासगुहागैहकाग्वि[स्त्र]त्वा तानस्त्रिणाविह्वल्य च वंलात्ख्यातासिना
सुमरे । यो म[त्वा] न[रघ]वजं समवधीक्षेध्वरं वैरिणं यो दूरस्थित-
- 6 पत्न्यापुरमपि क्रोधाकुलो दम्भवान् ॥२३॥ एवं सर्वमर्कटकं समगमद्रुमंडलं
भूपतिर्हसीरो जल[नाम्बरः] सुरपदं संपाण्य क[का]क्षिकमाः ॥२४॥ सम्यग्-
मैडरं ततः स्वतन-
- 7 [यं] सुखाय राज्ये निजं चेवं चक्रियंशमंडनमणिं प्रत्यर्थिकालानलं[कम्] ॥२५॥
याजावमौसाहमसिप्रभावाजित्वा च हत्वा यवनानगेषान् ॥२६॥ या कोम-
लातं तुरगानसंख्य[१]-
- 8 त्मानयत्स्नां किञ्च राजधानी[नौम] ॥२७॥ टिळी[चार]पुरेश्वरेण वसिष्ठा सुष्टोपि
नो पाणिना राज्ञा श्रीमद[ला]दौति विस्रवाद्या [ग]जस्वामिना ।
सोपि चेचमहौभुजा
- 9 निजमुजप्रौढप्रभावादहो भव्यो विद्युतमंडलाकृतिगदो जित्वा समस्तानरीन् ॥२८॥
इडेनासुरशक्तिना प्र[णम]ता सं[पाथितः] शंकरः संत्येति दनुजाः पदं मम
बलादादातुक्कामा विभो ।
- 10 एवं किं करवाण्यथो वद हरः ॥ सुत्वा वचः शंभुना नीत[ः] चेचमहौ-
पतिनि[नि]जपदं दैत्यालङ्घितोः स्वयं[यम्] ॥२९॥ दिव्यांगनाभूषितवाम[भाने]
दैत्याति[त]के चेचधराधिनाथे । स्वर्गस्थिते कल्पितदानदक्षे[क्षो]
- 11 सचोभवदेवतर्द्धधानो[नाम्] ॥३०॥ येन कांचनतुलादिदालतस्तोषिता हिजवरा
महीतले । येन दुर्जयसमस्तभूभुजः संहृ[ता]ः सदभिचारया रथे ॥३१॥
दत्ता[द्या] तंगुह्ये[रंग]मनिचयास्तस्मै गड[या]-

¹ Metro : Śardūlanikrīḍā.

² The stroke in the body of this letter is too faint on the original to be visible in the impression.

³ The arrangement of words in this line is obscure. Some part is to be connected with *ava-pada* and *akṣipā* with *Ata-mandala*.

⁴ Metro : Uṣṣṭi.

⁵ The name of this well-known capital of India begins either with 7i or 7hi in most of the inscriptions of this period.

⁶ This syllable seems to have been engraved over an erasure.

⁷ Root *ḥara*.

⁸ Metro : Indramajā.

⁹ Metro : Rāṣṭhāṭhā.

12. [स्वा]मिने सुक्ता येन कृता गद्या करभरादयोऽष्टनेकान्वतः । प्रीताः स्वर्गगता
वदन्ति पितरस्त्वद्यापि सत्त्वाशियं तस्यामा[विति] लक्षभूतलमुजो वंशचिरं
नन्दतु ॥११॥ तस्मिन्प्रयाते विदिपं
13. — — लक्षेविंसंकाशितकल्पवृक्षे [१^a] देवैकलिगार्धनज^१इलक्षे विख्यातदुर्वोधनयैकदक्षे
॥१२॥ तस्या^२ क्षापतिर्वदितांघ्रिकमलो [ल]क्षेत्रस्वात्मजः श्रीमो(मा)क्षीकल
एव वंशतिककः संपूर्णवन्दान-
14. [नः १^a] — — [गा]ह्यतमं वपावनत्रलैर्जाताभिषेजस्ततः स्व राज्यं परिपालयत्वरि-
कुलं संवासवन्तः ॥१३॥ यस्यापे समभूतलायनप[र]ः परोजया(स्वा)नां
स्वयं पात्माहाइद^३ दुःसहोपि समरे संख्यज्य को-
15. — — [१^a] — — चाणवर्गेन युष्कवदनी मु[त्रा]लको सह-
वाग्वेगापि चित्रजितो गिरिगुहागेहाश्रितः साप्रतं(नम) ॥१४॥ यः पंचवि-
मति(तु)लाः समदर्शितै(जि)भ्यो द्विषदाथैव रजतस्य च फटाकानां-
(नाम) ।
16. — — — — — य विमुक्तिहेतोः मायं नृपो विजयते वरकीर्तिपुरः
॥१५॥ येन स्थाटिकसहि(न्वि)लामय इव ख्यातो मही(मं)डलो प्राकारो
रचितः सुधाध्वजितो देवैकलि-
17. — — — — — सत्कपाटविलसदा(द्वा)रचयाभंकृतः कैलासं तु विहाय
स(मं)भुरकरोद्यवाधियासे मतिं(तिम) ॥१६॥ कार्त्तिक्यामय पु[र]िमावरतिषो
योदात्तुलां काचनो शास्त्रजः प्रथमं
18. — — — — — दिवं स द्विजैः । दिवं पुष्करतीर्थसाधिवममं नारायणं
शायनं रूपेणादिवराहमुत्तमतरेः कर्णादिकैः पु[र]िमावरतिषो
तुरंगमरथसंवाहिदा-
19. — — — — — पुष्करेषु विदिती जेष्टा(ज्येष्ठा)[दि]सु यद्यया । तेन
धस्तमस्तभूपलनगामंभीतसत्कीर्तिना पु[र]िमावनयमां करेण सुधिया
विहतिविषेण जितो ॥१७॥ पयाधि

^१ Metro: *Shringarabhedha*.

^२ The stroke in the body of this letter is too faint on the original to be visible in the impression.

^३ Metro: *Indra-mitra*.

^४ Boall *tripet*.

^५ The conjunct seems to have employed this foreign name without the usual assimilation.

^६ Metro: *Fassanmika*.

^७ The syllable *am* seems to be carried over an enclitic.

- 20 . . . — : — पर(रम्) । व(रु)चचृंगव(रु)पिस्ती-
 चव्याजमासंध्य भूप[ते] ॥१८^१ किं याचो सच्चिमा गिरिरिड मया योमौख-
 [रेणा]मुना विख्यातस्य मञ्जीतले हिमवता
- 21 — — — — — । — — — — — तरे निवसति श्रीमांतया कांतया
 साकं पुष्पनदीलसत्परिसरे साध्या(चा)द(ह)पि[ः^२] चृंगिकः ॥२०^३ [यचा]सो
 चणमेकमेव वसतिः^४ श्रीमानृषौ(पिः)
- 22 [चृंगिकः पु]ष्पाधारपरो विभांड[कसुतो यो]गी तपःसागरः । काले तत्र निरंतरं
 जलधरा वर्षत्यपारावु(म्बु)भिर्नवाकालसृतिर्भवेच्च हि त[था वं]ध्या मवेयुः
 स्त्रियः ॥२१^५ साधेलाव-
- 23 यदौपिका वितरणप्रख्यातहस्ता च [या^६] — षष्ठमभूमिपालतनया पुष्पायुध-
 प्रेयसी(सीम्) [।^७] या रूपेण निजेन तां समजयसौभाग्यसंशोभि[ता] या
 सर्वेषु पतिव्रतालुगणने सुखै-
- 24 वृ संकोर्षते ॥२२^८ तस्या[ः^९] सदिदीवरलो[चना]याः संपूर्णपौष्ट्यकरानन[याः ।]
 गुणान्विताया गुणतोषितायाः श्रीपार्वतीसेवनसादरा[याः] ॥२३^{१०} गौराविकाया
 निजवज्र-
- 25 मायाः सज्जोकसंप्राप्तिफलैकहेतो[ः ।^{११}] एषा पुर[स्तस्व] विभांडसुनोडा(र्वी)पौ
 निवहा किंल मोकलिन ॥२४^{१२} वाप्यां पुष्पसरिज्जलेन सततं संपूरितायामिह
 खानं यः कुरुते
- 26 दिजः स हि भवेदेदादिविद्याल्लतो । राजन्वो यदि [कटकै]र्विरहितं प्राप्नोति
 राज्यं चिरं वैश्वो वैयवणादिकां विदमञ्जो शूद्रोपि सौ[ह्यं प]र(रम्) ॥२५^{१३}
 यः कुर्याद्विपंचम्यां
- 27 खानं वाप्यां प्रियान्वितः । ब्राह्मणो वा तथान्वोपि स ल[भेतेष्टितं] फलं
 (सम्) ॥२६^{१४} योगोष्करेण कविना रचिता मनोज्ञा मो(से)यं प्रशस्तिरचिता-
 सत[पुष्पै]वर्णा । आकर्ष्य यां सुवि[बु]-
- 28 धाः सुखिनो भवन्ति श्रीभार[ती]मिव कथां कलुषापहनी(र्नीम्) ॥२७^{१५} [इति]
 श्रीवाचीविनायकविराजयोगीश्वरविरचिता प्रशस्तिर्जयति ॥ मायापुरी[वज्र]भया
 समेतो विभांडसु-

^१ Metro: Anushtubh.^२ Metro: Samāsambrīḍita.^३ Band: anant.^४ Metro: Upajit.^५ Metro: Indrajit.^६ Metro: Vasantatīlaka.

- 29 नं(नु) 'परिपुजयंस्तं चितोवनस्याजगुरोरनुज्जां संपाव्य चामीकरदान[दत्त][१*]
 ॥२८८॥ गाले वा(वा)स्यसुनुतिप्रजितसत्त्वं(चं)द्रांकित(ने) विद्युते पंचम्या
 ग(सु)तिषो [र]वो च नमसः पते मिले
- 30 सन्मतिः [१*] श्री[मद्र]चनरेखरस्य तनयः श्रीमोकलो भूपतिविहङ्गद[विभूषि]तः
 समकरोदापोमतिष्ठा(डा)मिह ॥२९॥ इत्कीर्णमि(स्त्रि)ससूत्रधारगुक्ता मे[य]
 प्रशस्तिः[१*] शुभा वि-
- 31 ह्याते[न] फनाभिधेन [सु]धिया हादज्जेनासुना [१*] साहस्यदिकमि[त्रिप]-
 शास्त्रविनसत्पा(त्या)धोधिना वाधुना श्रीनारायणमेवकेन नृपतेः श्रीमोकल-
 स्याज्या [॥३०*॥]
- 32 'संवत् १४८५ वर्षे श्रावण शुदि ५ रविदिन(ने) ॥ चिर(र) नंद[तु] ॥३॥
 वोः ।

TRANSLATION.

[Obsequance to] the illustrious [Mother] of the universe. Adoration to the illustrious Bhagavati.

(Verse 1) Having paid obeisance to the illustrious goddess of learning, my supreme mother and the dispeller of delusion, with (her) lotus-like feet (looking) lovely with the gems on the crests of gods all round; holding a lyre and a crystal [rosary].... and wearing beautiful ornaments studded with pearls;

(Verse 2) [I describe] to the best of my knowledge, the heroes such as... prince Hammira, etc., the descendants of Bappa, who had been ever-ready to offer shining gold more than desired by those in need, who had killed numbers of powerful enemies in battles and who had been devout worshippers of the Lord of Gauri (i.e., Śiva).

(Verse 3) There came in being the well-known ornamental gun to the family of the descendants of Bappa, the heroic prince Hammira, the very Cupid in form, resolute in battles and victorious, whose fame, like the body of Iśvara (i.e., Śiva), permanent, all-pervading, white as the moon and the jasmine flower and always respected by (other) princes... reigns supreme.

(Verse 4) (It was he) who captured the city of Chēla after having conquered and perforce killed in battle with (his) famous sword his enemies, the Hāla, residing in caves; who murdered the inimical Jaitrāsvara going himself to Nanthambaka (Ranthambhor) and also being agitated by anger, burnt down the distant city of Palhapāpura.

(Verse 5) Hammira, the very god of love for damsels, having thus protected the earth for a certain number of years and having then established over his kingdom his son Kahāstra, (who was) an ornamental jewel of the Kahatriya race, the destructive fire to (his) enemies, and worthy well* to take up responsibility, went to the abode of gods.

* There is an *anvaya* over *ga* which is redundant.

* Metre: *Uṣṇīṣā*.

* Metre: *Śāntilavikīrṇā*.

* This half line begins from the middle of the slab.

* This is a *topos alba* and many people employ it even now particularly at the end of letters to denote auspiciousness.

* Lit. well to wear armour. *समन्महर्* of the text echoes *समन्मोहनमहर्* of the *Raghavavāṇa*, VIII, v. 94.

(Verse 6) (*It was Kshētra*) who having conquered in battle **And Saha** by the might of (*his*) sword and totally annihilated the **Yavanas**, verily brought the entire treasury and numberless steeds to his own capital.

(Verse 7) Oh ! even that famous fort of **Māṇḍala**,¹ which even the lord of the lovely city of Delhi, powerful and owning elephants, known by the shining name of **Alāvadi**, dared not touch with his hand, was shattered by prince Kshētra, after having conquered all the enemies with the impetuous might of his arms.

(Verse 8) (*God*) Śaṅkara was (*thus*) solicited by humble Indra in fear of demons. "O Eternal Hara ! here are these demons aspiring to seize my position by force : O tell me, what should I do under such circumstances ?" On hearing (*these*) words, prince Kshētra was taken away by Śambhu himself to his own abode, in order to destroy the demons.

(Verse 9) Prince Kshētra, the death-incarnate for demons, having (*thus*) settled down in heaven with heavenly damsels adorning (*his*) left side—**Laksha**, expert in giving (*as much*) charity (*as could be*) imagined, came to be the desire-yielding tree for the learned.

(Verse 10) (*It was he*) by whom best of the Brāhmaṇas on the surface of the earth were gratified by various charities, like gold weighed against himself, and by whom all (*other*) invincible princes were killed in battles with the sharp edge of (*his*) sword.

(Verse 11) May the famous line of that prince Laksha ever rejoice (*in this world*) by whom Gayā (*the holy Tirtha*) was freed from the burden of tax for a considerable number of years, by paying (*as ransom*) lofty horses and heaps of gold to the lord of Gayā, and for which (*ashes*) ancestors gone to the upper world, gratified as they are, even now confer (*on him*) genuine benedictions.

(Verse 12) That Laksha—who who had assigned the desire-yielding tree to supplicants, who had (*his*) attention fixed upon the worship of God Ekaliṅga and who had been the only expert in political matters which are avowed to be inscrutable—having gone to the upper world—

(Verse 13) This illustrious **Mōkala**, the son of that lord Laksha, the holy forehead-mark of the family, with face like the full-moon and with lotus-like feet revered by (*other*) princes, having been (*installed king*) by bathing in water made holy by incantations (*and*) fetched from protects his kingdom frightening the group of enemies all round.

(Verse 14) (*It was he*) from whose presence **Pērōja Khānā** (*Firōz Khān*) himself had resorted to fleeing (*and*) **Pātāha Ahmada**, although irresistible in battle abandoning (*his*) has, at present, with face dried up, with hair dishevelled, with speech obstructed and bereft even of (*his*) horse, taken refuge in the habitation of a mountain cave in order to save . .

(Verse 15) This well-known prince, who weighed himself against gold, silver and *Phalagāha*² twenty-five times and distributed them among *deities* for the liberation of and who is full of glorious fame, reigns supreme.

(Verse 16) By him was erected a rampart, which was renowned all over the earth, which looked as if built of nice crystal slabs being whitewashed with lime and which was adorned with three beautiful gates having handsome panels, (*round the site of*) the God Ekaliṅga, where Lord Śambhu had indeed made up his mind to reside, leaving aside Kaiḷāsa.

¹ Lit. the circular fort ; modern Māṇḍalgarh.

² This seems to be the name of a small silver coin whose value might have been worth two annas, for in some parts of Rājputānā a two-anna piece is even now called a *Phalagāha* or *Phalagāha*. (*Rij. Ind. Mus.* II, p. 388, n. 4.)

(Verse 17) He who was conversant with the holy lore having first of all worshipped with high-class gold, etc., the Eternal Nārāyaṇa with the (external) appearance of the Primeval Boar, at the holy site of Pushkara, (and having....).... in company of Brāhmaṇas—weighed himself against gold on the beautiful full-moon day of (the month of) Kārttika, and gave it away in charity.

(Verse 18¹) By giving maidens, cows, pieces of land, horses, chariots, books, etc., in charity,looked upon in the land of Pushkara with reverence (even) among (his) seniors (1)

By him who was wise, dear to the learned on earth, conducive of felicity to the family of Khumṇa and whose fame was sung by the frightened wives of all princes.

(Verse 19) In turn, Of the prince, resorting to the pretext of enjoining the sage Rishyaśiṅga.

(Verse 20) How is to be described by me, this Yōglāvara, the majesty of the mountain here, which is famous all over the earth and which.....with the Himālaya; and on which, in the beautiful vicinity of a holy river², resides (the sage) Rishyaśiṅga in person, with (his) beloved, the illustrious Śiṅgā.

(Verse 21) Wherever this illustrious sage Śiṅgika who is the son of Vibhāṇḍaka, who is an ocean of austerity, and solely gives to meritorious deeds, puts up even for a moment, there the clouds pour inexhaustible waters at the proper time, untimely death never takes place and women do not remain barren.

(Verse 22) (For her) who was illuminating to the family of Bāghālā, who had her hand renowned for charities, who was the daughter of prince;...**ṇabhrama**, who by virtue of her own beauty surpassed (even) Cupid's beloved (i.e., Rati); who was graced with prosperity, (and) who in the enumeration of women true to their consorts is celebrated everywhere as the foremost—

(Verse 23) For her, whose eyes were like beautiful lotuses, whose face was like the full-moon, who was possessed of merits, who could be pleased with merits (and) who took delight in attending upon the illustrious Pārvatī—

(Verse 24) For (that) **Gaurāmbikā**, his own beloved, this reservoir of water in front of that son of Vibhāṇḍa has been constructed by **Mōkala** with the sole view of her achieving (a blissful situation in) the other world.

(Verse 25) Whoever takes bath in (this) reservoir here, perpetually filled up with the waters of the holy river—(if) a Brāhmaṇa, he verily becomes versed in (branches of) learning like Veda, etc.; if a Kshatriya, (he) gains lasting royalty free of adversaries; (if) a Vaiśya, (he obtains) wealth more than that possessed by Kubbā; (and if) a Śūdra, (he) too gets a unique state of excellence.

(Verse 26) Whosoever, a Brāhmaṇa or anybody else, would bathe in (this) reservoir with (his) wife on (the fifth day of the bright half of the month of) Bhādrapada called) Rishi-Pañchamī, (he) would gain his desired aim.

(Verse 27) This well-known charming panegyric—whose letters are appropriate and full of sweetness, (and) which the learned delight upon hearing as (they do) by (hearing) the illustrious story of the Mahābhārata, the dispeller of opacity—has been composed by the poet Yōglāvara.

(Line 28) Let there be victory to this panegyric composed by Yōglāvara, the lord of poets (karīṇḍa), and who had the epithet Vāṇiśāza (lit. in whom moved gracefully the goddess of learning).

¹ Owing to their fragmentary nature it is difficult to understand correctly the sense of this and the next verse.

² This really speaking is not a river but an ordinary mountain stream which flows in rainy season.

(Verses 28-29) Prince **Mōkala**, son of the illustrious prince Lakṣa, of refined intellect and expert in giving charities of gold, after worshipping that son of Vihāṅga, with his beloved **Māyā-purī** (and) having obtained the permission of his religious preceptor Trilōchana, consecrated the reservoir here attended by a host of learned people, on **Sunday** the auspicious **fifth day of the bright half of Śrāvana** in the happy year signified by the shining moon, the Vāṇa, the Vāṇa and the arrows (=1485).

(Verse 30) This well-known auspicious epigraph has been engraved by order of the illustrious prince Mōkala, by the famous and wise **Phanā**, who is the son of Hādā, who is foremost of all (other) masons, who is a glittering ocean of the lore of mechanics and literature, etc., and who is a devotee of the illustrious Nārāyaṇa.

(Line 32) **Sunday, the 5th of the bright half of Śrāvana** in the year 1485 (of the Vikrama era). May (it) rejoice for long.

No. 36.—A PALI COUNTERPART OF THE NALANDA TEXT OF PRATITYASAMUT-PADAVIṢHANGA.

By BIMALA CHURN LAW, Ph.D., M.A., B.L., CALCUTTA.

Dr. N. P. Chakravarti has rendered a distinct service to Buddhist scholarship by editing from two brick inscriptions found at Nālandā¹ a Sanskrit text of what is presumably the *Pratityasamutpāda-viḥaṅga-sūtra*. This is found to be the same work as one on which Vasubandhu wrote a commentary, the title of which, as preserved in Tibetan, is *Pratityasamutpāda-viḥaṅga-sūtra*. Vasubandhu's commentary, only a few fragments of which have been published by Professor Tucci from a manuscript found in Nepal,² was popularly known as *Pratityasamutpāda-vyākhyā*.³ A Sanskrit text similar to that found at Nālandā was translated into Chinese by Yuen Chwang in 631 A.D. The title of the Sanskrit original, as restored by Nanjio from the Chinese, is *Nālandā-sūtra*.⁴ Now all that is wanted is a Pālī counterpart of the Nālandā text.

Though the actual title of the text is not recorded in any of the two brick inscriptions, there can be hardly any doubt that the text presented in them is a *Pratityasamutpāda-viḥaṅga-sūtra*, a *Sūtra* of the *Viḥaṅga* or *Vidhāna* class, of which several examples are to be found in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, particularly in its *Viḥaṅga-vagga*. As a *Sūtra*, the text bears all the main characteristics of a discourse, viz., an introduction, a statement of the subject-matter, elucidation of the points raised, and a fitting conclusion.

Viḥaṅga is, of course, the same Buddhist term as *vidhāna*, e.g., *Sacchea-vidhāna*⁵ = *Sacchea-viḥaṅga*.⁶ The *Viḥaṅga-suttas* developed and contained in the *Five Nikāyas*, i.e., in the *Sutta-piṭaka*, represent the earlier stage or form of exegesis in the second book of the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, called *Viḥaṅga*. The earlier or *Sutta* form of each *viḥaṅga* or exegesis has been distinguished in it as *Suttanta-bhāṣaniya* from *Abhidhamma-bhāṣaniya*. In the *Suttanta-bhāṣaniya* portion of each of the *viḥaṅgas*, *Sacchea*, *Satipatthāna*, *Dhātu*, *Indriya*, and the rest, the unnecessary *Sūtra* characteristics have been done away with and only the relevant points have been concisely stated,

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 193-199.

² J. R. A. S., 1920, pp. 611-623.

³ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 399.

⁴ Nanjio's Catalogue No. 628.

⁵ *Dīgha*, II, pp. 304-312.

⁶ *Majjhima*, III, pp. 248-252.

nothing of doctrinal importance being left out of consideration. The *Suttanta-bhāṣanyas* presuppose each a full text somewhere in the *Sutta-piṭaka*, but unfortunately all such texts cannot be traced in the extant Pāli Canon. The only reasonable inference to draw from this would be that the text of the Pāli Canon as it comes down to us is not complete in all respects, and accordingly it needs to be supplemented.

It is historically important to note that there is a Pāli counterpart of the Sanskrit *Pratītyasamutpāda-vibhanga-sūtra*, which is contained in the *Suttanta-bhāṣanyas* section of a *vibhanga*, called *Paṭicchanamuppāda-vibhanga*. The title adopted in the P. T. S. edition of the *Abhidhamma* text is *Pachchayākāra-vibhanga*.¹ But *Paṭicchanamuppāda-vibhanga* is precisely the title under which the chapter was known to Buddhaghosa.² Besides the correspondence between the titles in Sanskrit and Pāli, there are other points in which the two texts show an agreement. First, in both, only the *anuloma* mode of formulation of the Law of Causal Genesis has been adopted to explain the *samudaya*, *ūchaya* or *prabhava* aspect of *dukkha*. Secondly, in both, the *addhāna* or *dāṭṭhāna* is followed by a *vibhanga* or *avagāṇa*. Comparing the two texts, item by item, one may notice only slight differences here and there. But, upon the whole, there is nothing in excess and of importance in the Sanskrit version of the *Vibhanga-sūtra* which is not included either in the Pāli *Paṭicchanamuppāda-vibhanga* or in the text of the *Vibhanga* as a whole. Further, the *Abhidhamma* chapter has a purely *Abhidhamma* section without its counterpart in the Sanskrit text. One has to regret the loss of the full text of the Pāli *Paṭicchanamuppāda-vibhanga-sūtra* which is presupposed by the *Suttanta-bhāṣanyas* in the *Abhidhamma* treatise.

NO. 37.—A NOTE ON THE BARAH COPPER-PLATE OF BHOJADEVA.

By C. R. KRISHNAMACHARI, B.A., MADRAS.

In his article on the above inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, pp. 15 ff.) Dr. Hirenanda Sastri has wrongly understood two expressions and suggested interpretations which do not appear to be correct.

Dr. Sastri says (*ibid.*, p. 16) that the Maukhari king Śarvavarman is called *Paramādeva* in the Aśirgaḍh Seal inscription. But it is not so. Both this and the Nālandā Seal inscriptions¹ call him *Paramamāhātma*. On the other hand it is the Dāl-Baraṇasī inscription of Jivitagupta II that refers, among previous kings, to *Paramādeva* Śarvavarman² whom Fleet identifies with the Śarvavarman of the Aśirgaḍh seal.³

Again, Dr. Sastri asserts that 'the fact that he is described as a *Paramādeva* would show that he was a 'subordinate prince' (*loc. cit.*, p. 15). Here again the doctor is unfortunately misled, for the title in question denotes 'paramount sovereignty' (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 332), and not a subordinate position. It must be noted in this connection that this title was of such special significance that a conquering monarch took great pride in assuming it after he vanquished a mighty

¹ *Vibhanga*, pp. 126 ff.

² *Soumendra-vinodanī*, p. 130; *Idāni* . . . *Paṭicchanamuppāda-vibhanga* pāṇiṣe arañjapachchaya sam-khāṇṇi sūtraṃ sūyasaṃ bhoṭi nibbāṇi.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 329 and above, Vol. XXI, p. 74.

⁴ *Idāni*, p. 216, text L-10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

for. The Western-Chhāṭṭya king Satyāśraya acquired the surname *Paramīśvara* (*śobhita-Paramīśvar-āpata-nāmadhāya*) by the conquest of Harshavardhana, the 'lord of the entire Northern Country'.

In the matter of identifying *Paramīśvara Śaravarmān* with *Mahārāja Śarva*, of the Saūjān plates, who in his own words was a 'petty ruler', Dr. Sastri, has, I think, fallen into an error in interpreting the significance not only of the surname *Paramīśvara* as pointed above, but also of the expression *anumat*.

The points to be considered in this connection are: (1) whether 'the petty ruler' Śarva of a kingdom at the foot of the Vindhya hills could or should have had any hand in the gift of a village lying in the *Kānyakubja-śaṭṭis* which, from the nature of the circumstances, must have been directly under the king (*i.e.*, overlord) Nāgaśakti himself, whose capital was Kānyakubja and (2) whether the expression *anumat* here connotes, the sanction of an overlord to a gift made by his subordinate. In fact the question of a sovereign's sanction does not arise here for the reason given in the foregoing clause; but it implies the confirmation and maintenance by a later king of the grant made by a predecessor. For example, we find that grants made by previous monarchs, of the same village to the same deity, were re-affirmed by the subsequent kings, in their respective times. A very good example of this is found in the D65-Baragāck inscription of Jivitagupta II (C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 210, text, lines 12 ff.). From a careful study of this grant, it will be seen that the expression *ānata* is applied to the original grant or later affirmation made by the overlord, the king (*ibid.*, lines 13 and 16). The subsequent affirmations are made in accordance with the original gift (*cf.* *praty-danātana-anānābhya* of line 15 of the grant). The expression *anumat* of the Barah copper-plate must be construed in the sense of *anū(s)āhita* of line 17 of this grant. The issue, therefore, reduces itself to this, *viz.*, the grant made originally by (the Maṅkhari)¹ *Paramīśvara Śaravarmān* and confirmed later by (the Pratihāra) *Mahārāja Nāgaśakti* was restored by *Mahārāja Bhōjādēva*, after suspension (of it) for some time in the reign of *Rāmaśāstradhīra*.

The village granted as *agrahāra*, namely, *Valāki* is evidently Barah, where the plates were discovered.

Dr. Sastri's readings and interpretations of two other important expressions in this inscription also appear to me to need correction.

In line 10 of the text (p. 18) he reads *इहा भोगश्च मसाराजस्यो किञ्चित्कालम्विहते* and translates it (p. 19) as 'finding that the allotment was for the time being obstructed'. The original, I think, correctly reads *इहा भोगश्च . . .* which would give the natural sense that 'the enjoyment was for some time obstructed'. There is no relevancy in supposing a reference here to *bhāga* while the plate actually reads '*bhāga*'.

A similar mistake is committed by the editor in his reading *प्राम्भोगक्रमेणैव* in line 13 of the text and translating it as 'in accordance with the same old apportionment'. Here also the plate actually reads *प्राम्भोगक्रमेणैव* which means 'in accordance with the original or previous enjoyment'. Here too there is no necessity or relevancy in assuming a reference to *bhāga*, *i. e.*, apportionment.²

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 160 and Vol. X, p. 102.

² [Prof. Bhandarkar is also inclined to identify Śaravarmān of the Barah Plate with the Maṅkhari prince of that name. See his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 6, n. 1.—Ed.]

³ [While this article was in the press, a note discussing some of the points noticed here, appeared in *J. H. O.*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, pp. 203 ff.—Ed.]

No. 38.—A NOTE ON THE RAJAPURA COPPER-PLATES OF MADHURANTAKADEVA:
SAMVAT 557.

By KHAN SAHEB S. R. DAVER.

At the end of his explanatory note on these copper-plates¹ Dr. Hiralal advances a theory that Bhramarakōṭya was possibly an alternative name of Chakrakōṭya, on the ground that the name of Chakrakōṭya seems to survive in Ghumara, which he believes to be a name given to the falls of the river Indrāvati at Chitrakōṭa. This theory is incorrect for the reasons given below:—

(i) *Ghumara* is not a proper name and it is not applicable only to the falls of the Indrāvati at Chitrakōṭa; it is a word used in Bastar meaning "waterfall".

(ii) In his introductory note² Dr. Hiralal has stated "though styled 'Lord of Bhōgāvati, the best of cities' Madhurāntakadēva appears to have been a *Mandālīka* (feudatory chief) as the verse in II. 24-25 shows that his rāj was limited to Bhramarakōṭya which is described as a *maṇḍala* in I. 15". On the second plate in lines 13 and 15, it is stated that the village of Rājapura is situated in Bhramarakōṭya-*maṇḍala* (province). Again on the third plate in lines 28-29 names of witnesses from Chakrakōṭya-*maṇḍala* are given. This grant was made in A. D. 1005 and Bhramarakōṭya-*maṇḍala* and Chakrakōṭya-*maṇḍala* are mentioned in it as two separate units of administrative territories. Madhurāntakadēva was not only the feudatory chief of Bhramarakōṭya-*maṇḍala*, but appears to have been a relative of the ruling king, as his *dhīrāvarāṇī* are the same as those of the Nāgavarāṇī kings. We know from the Bārsār inscription of the time of Jagadōkabhūshana³ that King Dhārāvārsha was alive in A. D. 1060 (i.e., 5 years before this grant of Rājapura was made by Madhurāntakadēva). At this time one Chaudrāditya was the feudatory chief in South Bastar and it seems that Madhurāntakadēva was holding a similar position in Bhramarakōṭya-*maṇḍala*.

(iii) From the Kurupal Tank slab inscription⁴ it is clear that King Dhārāvārsha's son Sōmēvaradēva was the ruler of Chakrakōṭya in A. D. 1069. We can say thus much that King Dhārāvārsha's death took place between A. D. 1060 and 1069 and during this period (perhaps a period of minority administration) Madhurāntakadēva, although a *Mandālīka*, became more powerful and perhaps made attempts to oust the rightful person from the throne. The Kurupal stone inscription⁵ tells us that Sōmēvaradēva finally defeated and killed Madhurāntakadēva.

Thus it will be seen that Bhramarakōṭya was not an alternative name of Chakrakōṭya, as suggested by Dr. Hiralal. I would place Bhramarakōṭya-*maṇḍala* on the right bank of the river Narmadā as it is stated in the copper-plates that Rājapura is situated in the Bhramarakōṭya-*maṇḍala*.

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 173.

² *Ibid.*, p. 178.

³ Hiralal, *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.) No. 290.

⁴ Above, Vol. X, pp. 321.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 25 ff.

No. 39.—ALLAHABAD MUSEUM INSCRIPTIONS OF THE YEAR 87.

By SPENCER KUNOW, Oslo.

The Government Epigraphist has sent me estampages of two inscriptions on stone slabs, now preserved in the Allahabad Municipal Museum. 'No particulars about their findspot', he says, 'are available but like the two inscriptions already published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 159-160 these also have undoubtedly come from Kosam'.

The two records mentioned by him were published by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni. One, No. II, belongs to the reign of the *Mahārāja* Śivamāgha, the other, No. III, is, according to the editor, dated in the year 88, probably of the Gupta era, during the reign of the *Mahārāja* Bhadrāmāgha. The latter, which I shall henceforth simply call **III**, is of special interest in the present connexion.

According to Mr. Sahni it was secured from the village of Hasanābād, close to the ancient remains of Kosam. It was lying near a well and would appear to have been used for sharpening tools and other utilitarian purposes. The slab is rounded at the top and a portion of it is broken off at the bottom. Its present dimensions are 2' 10" in height and the same in width, the thickness being only 3". Only four lines of the inscription now remain in the upper rounded portion of the stone, but that originally the record covered some more space of the slab is obvious from the traces of abrasions which have survived in the rest of the defaced surface. His reading of the remaining portion is—

- 1 . . . Mahārājasya śrī Bhadrāmāghasya
- 2 [Śaśivatas]r 80 A varaha paksha 3 divasa 5
- 3 sya Samarasaya (t) putra Him[ī]āgana
- 4 ayayādīvadāra.

The two inscriptions sent to me I shall distinguish as **a** and **b** respectively. The slab containing **a** seems to be almost identical in shape with that described by the Rai Bahadur. It is rounded at the top, and the inscription, in five lines, covers a space 2' 4" wide and 1' high. The other slab is rectangular, and the record **b** is 1' 9" long, the height being 1' 4". There are seven lines, the seventh only containing two *akṣaras*. The contents of the two epigraphs are practically the same. I shall therefore deal with them together and also discuss their bearing on the reading and interpretation of **III**.

The **alphabet** is early Gupta or pre-Gupta of the Eastern variety. We find in with the downward turn of the left limb, e.g., in *Hādgoll* **b** 4, and the characteristic eastern *hu*, e.g., in *Mahārājasya* **l** 1; *she*, on the other hand, has not the round eastern base-stroke attached to the central bar as a loop.

With regard to **individual letters** we may note the rounded *z* in *śaśivata* **l** 2, *putra* **l** 4, *Śaṅkhakṣa* **b** **l** 5, etc., which looks like *z* (the regular form is seen in *śaṅkha* **b** **l** 1); the *ṛ* in *śaśivata* **b** **l** 4, but regular in *śaśivata* **l** 2; the different shapes of *ll* in *putra* **l** 4, where the *a* form is calculated to raise doubt about the correctness of the reading. I have therefore asked one of our leading authorities in Gupta paleography, Dr. E. Lüders, how *she* would read the *akṣara*, without telling her how I read and explained it. Without any hesitation she read *ll*, and this reading must be considered to be absolutely certain. The final *m* with the

* [Mr. B. M. Vyas, the Executive Officer, Allahabad Municipality, informs me that the inscriptions were found in a village adjacent to the Fort of Kanināth in Manjhanpur Tahsil of the Allahabad District.—Ed.]

vertical stroke above is found in *siddhanta* in **a** l. 1. The numeral symbols for 3, 6, 7, and 80 are used both in **a** and in **b**.

The execution and preservation of the inscriptions are, on the whole, very good. The sixth and eighth *akṣaras* of l. 4, and the seventh and eighth of l. 5 of **a** are defaced, and so are the final letters of ll. 3-5 of **b**. There are, further, several superfluous and accidental strokes and dots, e.g., in **a** above l. 1; above the *sa* of *śaṅkha* l. 2; across and above the *ā* of *śāyaka* and *ā* of *parivāṇa* l. 3; before the *i-mātrā* of the second *putra* l. 4; after *śanikā* l. 4, where the three strokes are perhaps meant to be a sign of division; across the right leg of *ga* in *bhagava-* l. 4; in **b** after the *ba* and above the *gha* of *śhuddhāyā* l. 1; above the *ga* of *īṣṭya* l. 2; above the *cyā* of *śaudāryyā* l. 4, etc. The apparent *i-mātrā* above the *e* of *śāyaka* **a** l. 3 has perhaps been cancelled, and the same may be the case with the *i* above *śā* in *śhuddhāyā* **b** l. 5. The *ś*-stroke is absent or defaced in several places, e.g., *Muhūr*(*ś*)*harya* **a** l. 1; *śa*(*ś*)*ṣṭā* **a** l. 2; *śa*(*ś*)*ṣṭā* **b** l. 3; *pallāva*(*ś*)*ra* **a** l. 2; *śanikā*(*ś*)*ya* **a** l. 4; *bhagavat*(*ś*) *ā*(*ś*)*ṣṭā* **a** ll. 4-5; *śh*(*ś*)*ṣṭā* **a** l. 5; the same is the case with the *i* of *ś*(*i*)*śa* **a** l. 3; the *ś* of *śhuddhā*(*ś*) at the end of **a** l. 1 (and of **III** l. 1) and of *śaṅkha*(*ś*) **a** l. 4 and *śa*(*ś*)*ṣṭā* **b** l. 1; the *śaṅkha* in *śaṅkha*(*ś*) **a** l. 3; *śa*(*ś*)*ṣṭā* **b** l. 1; *śa*(*ś*)*ṣṭā* *parivāṇa*(*ś*) **b** l. 3; the *śā* in *śa*(*ś*)*ṣṭā* **b** l. 2, etc.

The **orthography** is fairly consistent. But we find *śhuddhā* **a** l. 5, *śhuddhā* **b** l. 5; *Śaṅkha*(*ś*) **a** l. 4 for *śhuddhā* **b** l. 5. The writing *śhuddhā* for *śhuddhā* **b** l. 5 is a mere slip. Instead of *bhagava-* **a** l. 4 the engraver seems to have begun to write *bhaga-*.

The **language** is mixed Sanskrit, and the dual has, as usual, been replaced by the plural. We may note the use of the plural-dual of the words *putra* and *dhātṛi* for 'son and daughter', 'brother and sister', respectively, in accordance with Pāṇini l. n. 68 (*dhātṛi-putra* *śhuddhā*). The word *pallāva* for Sanskrit *parivāṇa* 'middle', cannot in any way prove eastern affiliation, on account of its *l*. Piechel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* para. 283, gives *pallāva* from Jaina-Mahāśāstrī, and it is a well-known fact that such words are often widely distributed outside the territory where they have developed in accordance with the phonetical laws of an individual language or dialect; of the common *pallāva*, Sanskrit *parivāṇa*.

As already stated, the **contents** of the two records are almost identical, though some details are found only in **a** and others only in **b**. They record the setting up of two slabs as a seat (*śaṅkha*), at a pond (*śhuddhāyā*, only in **b**), for the Holy Noble *Dēvi* (*bhagavat*(*ś*) *ā*(*ś*)*ṣṭā* *dēvi*), only in **a**), by the son and daughter (*putra*) of the saddler (*pallāva*(*ś*) *ra*) *Śaṅkha*, the brother and sister born from the same womb (*śaudāryyā* *dhātṛi*), only in **b**), the son and daughter of *Māgali* (*Māgali*(*ś*) *dhātṛi*), *Śanikā* and *Śhuddhā*.

The two slabs were accordingly intended to form a seat for an image of *Dēvi*. It is then evident that the slab with the rounded top was to be placed vertically behind the image, and the rectangular one below it. In such circumstances we must evidently take **a** as the first record, and this inference is further strengthened through the fact that **a** begins with *siddhanta*.

It is further evident that there can never have been more than two such slabs in the *śaṅkha*, and this makes it necessary to say something about the slab containing inscription **III**, published by Mr. Sahol.

A look at the plate published with his paper will show at once that the slab containing **III** has the same shape as that on which **a** is engraved. And a close examination of the facsimile will show that the text is the same as that of **a**, with some minor differences.

It is easy to see that the defaced *akṣaras* in the beginning are, as in **a**, *siddhanta*. Then the first line contains *muhūr*(*ś*)*harya* *śhuddhā*, just as **a**, even with the same omission of the final

- 3 ya 3 d[ī]vassa 5 ā[ti]yān puruṣāyaḥ pallānak[ā]rasya Ś[ā]pa(pha)-
 4 rasya putrāhi [Mādgālī]-putrāhi Śanik[ā]ya Śaṇḍhuk[ā]jau cha bhā[ga]ya-
 6 ty[ā] n[ā]ryyāya *d[ī]v[ya] ā[saṃ]pattā vih[ā]p[ā] [i*] Puṇya[m] vardhatu [i*]

b

- 1 Mahār[ā]jasya śrī-Bhadramēghasya¹ sa[rin]vatsar[ē] sa-
 2 p[ti]ā[ti]tē 80 7 varsha-paksha t[ri]tiya 3 divasa [pa]-
 3 āchama 5 ā[ti]yān puruṣāya[hi] pallānak[ā]rasya Śaṇḍhuk[ā]-
 4 rasya putrāhi sandāryyān bhrāt[ri]hi Mādgālīputr[ā]-
 5 hi Śanikāya Śaṇḍhukāya cha puṣk[ā]śhka[ri]yān ā[sa]-
 6 n[ā]pattā pratishohā[shphā]p[ā] [i*] Priyātāu dharmma Puṇyān va-
 7 rddhatu [i*]

TRANSLATION.²

[Hall]-Of the *Mahārāja śrī-Bhadramēgha*, in the eighty-seventh-87-year, the third-3-paksha of the Rains, (the fifth)-5-day, at this date, by the son and daughter of the soldier Śāpāra, (the brother and sister from the same womb), the son and daughter of Mādgālī, Śanikā and Śaṇḍhuka, stake for a vat [for the Holy Noble Dēv] were put up (at her pond). May Dharma be pleased! May merit increase.

No. 49.—SONEPUR PLATES OF MAHA-BHAVAGUPTA(II) JANAMEJAYA : THE YEAR 17.

By R. C. CHAKRA, M.A., M.A.L., Ph.D.(LOND.), DOTACAMUND.

These plates were first inspected by me at Sonapur Raj, the headquarters of the Sonapur State in Orissa, in November 1936 when I was on tour in that part. Regarding their discovery I have been told that some three years prior to my visit certain workmen, while digging foundations on a plot of land opposite the modern Khambhayan temple at Sonapur Raj, lighted upon a massive stone casket which was forthwith made over to the State authorities. It was this box that contained the present plates. This along with its contents had since been kept intact at the Sonapur Police Station where it was shown to me. It is oblong in shape and measures 15½" long, 12" broad and 13" high. It has a slipping lid on it and was evidently designed specially for the safe deposit of the *tāmralāṣaṇa*. It was not possible then to examine the writing on the plates, because they had been preserved just as they were found, stuck together with crust and verdigris.

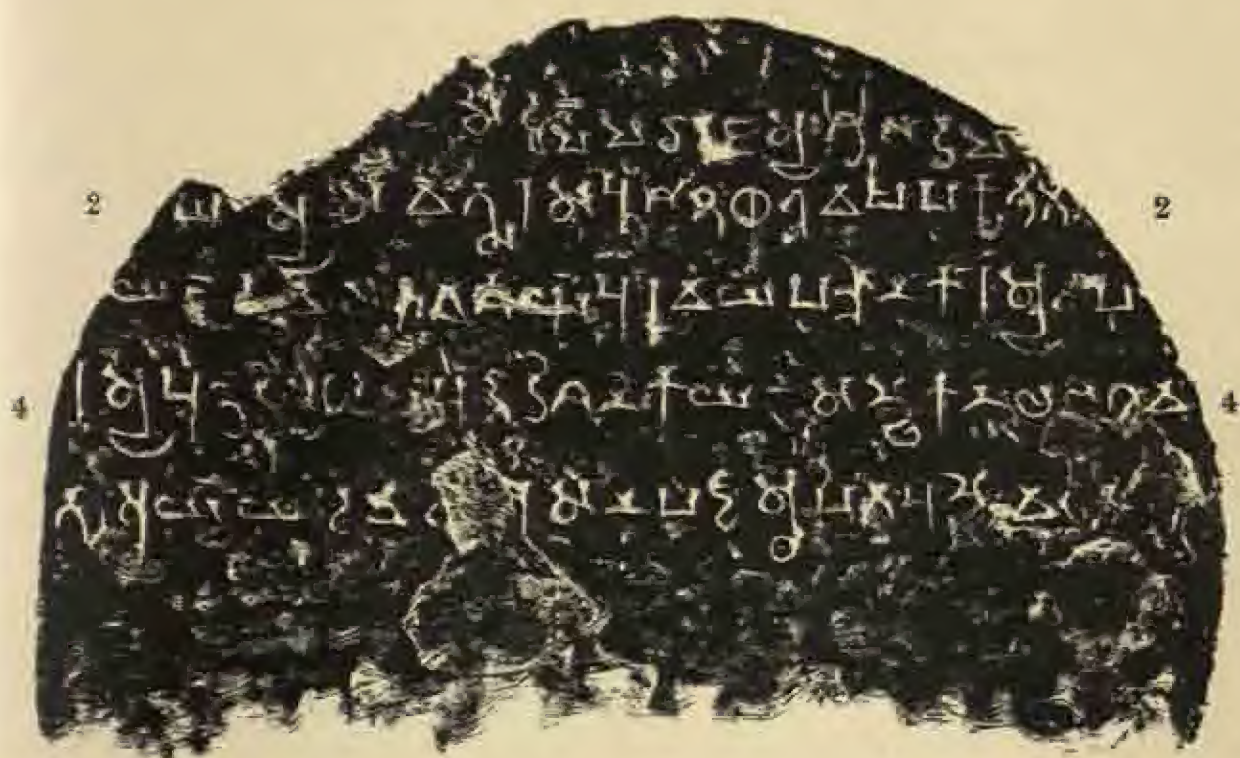
Later, in April 1937, the plates were obtained on loan from the Sonapur Darbar by the Government Epigraphist for India, who got them properly cleaned by the Archaeological Chemist in India and had their impressions taken. This afforded me an opportunity of studying the record from the original as well as from its inked estampages.

The document consists of three copper leaves, held together by a ring of the same metal. Each leaf is slightly narrower in the middle and measures about 8½" long by 5½" high at either end. The ring is 4" in diameter. Its ends are secured under a circular seal (diameter 1½"). The seal is completely defaced, so that it cannot be ascertained whether it originally contained any legend. It shows, however, some very faint traces of the Gaṇalakṣmī symbol in the centre. The plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 202 tolas. The first plate is inscribed only on one face, while the remaining two bear writing on both the sides. There are altogether 51 lines of writing,

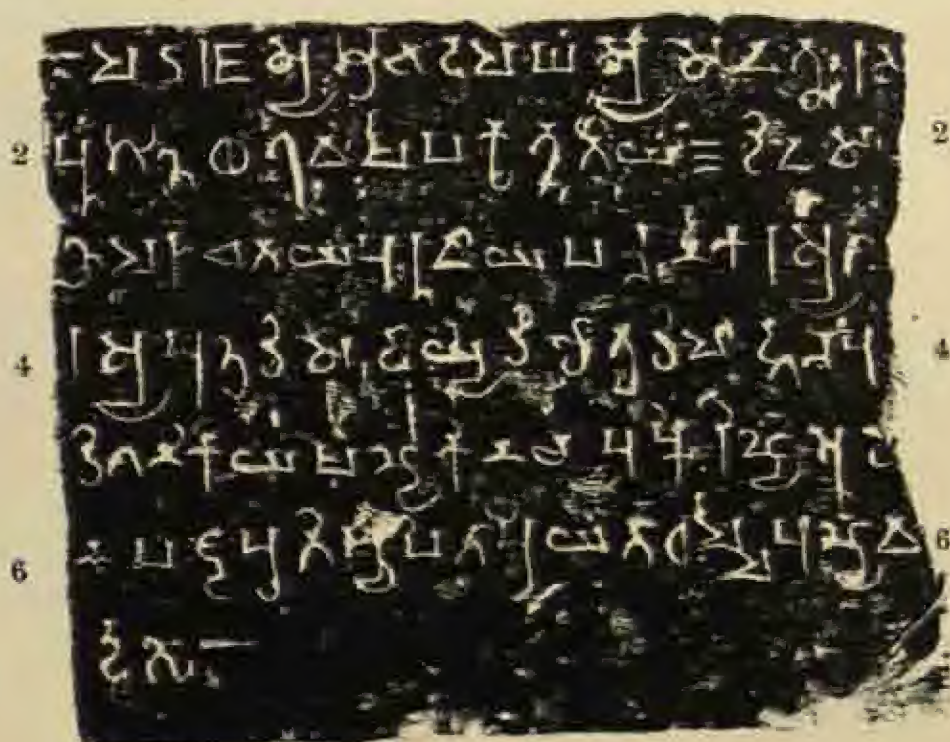
¹ [The name in question decidedly ends in *aspha* as found in other inscriptions including those recently discovered. The stroke above is in this record may be accidental.—Ed.]

² Brackets — in **a** only; parentheses — in **b** only.

A.



B.



of which 11 are on the first face, 12 on the second, 13 on each of the third and the fourth and only 2 on the fifth.

The **alphabet** is of the same northern type as is usually found in the records of Sāmavarāṇī rulers of Kōśala. The **language** is Sanskrit. The record is composed in prose, except that twelve of the customary verses and a eulogistic one occur at the end. Of **orthography** the following points may be noted : (1) As a rule, *ś* is used for *ṣ*; *śudhyati* (l. 33) and *śula*¹ (l. 37) being exceptions. However, *ṣ* is correctly used in those conjunct consonants where it appears as the first member, e.g., *ṣṛī*, *ṣṛi*, *ṣṛa*, *ṣṛa*, etc. (2) *Ṣ* is invariably represented by the sign for *ṣ*. (3) The consonant after *r* is doubled in most cases. (4) An anusvara takes the place of a final *ṣ*. (5) The sign for *anuvāka* is employed twice (l. 21 and l. 45). (6) *Sandhi* is not observed in a few cases. Besides, the inscription contains various mistakes, such as wrong spelling, incorrect grammar, omission of letters and words, etc. They, too, have been pointed out partly in the text and partly in the notes below.

The inscription belongs to the Sāmakaṇī *P. M. P. Mahā-Bhavaguptarājadēva(II)-Janamējayadēva*, the successor of the *P. M. P. Śivaguptadēva*. It records the donation of a village, called **Gōttakēlā**, included in the *Luputurā-śhaṇḍa* in Kōśalā. While the king himself is the donor, the donee is *Kumalarāma-vaṇī-śhāna*, by which term possibly a merchants' association is meant. This *vaṇī-śhāna* is described to have migrated from Khadirapadma and to be resident in Suvargapura. It is further stated that the *Kumalarāma Merchants' Association* transferred the same gift, as a registered grant, to *Śrī-Kāśyapa-bhaṭṭāraka-dēvaka* and *Śrī-Ādityabhaṭṭāraka-dēvaka* (i.e., two temples, one of Viṣṇu and the other of Śūrya) for defraying the costs of offerings to the deities and of repairs to the shrines.

The charter was issued from **Ārāma** on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the month of **Aśvāḍha** in the 17th year of the king Janamējayadēva's reign. It was written by *Kaṭṭiśa's* son, *Alava*, the *Mahāśahapatala* (attached to) the *Mahāsamudhivigraha Rājaka* Malladatta, and engraved by *Haradīśa*, son of *Sivapillā*. The writer *Alava* is undoubtedly identical with *Kaṭṭiśa's* son, *Ālava*, the *Kāgnātha*, who wrote the Nagpur Museum Plates of the 8th year, in which he is explicitly mentioned to be connected (*pratibaddha*) with the *Mahāsamudhivigraha Rājaka*, Malladatta, son of *Dharmadatta*.² This Malladatta appears to have served for a long time as Minister of War and Peace under Mahā-Bhavagupta(II)-Janamējaya, for he figures in his Pāpā Plates of the 6th year³ on the one extreme and in his three Kāṭak Grants of the 31st year⁴ on the other. As may appear from the above references, several copper-plate grants of Mahā-Bhavagupta(II)-Janamējaya have already been published, from which we know the 3rd, 6th, 8th, 13th and 31st years of his reign.⁵ The record under discussion now adds the 17th year to that list.

The king had a minister, named **Sādhārāṇa**, who is highly extolled in a stanza towards the close of the present inscription. He is described there to be a profound scholar and an able administrator, in whom the king reposed great reliance. The same person acted as *Dātaka* in the Nagpur Museum Plates referred to above, wherein his father's name is stated to be *Sādhana* and he himself is styled *Mahāmahatman Bhadrata*, but is not mentioned as *Mantri*. Probably he was raised to ministership sometime subsequent to the 8th year of the king's reign. Evidently he, too, remained long in service, enjoying royal favours all along. He received a munificent gift of four villages from his master in the latter's 31st regnal year, as is recorded in the

¹ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 143; Bhanderkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1566.

² *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. I (1905), p. 17; Bhanderkar's *List*, No. 1569.

³ Above, Vol. III, p. 339 and note 5; Bhanderkar's *List*, Nos. 1562-64.

⁴ Bhanderkar's *List*, Nos. 1557-1561.

- 3 देसा(शा)नरादागतवन्दिजनविस्तारितिकी(की)र्त्तविधिविद्यालंङ्गतपिहजनज-
 4 नितकाव्यालापस्तुतधनपतिविभवस्था¹र्त्तितरचितविधिचपासादाहा-
 5 लिकादेवकुलोद्यानवापीकूपतडागोपसो(शो)भाजितसुरपुरम-
 6 दिव्यः ।² प्रचण्डदोर्दण्डमण्डलापतुण्डकाण्डितारातिमज-
 7 मातङ्गविभक्तमुक्ताफलप्रसाधितासे(शे)पमहौमण्डल³
 8 सकलभूपालमौलिमालाधिलस्यमाणिक्यमयु(यू)खवाताभिरक्षि-
 9 तक्रमकमलयुगलात्⁴ श्रीमदाराभात् परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-
 10 धिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीसि(शि)वगुप्तदेवपा दानुध्या-
 11 तपरममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-

Second Plate, First Side.

- 12 श्रीमकुलतिलकचिकित्वाधिपतिश्रीमहाभगवत्सराजदेवः कुस(श)-
 13 लौ लोसनायां⁵ सुपुत्रराखण्डप्रतिव(व)र्तनोत्तङ्केलाघामे ।⁶ ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान् संपु(पू)-
 14 ज्य तद्विध-
 15 यौयययाकालाध्यामिनः समाहृतसन्निधातुदाण्डपासि(शि)कपिसु(सु)नवेतका⁷
 16 वरोधजलराजवज्रभादीन् सर्वान् समाग्रापयति । निदितामस्तु भवतां ।⁸ य-
 17 थास्त्राभिरयं ग्रामः सन्निधिः सोपनिधिः सर्ववा(वा)धाविबर्द्धितः सर्वोपरिक-
 18 रत्नरादानसमेतः सास्त्र(स्त्र)मधुकः सगर्तोपरचर्तुः⁹ श्रीमाप-
 19 र्यन्तः सजलस्त्रलसञ्चितः ।¹⁰ खदिरपट्टविनिर्गताय सुवर्ण-
 20 पुरवास्तुध्याय श्रीकमलवनवर्षकथानाय सलिलधारापुरःसग्माध-
 21 न्दतारकाकञ्चितिसमकालोपभोगार्थं माह(ता)पिचोरासनस्य पुण्ड्रयसो(शो)-
 22 ऽभिपुष्टये सास्त्र(स्त्र)मा(शा)सनेनाकरोक्त्य प्रतिपादित इत्यवगन्तुं समुचित-

¹ Probably the intended reading is *śāhara-sprinkled with*.

² This danda is unnecessary.

³ Read *pradīptāśāhara-van-mahā-mandala*. This and the following compound qualify *Mahā-Bhagavad* and not *Jinast*. These two attributions of the king occur also in his Katak Plates of the 31st year (above, Vol. III, p. 249, text II. 34-37).

⁴ Read *pradīptāśāhara-van-mahā-mandala*.

⁵ The word *Kaṇṭhaka*, which was evidently first omitted by inadvertence and later supplied, is engraved in smaller characters on the space above the ring-hole opposite L. 17 and is to be read after *śāhara* in l. 18, as indicated by a *śāhara* sign after each of the two words.

⁶ Read *śāhara*.

⁷ The letter *ra* appears below the line. Evidently it was first omitted and was later supplied.

22 भोगभागरहरिणादिभिर्भवद्भिः सुखेन प्रतिवस्तुव्यव(यम्) । अनेनापि प्रा-

23 मं(प्र)सा(शा)सनेन सुवर्णपुरीयथोक्तमलवनवर्णिकयानेन व(व)निचरन्नेवद्य-

Second Plate : Second Side.

24 खण्डस्फुरितप्रतिकरणाव्यय(य or घे) श्रीकेस(श)वन्धोपादित्यभट्टारकाभ्यां ।¹ देवकुलो(ला)-

25 भ्यां सा(शा)सनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः² । भाविभिच भूपतिभिर्दत्तिरिय(य)मन्मदौया धर्मगो-

26 रवादम्भदतुरोद्वा(धा)व स्वदत्तिरिया(वा)नुपालनीया । तथा चोक्तं धर्मसा(शा)स्त्रे ।

27 व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिर्व(भिः । य)स्य [यस्य*] यदा भूमि-
स्तस्य तस्य तदा

28 फलं(लम्) ॥[11]* सा भूदफलसंका(शङ्का)वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः । सदानात्फ-
ल[मा*]नन्त्यं य-

29 रदत्तानुपालने ॥[12]* यष्टिवर्षमहसाणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः [1*]

30 आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो वज्रायन्ति पितामहाः [1*] भूमिदाता कुले जा-

31 तः स नन्वाता भविष्यति ॥[13]* भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति यव भूमिं प्रय-
च्छति । उभौ

32 तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गं गतामिनौ ॥[15]* तडागानां सहस्राणि(स्रेण)
वाजपेयस(श)-

33 तानि(तेन) च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहता न शृण्वति ॥[16]* स्वर्णमेकं
गामिकां भूमि-

34 रप्यहमकुलं(लम्) । हरन(च)रकमायाति यावदाहृतसंप्लवः ॥[17]* अन्यायेन
हता भूमि-

35 अन्यायेन तु हारिता । हरतो हारयतवैष स हन्यात्समं कुलं(लम्) ॥[18]*
अदत्ता परद-

* This is clearly a mistake for -*śrīraṣṭyāśīlān-apatapadhar-*.

* This doubt is unnecessary.

* The impression shows a superfluous scratch attached to *hi* giving it the appearance of *hi*, but in the plate it is plain *hi*.

* The small vertical stroke seen after *am* on the impression does not appear on the plate.

* The second half of this stanza has been left out through mistake. We may add it thus: *śrīraṣṭyāśīlān-apatapadhar-* common *cha śrīraṣṭyāśīlān-apatapadhar-* 3 -

* Read *ananyāyān-* or the plate will be too short of a syllable.

* The *ananyāyān-* over *hi*, which is clear on the plate, has not come out in the impression.

* Read *śrīraṣṭyāśīlān-* or the quarter will have a syllable in excess.

36 तां स्वा(वा) ।¹ यो हरेच्च वसुधरां(राम्) [1^{*}] म विहाया लभिभूमित्वा
पच्यते पितुभिः सञ्च [19^{*}] आ-

Third Plate: First Side.

37 दिव्यो वरुणो विष्णुव(र्ष)द्वा सोमो वृतास(ग)नः । शु(शु)लपाणिस्तु भगवान् ।²
चमिन-

38 नन्ति भूमिर्द(दम्) [110^{*}] सामान्योऽयं धर्मस्तुष्ट(नृ)पाणां काले काले पालनोयो
भवतिः [1^{*}]

39 रिति³ सर्वानितान् भाविनः पाद्विवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचन्द्र[1^{*}] [111^{*}]
इति-

40 कमलदलास्तु(स्व)वि(वि)न्दुलीलां ।⁴ श्री(स्त्रि)यमस्तुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजि(जी)वितं च [1^{*}]
सकलमिदम्-

41 दाहृतं च वृषा(वृष्टा) ।⁵ नहि पुरुषैः परजि(जी)तैर्यो विलोप्या [112^{*}] परम-
भट्टारकमहाराजाधि-

42 राजपरमेश्वरसोमकुलतिलकचिकलिङ्गाधिपतिर्जी[म^{*}]जन-

43 भेजयदेवस्य विजयराज्ये सस्व(संव)क्षरे सप्तदसमे⁶ आषाढ-

44 माससितपञ्चमहर्ष्या । यज्ञाहृतः ।⁷ सस्व(संव)त् १० आषाढशुदि ५ । ज्ञेया-

45 (श्री)पार्थसा(या)चक्षुतिविम[ल^{*}]धिया वैदेवेदाङ्गविद्या ।⁸ श्री(स्त्रि)लाकल्पेतिहामप्र-

46 कटसुसुगुणपद्मभूषिष्ठधाम्ना । नाम्ना साधारणेन द्विजवरतनुना म-

47 न्विणा यस्य राज्यं निर्वृ(व्यु)ष्टं श्रीयमुच्चैस्तु(स्त्रि)जगति विदितो देवजनमेजय-

48 श्रीः⁹ [113^{*}] " स " सुत ।

49 सुत " नि " हरद

¹ This *diṅga* is unnecessary.

² This *ni* is superfluous; read *triṇi-śākhā*.

³ The two syllables *riti* are superfluous.

⁴ The portion *śākhā* occurs below the line.

⁵ Read *śākhā*.

⁶ The impression shows a small stroke attached to *sa*, which does not exist on the plate.

⁷ Instead of *Śrī-Janamejaya*, the writer has used *śrī-Janamejaya* with *śākhā* to conform to the metrical scheme, which purpose still remains partly unfulfilled unless we read *Janamejaya* for *Janamejaya*. The corresponding reading in the Katak Plates of the 31st year is *śākhā-Janamejaya*. The Katak Plates have two verses in praise of Śākhāraja, one of which is the same as occurs here. (Above, Vol. III, p. 319, text L 37-42.)

⁸ Metre: *Śākhāraja*.

⁹ It appears that the matter engraved after *śrī* in this line and the next has intentionally been scored out by the original engraver himself, probably because some objectionable mistakes might have crept in. In spite of his attempt to erase the engraving of this part, certain letters can still be made out, which indicate that the contents of this portion mentioned the names of the writer, the engraver and so forth. If so, nothing of the original charter has been lost, as those names appear in the two lines on the reverse of this plate.

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 50 'लोखीतमोदं तासुमासनं महामयोवैपही राक्षकवीमव्रदतः ॥ महाचपट-
 51 लीना कैलामसुतेन योषनवेन ॥ उत्कीर्णञ्च मीडवासुतेन हरदामेनेती ॥॥

TRANSLATION.

[LL 1-13] 'Gw' Hail!

From the prosperous **Ārama**, which has (all) the ten quarters deafened by the fluttering noise of the flocks of pigeons frightened by the jingle of the anklets (*uśa*) on the feet of the numerous excellent courtesans (*śaśāṅga*) within the enclosures of mansions having floors (*śūḍḍa*) with bright jewels, which has its fame spread by minstrels hailing from different countries, which rises (in splendour) with the wealth of Kubera (lit. lord of riches) smited in poetic narrations produced by scholars endowed with various learning, (and) which has eclipsed the grandeur of Amāvāsi (lit. city of gods) by the splendour of its army of magnificent palaces, lofty buildings, temples, gardens, step-wells, wells and tanks;

the illustrious **Paramabhūṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramāvara Mahā-Bhavaguptarāja-dāva**, the overlord of **Trikaliṅga**, an ornament of the **Sōma-kula**, (and) a devout worshipper of Mahāśvara, who has meditated on the feet of the illustrious **P. M. P. Śivaguptadēva**, a devout worshipper of Mahāśvara, who (i.e., Mahā-Bhavagupta) has the entire circle of the (battle-)field decorated by the pearls loosed from the (temples of the) enemies' rutting elephants rent asunder with the point of the scimitar (*śūḍḍa*) by his eagle-like impetuous arm, (and) who has the gait of his lotus-like feet tinted by the collection of rays (*amāśāṅga*) from the precious stones attached to the wreaths over the coronets of all the princes, being in good health.

[Il. 13-15] having paid homage to the Brāhmaṇas in the **Gōṭṭakēlā** village included in the **Luputurā-kṣupṭa** in **Kōṣṭā**, issues a command to all (his officials) of that district, (persons) who may at any time be holding office, (namely) *Samāhātṛ*, *Sannidhātṛ*, *Dādapāṭika*, *Pīṣa*, *Paṭrika*, *Avasthājāna*, *Rājavalabha*,² and so forth:—

[Il. 15-21] "Be it known to you that by (this) copper-charter We have, for the accrual of merit and fame to (Our) parents as well as to Ourselves, donated this (*Gōṭṭakēlā*) village, with libations of water, having made (it) tax-free, exempt from all hindrance, extending up to (its) four

¹ Mistaken of spelling in this and the next line are too many and too obvious to need correction.

As surmised in the foregoing note, these two lines seem to contain the main matter in its correct form as was written and cancelled in ll. 48-49. It may, however, be observed that the writing of ll. 50-51 is not by the same hand to which the engraving of nearly the entire grant is due, and differs from the rest in several respects; its mistakes of spelling are more numerous, its characters are bigger in size and some of these are quite different in shape, e.g. *c* and medial *u*. This causes a suspicion as to whether it was the original engraver himself who is responsible for effacing the writing of ll. 48-49 and adding that in ll. 50-51 or whether it was somebody else who sometime later tampered with that portion of the charter. If latter is the case, the motive of the tamperer is not clear. Any way, no material harm has been done to the original grant by altering or substituting the last lines in question.

² Not all of these designations have been satisfactorily explained. *Samāhātṛ*, literally 'one who collects', probably answers to 'a collector of revenue'. *Sannidhātṛ* means 'one who approaches or ushers' and perhaps signifies 'an usher'. These two terms occur also in Kautilya's *Arthasastra*, where they have been rendered respectively as 'collector-general' and 'chamberlain' by Dr. R. Shamasastry in his translation of that work (second edition, pp. 43 and 63). *Dādapāṭika* denotes 'one who holds rod and rope' and may stand for 'an officer entrusted with the punishment of criminals' (see N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 183). *Pīṣa* may correspond to 'a spy'. *Paṭrika*, 'one who holds a cane', may be the same as 'a door-keeper'. *Avasthājāna* can be understood either 'royal ladies' or 'a warden of ladies' apartments' or simply 'a watchman'. What exactly the function of a *Rājavalabha*, literally 'king's favourite', was is difficult to explain.

boundaries, along with (its) hidden treasures and deposits, mango and *Bassia latifolia* trees, pits and barren plots, water and land, with (the privilege of) collecting toll and revenue, to the illustrious Kamalavama Merchants' Association, immigrant from Khadirapadma (and) resident in Savarnapura, to be enjoyed as long as the sun, the moon, the stars and the earth (endure).

(Ll. 21-22) " Being aware of this, you should dwell in happiness, offering (to it its) customary share of income, rent, (tribute of) gold, and so forth.

(Ll. 22-25) " Being in possession of the charter, this illustrious Kamalavama Merchants' Association has, in its turn, bestowed (the same village), having registered it as a deed, on the two temples, (one) of the lord Kēśava (and the other) of the lord Āditya, for charity, oblation and offerings as well as for repairing wear and tear (in the temples).

(Ll. 25-26) " And, future kings should, through respect for the *dharma* and out of regard for Us, protect this Our grant as their own grant. For, it is declared in the *Dharmasūtra* :—"

(Ll. 27-41) [Here follow twelve of the customary verses.]

(Ll. 41-44) (This charter has been issued) during the victorious reign of the illustrious P. M. P. Janamējayadēva, the overlord of Trikalīnga, an ornament of the Sōma-kula, in the seventeenth year on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āṣāḍha, where in figures (it is) Anno 17 Āṣāḍha *śuklā* 5.

(Ll. 44-48) Highly renowned in (all) the three worlds is this very illustrious Janamējayadēva, the administration of whose kingdom has been carried on by his minister, Sadbhāraja by name, an eminent Dvija (lit. twice-born) by birth, whose intellect is clear owing to (his knowledge of) all the lore of polity and law worth knowing, who is manifestly a very Bṛhaspati (lit. preceptor of gods) in (expounding) the Vēdas and the Vēdāṅga-vidyās (such as) Śikṣā, Kalpa, Itihāsa (and so forth), (and) who is (on account of all that) possessed of supreme glory.

(Ll. 50-51) This *tāmrakāva* has been composed by Kailāsa's son, the illustrious Alava, the *Maśālābhāṣṭalin*¹ (attached to) the illustrious Mahāśāradhivṛkṣa Rājaka Malladatta; and engraved by Haradāsa, son of Sivapilla.

No. 41.—KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA: [KALACHURI] SAMVAT 593.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

Karitalai is now a small village twenty-nine miles North by East of Muraṛā, the headquarters of a taluk of the same name in the Jalhulpore District. The place seems to be of great antiquity, for an inscription in shell characters² and another of the Gupta period³ have been discovered there. There are several old temples at Kāritalai, from one of which, probably dedicated to the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, a fragmentary inscription of the reign of the Kalachuri king Lakṣmanarāja, the son of Yuvarājadēva I Kēyāṣṭavartṣa was brought over to Nāgpur⁴ and is

¹ This designation denotes 'the high officer in charge of the *śakhaṃśāla* office.' The latter term has been variously rendered by 'Record Office', 'Court of Rols', 'Court of Justice', 'Archives' and 'Accountant General's Office'. The word *maśālābhāṣṭalin* has been discussed by Prof. J. Ph. Vogel in his *Antiquities of Chanda State*, Pt. I, p. 125. Dr. Shamasastry translates the term *śakhaṃśāla* as 'accountants' office' in *Kautilya's Arthashastra* (p. 68).

² *Hiratal. Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (Second Ed.), p. 45.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 1172.

⁴ Cunningham has described the ruins at Kāritalai in *J. S. R.*, Vol. IX, pp. 7-8. He mentions a huge statue of the Boar 8' long, 7' high and 2' 6" broad. The Kāritalai stone inscription was probably put up at a temple of this Boar incarnation, see pp. 27 and 35 of *ib.*, above, Vol. II, pp. 174-5.

at present preserved in the Central Museum, Nagpur. The present inscription seems to have been discovered by the late R. B. Hirral in 1928 when he visited the place on his way to the Silahat caves which are situated not very far from Kārtālik.¹ A short notice of it appears in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, but the record has not been published so far. I edit it here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Director General of Archaeology in India.

From the account given by R. B. Hirral the inscription seems now to be affixed to the temple of Dēvi Maṭhā at Kārtālik. It is fragmentary. The preserved portion measures 10½" in breadth and 1' 10½" in height. Originally there were fourteen lines only, of which thirteen were inscribed breadthwise. Each of these now contains on an average fourteen *akṣaras*. The fourteenth line runs along the margin on the left. In addition to these there is one more line incised recently to record the date (Vikrama) Śaṁvat 1981, which runs parallel to the original marginal line. As said before, the inscription is fragmentary. Nothing is, of course, lost at the top, the bottom and the left hand side; but on the right hand, sixty to seventy *akṣaras* have been lost in each line. The record, when entire, must have occupied a space of 4' 6" in breadth. Of this only about one-fifth portion on the left has been preserved and the remaining four-fifths broken away and lost.

The characters belong to the North Indian alphabet. They have been deeply and beautifully cut. The strokes of the medial vowels have, here and there, been ornamentally treated. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of *y*, one in *Lakṣmaṇapārijā* (l. 13) and the other in *Drūhikā* (l. 2), etc., and to those of *gh* in *Asaṅghacāraka* (l. 12) and *Ghaṭānaya* (l. 14). The form of *y* is in many places closely similar to that of *rā*, compare *y* in *jayat* and *drūg-ān*, both in l. 2, *Nāgabhāṭa* in l. 9, etc., with *rā* in *yam-śaṁtati* in l. 6; *ā* has not yet developed a vertical stroke at the top, see *paritāṣṭhi* (l. 4). Similarly *ā* is still circular and not flattened in the right side, see *prithvī* (l. 4). The medial *u* has been generally denoted by a curve, (see *pāṇinī*, l. 5; *rogānukār*, l. 13, etc.), but in some cases by a curve turned to the left as in *śaṅkṣā* (l. 2). The marks for medial diphthongs generally appear above the line (see *saṁd*, and *Opāṇā*, l. 1), but in two cases viz., *Rudrābhāṭa* (l. 1) and *śrī-Lakṣmaṇapārijā* (l. 14) the medial *i* is obtained by continuing the top stroke of the consonant to the left to end in a small curve; while in two others we see fully developed *prithu-mātrā* also (see *Vādhā*, l. 3 and *pāṇā*, l. 12). The characters thus show a transitional stage of the Nāgarī alphabet and may be referred to the ninth century A. D.

The language is Sanskrit. Except the introductory obeisance and the marginal line recording the date, etc., the whole record is metrically composed. It seems to have originally consisted of thirteen verses. As regards orthography we may note that the consonant preceding and following *ṣ* has in certain cases been doubled as in *chātur-viṣṣyam* (l. 1) and *śaṁtām* (l. 2); *ṣ* has been used for *ṣ* in *rūṣa* (l. 7) and the guttural nasal for *anuvāsa* in *śaṅkṣā* (l. 4).

Owing to the unfortunate loss of a major portion of the record it is not possible to give a complete description of its contents. After the introductory obeisance to Drūhikā (Brahman), Upāṇḍa (Viśṇu) and Rudra (Śiva) come three verses invoking the blessings of the three deities. Ll. 6 and 7 seem to eulogize some persons possessed of strength, wealth, gravity, liberality and courtesy. The next line refers to some personage who was to great kings what the fall of a thunderbolt is to high mountains. The ninth line mentions the rout of Nāgabhaṭa, while the eleventh refers to some saintly person whose mind was devoted to the observance of the rules of conduct laid down

¹ The second edition of his *Inscriptions in the C. P.*, etc. (1932) mentions it, while the first edition of it (1910) contained no reference to it. In 1928 R. B. Hirral was accompanied by the Government Epigraphist (see *Inscriptions, etc.*, p. 45, n. 1), but there is no mention of this record in his report for 1927-8. Perhaps it was not considered as of sufficient importance.

in the Śruti and Smṛiti. From the twelfth line we learn that the illustrious king **Amoghavarsha** bowed to the feet of some one who was probably identical with the saintly person mentioned above. The thirteenth line speaks of the erection by him of a structure resembling a hill. Finally the marginal line states that the record was composed by **Prasannāditya** of the Ghatap family in the **year 593** (expressed in numerical figures only) during the reign of the illustrious king **Lakshmanarājadēva**.

The late Rāi Bahadur Hiralal who first noticed this inscription read the date as 693 and as it evidently refers to the Kalachuri-Chāndi era which was current at least from the ninth to the twelfth century A. D. in Bāghalkhand, he took it as equivalent to A. D. 941,¹ obviously identifying Lakshmanarāja mentioned in it with the king of the same name, of whose reign we have another fragmentary inscription from Kārtalāi itself. As Yuvarājadēva-Kēyūvararsha, the father of Lakshmanarāja, was the father-in-law of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Baddiga-Amoghavarsha III, it is clear that he flourished in the beginning of the tenth and his son Lakshmanarāja about the middle of the same century. The mention of Amoghavarsha may be adduced to support this view. In A. D. 941, which, according to R. B. Hiralal, is the date of this record, Amoghavarsha III was no doubt dead; for his son Kṛishṇa III succeeded him towards the end of A. D. 939.² But this presents no difficulty; for the record does not state that Amoghavarsha was living in A. D. 941. It refers to him incidentally in connection with the holy person who constructed the temple at which the inscription was originally put up. Besides, from the Śudī inscription³ we learn that Amoghavarsha III was staying for some time at Tripurī where he celebrated the marriage of his daughter with Permāḍi-Buṭuṇa II. That inscription is no doubt taken to be spurious, but we need not for that reason reject all historical information in it, unless it is contradicted by other incontrovertible evidence. As there was no other Lakshmanarāja in the family of the Kalachuris of Tripurī known till then, R. B. Hiralal seems to have felt amply justified in reading the date as above.

But the reading is probably incorrect. The first figure closely resembles that of the *śikhi* in the Chāndrāhā inscription of Prabodhasūrya and the latter was read as five by Dr. Kielhorn.⁴ The late Mr. R. D. Banerjee first⁵ read it as 5; but it appears as 5 in his article on the Chāndrāhā inscription.⁶ Other instances in which the figure stands for 5 can also be cited.⁷ So the date of the present inscription is 593 and this being referred to the Kalachuri era corresponds to A. D. 841-2.⁸ The mention of Amoghavarsha in this record does not also preclude this reading; for this Amoghavarsha would be the first Rāshtrakūṭa king of that name who ruled from A. D. 814 to 880. We know that the royal families of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Kalachuris were

¹ See his *Inscriptions in U. P. and Benar*, (second ed.) p. 46.

² For Amoghavarsha III we have the dates 937 and 939 (see *Z. VI*, Vol. XI, pp. 29 and 30). His son Kṛishṇa III's Duoll plates were issued in A. D. 940.

³ Above, Vol. III, p. 179.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 82; above, Vol. I, p. 234.

⁵ *Memoria A. S. I.*, No. 23, p. 119.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 148. There is a similar difference of opinion about the reading of the year in *II*, 67 of the Śāṇḍī inscription from Band, above, Vol. XXII, p. 98 and n. 3.

⁷ See for instance the figures of the year and the *śikhi* of the Balli plates of the Chaulukya Mālarāja, above, Vol. X, plate facing p. 78; the figure of the year in the Kāyirāja inscription of Kālikā, Cunningham's *A. S. I.*, Vol. XXI, pl. XIX and that of the *śikhi* in the Pāṇpur plates of Bhimaditya, above, Vol. XXI, pl. facing p. 172.

⁸ The evidence of palaeography is also in favour of this earlier date. I would particularly draw attention to the formation of the initial diphthongs by lengthening the top line to the left to end in a small curve (I, 11) and the round form of *ā*. In the later Kārtalāi stone inscription of the reign of Lakshmanarāja (c. 1000 A. D.) the initial diphthongs are in all cases denoted either by strokes on the top or by *prasthā-vārtā* and *ā* is flattened on the right side.

matrimonially connected in the ninth century also ; for Amoghavarsha I's son Krishna II was married to Kōkalla I's daughter¹, though this marriage may not have taken place before A. D. 842.² Besides, Amoghavarsha was of a spiritual temperament. He was a fervent devotee, at least in the early part of his life, of Hindu deities. The Sanjān plates tell us that he had cut off a finger of his left hand and offered it to Mahā-Lakṣmī to ward off a public calamity.³ It is not, therefore, unlikely that Amoghavarsha had gone to the Chāṇ country to pay his respects to the holy person who put up the present inscription. The mention of Nāgabhaṭa's defeat in l. 9 may also be adduced in support of the above-mentioned date. This Nāgabhaṭa is evidently Nāgabhaṭa II of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, who was completely routed by Amoghavarsha's father Gōvinda III.⁴ Nāgabhaṭa was not living in A. D. 841-2 the date of the present inscription ; for, according to the Jain work *Prabhāṅka-chaṇḍa*⁵ he died in V. S. 890 (A. D. 832-4) ; nor is Amoghavarsha known to have raided North India like his father and grandfather. The defeat of Nāgabhaṭa II mentioned in this inscription must be that inflicted on him by Gōvinda III before A. D. 800. The personage, who in the preceding line is described as a destroyer of great kings as a thunder-bolt is of high mountains, is therefore probably Gōvinda III. The name of the king whom he destroyed (*saṁjyāhṛ*), is lost at the end of that line. It is not known in what connection the defeat of Nāgabhaṭa is mentioned in l. 9 ; but as the name of Amoghavarsha occurs only after two lines, it is clear that the event must have happened not long before the reign of Amoghavarsha. The latter must consequently be the first king of that name ; for, otherwise, there would be a long gap of more than one hundred and thirty years between the two events, if the king is identified with Baddiga-Amoghavarsha III.

If my reading of the date is accepted the Lakṣmaṇarāja mentioned in the present inscription becomes the earliest known king of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri. He was the predecessor and may have been the father of Kōkalla I,⁶ who stands at the head of the genealogical lists in the Bilhāri stone inscription⁷ and the Benares plates of Karka.⁸ The Sanjān plates of Amoghavarsha state that after his victorious campaign in North India, Gōvinda III returned to the bank of the Narmadā and conquering Kōsala, Kāśī, Vāgī, Pāhala, Oḍṛuka and Mālava made his servants govern them.⁹ This seems to mean that Gōvinda raided those countries and either exacted tributes from the ruling princes or, deposing them, placed his own nominees in charge of their countries. That he did so in one case at least is known from other records. The Baroda plates of Karka, dated Śaka 734, state that Karka was made a door-bolt to protect the king of Mālwa from the Gurjara king who had become puffed up by conquering the lords of Gauda and Vāṅga.¹⁰ In some other records of the Gujjarāi Rāṣṭrākūṭas we find references to battles fought

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 262-70.

² As I have shown elsewhere (above, p. 317) Amoghavarsha I was born about A. D. 799. He was, therefore, forty-two years old at the time of the present inscription, but it is not likely that in A. D. 841-2 his son Krishna II was already married to Lakṣmaṇarāja's grand-daughter, for he is known to have reigned till about 914 A. D. Perhaps Amoghavarsha had gone to Tripuri to seek the Kalachuri king's help when he was deposed in the early part of his reign.

³ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 248.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

⁵ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 179, n. 3.

⁶ This Kōkalla was a contemporary of Bhōja I of Kanauj who flourished from, circa A. D. 835 to 885. His son-in-law Krishna II reigned from about A. D. 880 to 914. Kōkalla may have therefore flourished from about A. D. 850 to 885.

⁷ Above, Vol. I, pp. 234f.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 307ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 246.

¹⁰ See lines 26-27 of the Baroda plates of Karka, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 100.

by them with the Gurjara-Pratihāra in Ujjayini.¹ Mālwā was, therefore, made a protectorate and a subordinate branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas established in Gujara to check the advance of the Pratihāras. The same may have happened in the case of Dāhala also.² As Lakshmanarāja is the earliest known prince of the Kalachuri dynasty of Dāhala, it is not unlikely that the present record in its lost portion mentioned the establishment of the Kalachuri family in Dāhala after the defeat of Nāgabhatta. Subsequently the Rāshtrakūṭas made many matrimonial alliances with the Kalachuris³ and thus made the Kalachuri kingdom a bulwark on the north of the Narmadā against any possible invasion of their territory by the Gurjara-Pratihāras.

It would not be out of place to discuss here the relation of this Lakshmanarāja with other princes of the same name known from two other records discovered in North India. The Kahlā plates of Sōghadēva⁴ mention a Kalachuri prince Lakshmanarāja in whose family was born the prince Rājaputra whose descendant in the eleventh generation named Sōghadēva made a grant in V. S. 1134 (A. D. 1077). The date of this Rājaputra is approximately settled by the statement in the record that Guṇāmbhōdhidēva I, his descendant in the third generation, helped Bhōja in his wars against a Gauda king. This Bhōja can be no other than the Gurjara-Pratihāra Bhōja whose known dates range from A. D. 835 to 882. Guṇāmbhōdhidēva I may therefore have flourished about A. D. 850. His third lineal ancestor Rājaputra can consequently be placed in circa A. D. 775. The indefinite manner in which the relationship of Rājaputra to Lakshmanarāja is mentioned in the Kahlā plates makes it difficult to conjecture the date of the latter, but that he did not flourish later than the beginning of the eighth century A. D. seems certain. He cannot, therefore, be identified with Lakshmanarāja of the present inscription.

There are three other kings named Lakshmanarāja known from a stone inscription found at Kasī⁵ in the Gōrakhpur District, U. P. Rāj Bahadur D. R. Salmi has assigned this inscription to the 11th or 12th century A. D., but on paleographic evidence it appears to belong to a period not later than the tenth century A. D.⁶ The princes mentioned in this inscription were ruling over a territory contiguous to the kingdom of the Kalachuris of the Kahlā plates. One would, therefore, expect to find some links connecting the two families in the genealogical lists of the two inscriptions, but none have been noticed so far. A careful comparison of the two lists would show, however, that there are two names common to them, viz., Rājaputra and his son Sivārāja. The former name is evidently a *bienda* and we find it actually stated in the Kasī inscription that the real name of the prince was Lakshmana and that he was called *Rājaputra* because of his virtues. The *Rājaputra* of the Kahlā plates flourished about A. D. 775 which is, therefore, the date of Lakshmanarāja II of the Kasī inscription. Lakshmanarāja I, his great-grandfather, and

¹ See e. g., *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 87.

² So far as one can judge from the present fragmentary record, it seems to have contained glorification of the Rāshtrakūṭas rather than of the Kalachuris. It is noteworthy that the line containing the name of the reigning king is added in the margin.

³ See e. g., the Kasī plates of Karka III, R. 16-25, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 242.

⁴ Above, Vol. VII, p. 89.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1298.

⁶ It may be noted here that in the Kasī inscription, (1) the medial diphthongs are denoted by small curves added to the left of the top line; (2) the medial *h* appears as a small serif at the bottom of the vertical; (3) the left limbs of *ā* and *āh*, the tail of *ā* and the vertical of *āh* have not yet developed as in the Nāgarī alphabet of the eleventh or twelfth century A. D. Its *āh* has, however, developed a vertical stroke on the right. I would, therefore, assign the inscription to the tenth century A. D. The record seems to mention two successors of Lakshmanarāja and the names of one or two more may have been lost in the mutilated portion. As I have placed Lakshmanarāja III of the Kasī inscription in circa A. D. 850, the last Kalachuri prince mentioned in the record must have reigned some time during the tenth century A. D. This date is corroborated by the paleographic evidence detailed above.

Lakshmanarāja III, his great-grandson, must therefore have flourished about A. D. 700 and 800 respectively. Though Lakshmanarāja III of the Kasī inscription thus flourished about the same time as the Lakshmanarāja of the present inscription, the two are not likely to be identical; for none of the descendants of the former can be identified with the Kalachuri princes mentioned in the Biliāri inscription and the Benares plates, who were evidently the successors of the Lakshmanarāja of the present inscription.

TEXT.

- 1 सिद्धम् [१^{*}] श्री नमोस्तु दृष्टिषोपेन्द्ररुदेभ्यः ॥ चातुर्वर्ण्ये [नि]^१ . . .
- 2 नमार्चं जगत् [१^{*}] द्रागेव दृष्टिणः चिणोत्^२ . . .
- 3 रुद्रवेधोदस(मै) । पायासुसंभुसदना[च]^३ . . .
- 4 कपहोत्पुत्रनि परिलुठन्तो यस्य मूर्ह[स्व]^४ . . .
- 5 न क्रमः परमिति स्वान्पुत्रकाम्पाठ[ये]^५ . . .
- 6 चौणाङ्गुली^६ जङ्गरे यैरासन्तति सन्तत^७ . . .
- 7 इति । व(व)लविभवविलासव्यागदा^८ . . .
- 8 महामुमिन्द्रवृक्षपाता(तः) संजष्टे झा[१]^९ . . .
- 9 भूयसा चानेहसा ॥ भग्ने नागभटे^{१०} . . .
- 10 कषयावदलको वराहव्याहारः क^{११} . . .
- 11 तिष्ठन्वाचारमवगधिषणः पु[ण्य]^{१२} . . .
- 12 श्रीमदमोघवर्णनृपतिः पादौ [न]^{१३} . . .
- 13 वापरः ॥ तेनाकारि नगानुकारि म^{१४} . . .
- 14^{१५} श्री^{१६} सम्यत् ५८३ श्रीलक्ष्मणराजदेवे राजनि चटान्वयश्री-
प्रसन्नादित्वस्य कृतिरियम् [१^{*}]

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² Metre: *Saini*.

³ Metre: *Sardulavivāḍa*.

⁴ Read मूर्हस्व. Metre: *Māhāt*.

⁵ Read पाठोत्. Metre: *Sardulavivāḍa*.

⁶ Read चौणाङ्गुली.

⁷ Read सन्तत—, Metre: *Māhāt*.

⁸ Perhaps झादिनी was written here. Metre: *Dravāḍa*.

⁹ Metre: *Siddharit*.

¹⁰ Read कृतिरियम्—.

¹¹ Read पुण्यकारित. Metre: *Siddharit*.

¹² Read यस्य काले श्रीमद—.

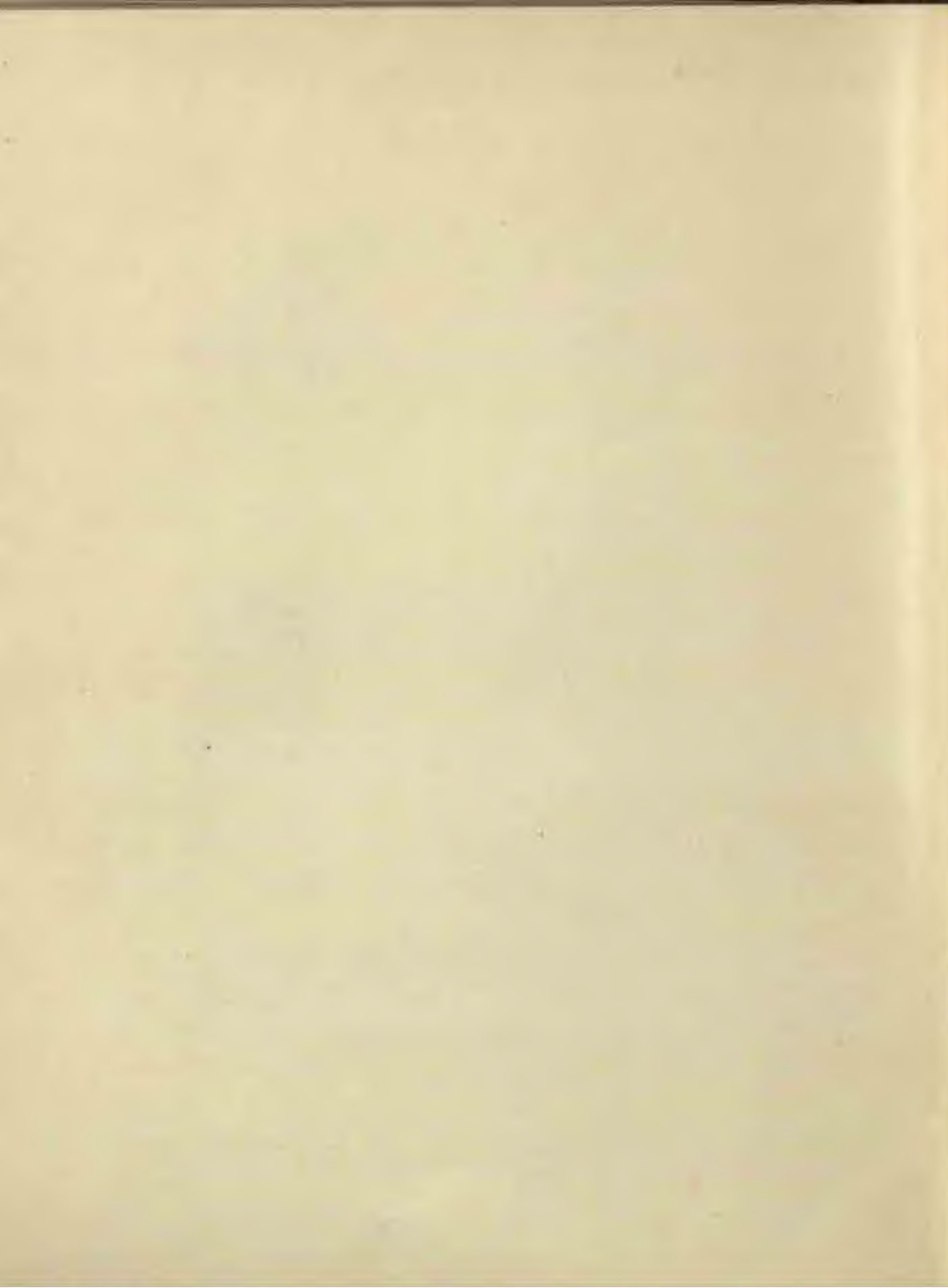
¹³ Read समस्यस्यम्. Metre: *Sardulavivāḍa*.

¹⁴ Metre: *Sardulavivāḍa*.

¹⁵ This line is written along the margin. Another line below it inscribed recently reads श्रीम(न) १४८२.

¹⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 वमा इन्द्राक्षरावदुदितलं किलातु २
 सदेवस्य सखपायास्यस्य ३
 कयस्य सखरितुं श्रीयस्य सख ४
 सकमः यरगिति स्यात्तुकाभा ५
 कीणादमाकक्षिरेये रामत्रिसर ६
 वृत्तिवत विरवविताम आरा ७
 मस्य सखिदुदुयाता संकदेदा ८
 मयसा सखेदसा सखेदसा ९
 कयणावदुतकावरादुदाराः १०
 तिस्रग्रासारपवलाविलः ११
 (मीमदमावस्येयतिः यासि १२
 वाय रः सखेदसा सखेदसा



No. 42.—FOUR GANGA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS

BY S. N. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., CALCUTTA.

The four sets of copper-plate grants belonging to the Ganga Kings of Kalinga were acquired through Mr. S. Rajaguru, Municipal Councillor, Parlakimedi, Ganjam. They have been found, as Mr. Rajaguru was told by the owner of the plates, in some villages of Northern Ganjam, and were purchased by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, M.A., Superintendent Archaeological Survey of India. They are now deposited in the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. I edit the charters by the kind permission of Mr. Majumdar.

A.—Plates of Mahārāja Jayavarmaḍēva.

The copper-plates which bear the subjoined inscription are **three** in number and measure about $5\frac{1}{2}$ " by $3\frac{1}{4}$ ". Their rims are not raised. Each plate is inscribed on both sides. The inscription is damaged in several places. But practically the whole of it can be made out quite satisfactorily. The ring on which the plates were strung is about 3" in diameter. The small oval seal, below which the ends of the ring are secured, measures about $\frac{1}{2}$ " by $\frac{1}{4}$ ". It is damaged and the emblem on it is no more visible. The weight of the three plates, with ring and seal, is about 70 tolas.

The **alphabet** of the inscription resembles that of the Dhanantara Plates of Śāmantavarman,¹ and may be assigned to the 7th Century A.D. The **language** is Sanskrit. Except three of the customary verses in lines 28-35 the inscription is in prose. As regards **orthography** the following peculiarities call for remark:—*r* and *h* are not distinguished, both being indicated by the sign for *r*. A consonant after *r* is doubled only in a few instances, e.g., *śākaraṇḍīnara* (l. 5), and *śākaraṇḍīnara* (l. 35). The letter *t* preceding *r* is doubled in *takṣi-śruga* (l. 9), etc. *V* is used in *bhugavataḥ*—*char-āchara* (ll. 1-2), *pūṣi* (l. 11), and *vāṇabhīṣṭa-muḍhā* (l. 28), and wrongly dropped in *Sagar-ādibhi* (l. 29). The sign for final *t* has been used twice, though wrongly, in *śākaraṇḍīnara* (l. 1) and *śākaraṇḍīnara* (l. 14).

The inscription is of the **Gāṅga** King of Kalinga, **Mahārāja Jayavarmaḍēva**, who was a devout worshipper of the lord *Śākaraṇḍīnara*, residing on the summit of the Mahēndra mountain. From his residence at *Śveta* the king by this document informs his officials and the inhabitants concerned in the *Nṛpaśāstrīnara*—*śāstrīnara*, that he gave the village of **Bhusaṇḍā** in the said province to **Raviśarma**, a Brāhmana of the *Kāśyapa-gotra*, the *Vijayendra-charaṇa* and the *Kāśyapa-ādibhi*, who was a resident of the *Pratiśāstrīnara-śāstrīnara* of the *śākaraṇḍīnara*. The *śāstrīnara* was the *Mahāśāstrīnara* Pūrṇaḍēva who had the title of *Pañchamahādēva*. The grant was written by *Khaṇḍa*, the son of the *Mahāśāstrīnara* Śrīśāstrīnara² and engraved by *Vichitra-lasta*.

I am inclined to identify Jayavarman of the present grant with Jayavarman, brother of Anantavarman of the Parlakimedi plates³, which record the gift of the village *Talathāra* in the district of *Kṛśṇajukavaritani* by Anantavarman, son of *Dāyendravarman*, at the request of his brother Jayavarman, to *Vishṇuśāstrīnara*, a Brāhmana of the *Pañchamahādēva-gotra*, who was an inhabitant of the village of *Śrāṇḍīkā* in the district of *Kāmarūpa* or *Assam*.

¹ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 273 ff.² [See p. 262, nn. 8 and 12 below.—Ed.]³ [This may be only a title in which case the name of the official has not been given.—Ed.]⁴ *Annual Report of the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, for the year 1920-21*, pp. 18, 93.⁵ *Annual Report of the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, for the year 1920-21*, pp. 18, 93; H. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 322-33; J. A. H. R. S., Vol. II, pp. 273 ff.

TEXT.¹*First Plate; First Side.*

- 1 Om² svasti ([*]) Śvōtak-ādhiśṭhānāt³ d-bhagavatah⁴
 2 ē-cha-ūchra-gō⁵ śakala-śaśāka-śekhara-
 3 [dha]ra[śya*] sthity-utpatti-pralaya-kāra-
 4 [pa-hā]tōh Mahēndr-āchala-ākṣhara-nivāsi-
 5 nab śrīmad-Gōkarṇḍēśvara-bhaṭāraka⁶ chara

First Plate; Second Side.

- 6 pa-kamal-ārādhanād-avāpta-punya-ni-
 7 chayō Gāḡ-āmala-kul-amvāt⁷ āndih⁸ sva-bhu-
 8 ja-va(ba)la-parākram-ākrānta-śakala-Ka-
 9 lāḡ-ādhirājya[ḥ*] śakti-tṛaya⁹ prakā-
 10 rsh-ānuraḡjit-āḥ¹⁰ śāśha-sāmantah para-
 11 mamāhēśvarō mātē-pūtrih¹¹ pād-ān[n]

Second Plate; First Side.

- 12 dhyātō mahārāja-śrī-Jayavarmadēva[ḥ*] kuśa-
 13 ḥ Nḡadāśrīṅga¹² vī[śha*]tē yathā-kāl-ādhyāś-
 14 nō vyā(vya)vaśārīṇah sa-karṇḍā(n) vrā(bṛā)hmaṇa
 15 purōḡ-ādī-rājanaka-rājapūtra-pra[dhā]-
 16 nō(na)puruṣa-rātrakuta¹³ dāyānāyaka-bhō-
 17 ḡ-bhōḡinā¹⁴ nīvāsi-janapādā[nī*]-chāṭa-bhaṭa-va-
 18 laṭṭha)hha-[ānīyā-]

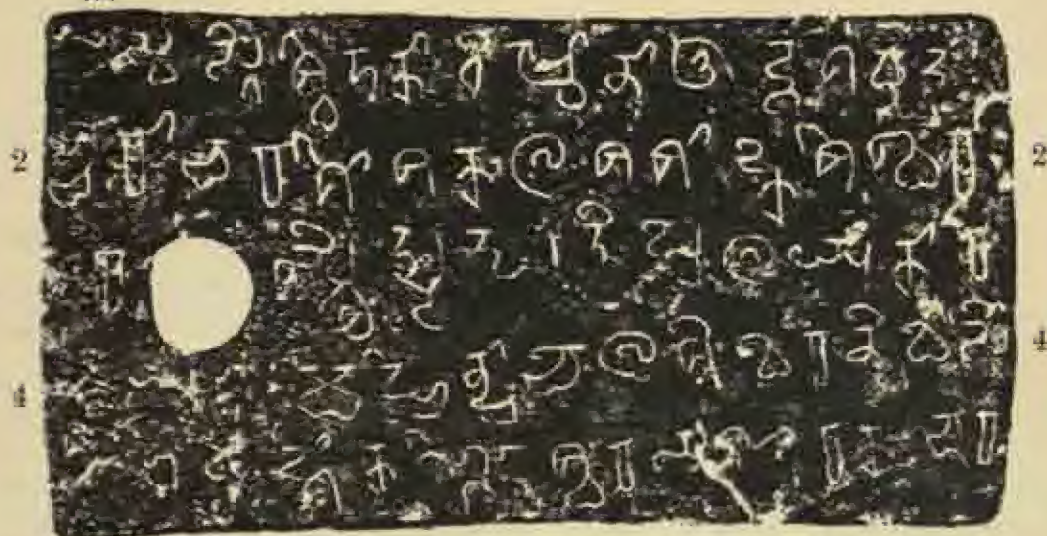
Second Plate; Second Side.

- 19 āś-cha(mā-cha) yath-ārham pu(pū)ṣaty-ājñāpayati cha [*]
 20 Viditum-astu bhavatām-ētaḡ-vishaya-samva-
 21 ndha¹⁵ Bhuvuṇḡ-grāmō-yath chetuh-sann(ān)-ōpala-
 22 kṣitah bhaṭ(ṭā)raha-Guḡēśvara-Pratiśṭhā¹⁶
 23 yāth viśhaya-vīśatārya-vīṇ(bṛā)hmaṇa-Raviśa[r*]mma(nō*) Kā-
 24 śyapa-gōttrāya Vājasanīnīya-charuḡāya
 25 Kāyrah¹⁷ ākhinē sālā-dhārā-purahsarē

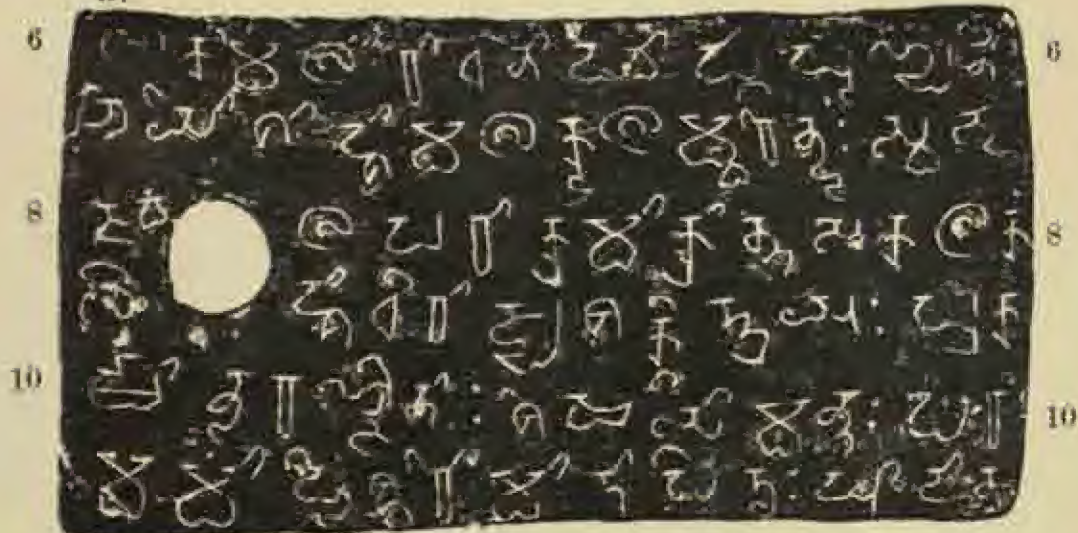
¹ From the original plates and impressions.² Expressed by a symbol.³ The sign for *t* is superfluous; read "ādhiśṭhā".⁴ The *vīśhaya* is superfluous.⁵ Read *gōḡ*.⁶ Read *bhaṭāraka*.⁷ Read *ānīvāsi*.⁸ [The reading may be *śaśāka* or *śāśha*.—Ed.]⁹ Read *rātrakuta*.¹⁰ Read *ādhyāś* or *ādhyā*.¹¹ Read *ānīvāsi*.¹² Read *ādhyāś*.¹³ Read *Pratiśṭhā* or *Pratiśṭhā*. (It is more probable that the grant was made on the occasion of the consecration of the image of Guḡēśvara (Śiva) and that the name of the *vīśhaya* or district to which the donor belonged has been omitted by the scribe through oversight.—Ed.)

FOUR GANGA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS:
A.—PLATES OF MAHARAJA JAYAVARMADEVA.

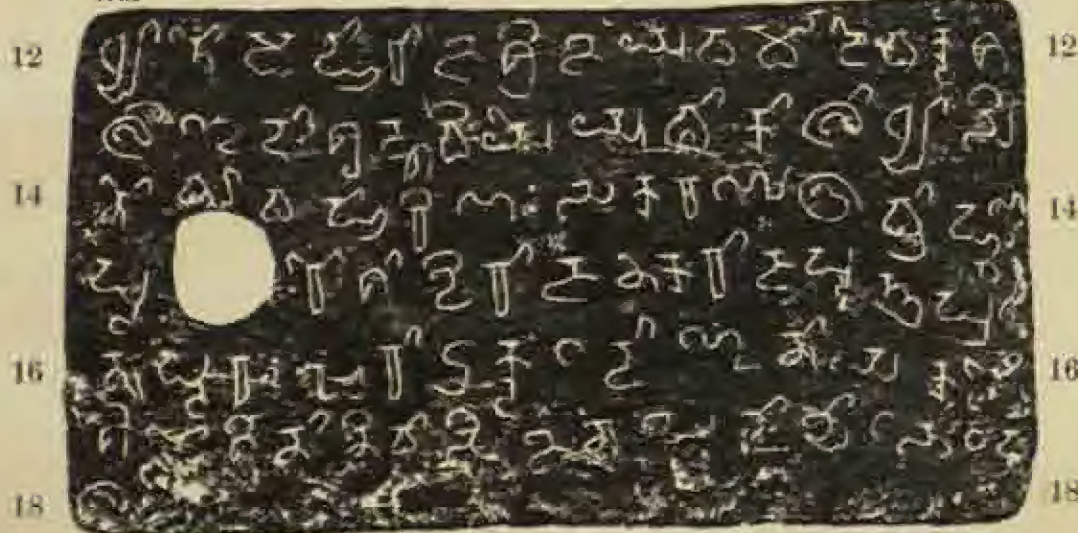
ia.



ib.



iiia.



iiib.

20 20
22 22
24 24

iiia.

26 26
28 28
30 30
32 32

iiib.

34 34
36 36
38 38
40 40

Third Plate, First Side.

- 26 n=ā-chandr-ārka-kṣitī-sama-kālam-akari(ṛ)kṛtya datō(ṛ)ṛ=
- 27 amābh[ḥ] [*] Śrad-bhavadāḥ pālanīyēti¹ | Uktam
- 28 eha dharma-sāstrē [*] Vē(Ba)hubhīḥ²-vasudhā datā(itā)
- 29 rājabhīḥ Sagar-ādibhī(bhīḥ) [*] yaśya yaśya
- 30 yadā bhu(bhū)mita(=ta)śya tasya tadā phalaḥ(laṃ) ¶ Mā bhu(bhū)=
- 31 d=aphala-saukā vah para-da(tē=ē)ti pāṭhivā[ḥ] [*] va-
- 32 dānāt-phalam=ā[nantyaḥ] para-datt-ānupāla-

Third Plate, Second Side.

- 33 nam(nam) ¶ Iti kamala-dal-ā-dal⁴-ānvu(bu)vy(bh)ndu-lōlām śrīya-
- 34 m-anuchintya manushya-jī(vi)tesm oha | sakalam-idamvudā-
- 35 kṛtāḥ-cha vu(bu)dhvā(dhivā) na hī puruṣaḥ para-ki(kṛ)rttayō vūlōpya(pyāḥ) [1] *
- 36 Iti [dēta⁵]-kō-dh[ī] [*] kṛta-prāpta-paḍcha mahā-śavda(bda)-śrī-ma-
- 37 hāsāmanta-(Pārṇa)dhōva[ḥ] [*] lakṣitam mahāsamdhivi-
- 38 [grā]hi-Śrīhāmanta-(sū)jouna(nā) Kṣapdāna [*] Utki(kṛ)ṇṇaśrī-Vi-
- 39 chittrahasṭhena [*] Vyā(vya)vahāriṇō dhōva-(pra)tihi-
- 40 [ṇṇaḥ] [1] *

B.—Plates of Dānārṇṇavadēva.

The inscription is incised on **three copper-plates**, each measuring about 5½" long by 3½" broad. The plates are strung on a copper ring about 5" in diameter. The two ends of the ring are soldered below a circular seal, which measures about 1½" in diameter. The seal is much damaged and broken on one side. It bears in relief on countersunk surface the figures of a crescent at the top, a seated bull in the centre and an indistinct emblem at the bottom. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 118 tolas. The first and the third plates are inscribed on one side only, while the second plate has inscription on both the sides. There are altogether thirty-four lines of writing. Though the plates have no raised rims, the writing on them is well-preserved. The engraving has been carelessly done. Wrong spelling and omission of syllables are common mistakes.

The record is not dated but on palaeographic grounds may be assigned to the 10th century A.D. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of five of the customary *śloka*s in lines 23-31, the record is written in prose. In respect of orthography we may note the following points: The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. The consonant after *r* is, as a rule, doubled, e.g., *chandr-ārka-* (l. 18), *varṇya-* (l. 27), but *m* has not been doubled in *hātē-Mahēndr-śchala-* (l. 2). *Anusāra* has been used instead of the dental *s* in *śchala* (ll. 29-30). The dental *s* represents the palatal *ś* in some cases, e.g., *śadāka-* (ll. 1-2), *śchala-* (ll. 2-3). The sign for *ṇṇ* has been used in *ṇṇ* (l. 10) and *ṇṇ* (l. 21). The final *i* has been used in *āṇṇ* (l. 14).

The inscription is of **Prthivivarman's** son, the devout worshipper of Mahāvara, the *Paramāvara* *Paramahastātala* *Mahārājadhīraja*, the ornament of the spotless family of the Ganga, the *Rājaka* **Dānārṇṇavadēva**, who had obtained a store of merit by worshipping the lotus-feet of the holy lord *Gōkarṇṇēvara*, dwelling on the summit of Mount Mahāmala and who

¹ Read *śrad-bhavadāḥ pālanīyēti*.

² The *v* sign is superfluous.

³ *Meve*: *Anusāra*.

⁴ The two syllables *dalā* have been wrongly repeated.

⁵ *Meve*: *Pastpādē*.

by the excellence of his threefold power had endeared himself to all his vassals, and had acquired by the strength of his own arms the overlordship of the entire Kālīya country. From his residence at *Śvāta*, evidently the same as *Svātaka*, the king informs his officials and the inhabitants concerned, that on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun he gave the village *Kāsiḍḍā*, situated in the *Jayaḍā-vishaya* to *Śānta*, Boddhana's son *Śānta* *Durgakhaḍḍika*, (a Brāhmana) of the *Vāma-gāva*, who was a student of the *Uhhāṇḍoga-sācārya*, and had the fivefold *pravara* and *anuppravara*. The inscription was written by the *Saṁuddhivaggaḥ* *Dhanadatta* and engraved by *Dāmodara*.

Dānārāṇḍa, by whom this charter was issued, cannot at present be identified. He is evidently distinct from and later than another *Dānārāṇḍa*, who was the father of *Indravarman* of the *Purje* and *Tekkāl* plates, which are written in much earlier characters and are dated in the *Gaṇga* years 137² and 154 respectively, roughly corresponding to A.D. 631 and 648.

TEXT.*

First Plate.

- 1 Om¹ svastī (||*) *Śvāt-ādhish*(hānād-bhagavatai-ahar-āchata-gurōsa(=śa)kala-sa(śa)āḥ(śā)-
- 2 āka-śākhara-dha[raaya*] śāhīy-utparit²-pralaya-kāraya-bhōr-Mahēndr-ānala-ā(ā)
- 3 khara-civānab³ śrīmad-Gōkurgōśvara-bhattārakasya dhara-
- 4 pa-kamal-ārūddha-āvāpti(pta)-pūyānichaya(h*) śakti-traya-prakara(ā)-
- 5 nuraṇ(ā)(ā)(ā) āśeśa-sa(śa)mantu-chakra(h*) aya-bhuja-va(śa)la-parā-
- 6 kram-ākānta-sakala-kula(hing-ādānā)(yō)(jya) /paśanama-
- 7 bhōvarū mātā-pitri-pād-ātmahvātā paramāśvara-paramahha-
- 8 [tā]ra*[kō mahārājā(āhī*)rā]sa-Gaṇḍa-āmalā-kula-tilaka-Rāḡaka-śrī-Dā-
- 9 nārāṇḍavādēvaḥ *Prithivīvarman*-antaḥ kuḍālī [Jayaḍā-vishaya

Second Plate : First Side.

- 10 vathā-bāl-ādhyāśā(ā)-āśāśamanta-mahāśamanta-rājaka-rāja-
- 11 putra-kumārāmāty-ōparīka*]-daṇḍanāyaka-vishayapati-grāma-
- 12 pati-daṇḍapāl(ā)(ā)(ā)ka*]-bhāṇa-vallabha-jāṭiyāna(ā) bhōḡat(ā)(ka*)-jaha-
- 13 padān⁴ 'yath-ārthā mānayaṭi / vō(bō)dhayaṭi / samājūḡapayaṭi aha
- 14 saraṭaḥ āyam-asmākaṁ-anyaṭ / viditaṁ-asatā bhava-
- 15 tāḥ / āśad-vishayam(ya)-śatavaddha*[Kūat(āḡā)-grāmā'yath sa-ja-
- 16 la-śhala-sa-padr-āraya⁵ sātavi⁶ vitapa-samanvita(āśa)śatāśa-
- 17 m-ōpalakṣīnāḥ / bh-niva sūrya-grahap⁷ mātā-pitrōr-ātmanah⁸
- 18 pūy-ābhivriddhayaḥ sa-siddhāśapūrasakṛitā⁹ chandra-ārka-kālam-a-

¹ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 260 ff.

² Ibid. Vol. XVIII, pp. 267 ff.

³ Ibid., p. 268. Originally this date was read as 149.

⁴ From impressions and the original plates.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ The conjunct *ipa* appears as *pa*. The left limb of *sa* is elongated downwards, so much so that it looks like the *e*-initial.

⁷ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁸ Note that the *śānta* mark is expressed by the omission of the top line. The right hand short downward stroke with a bend at about the middle is a constituent of the dental *sa*.

⁹ Read *prastiddha*.

¹⁰ Read *śrīpūṣṭa*.

¹¹ Read *śāntaśānta*.

¹² Read *śāntaśānta*.

¹³ Read *śāntaśānta*.

£.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥

270.

[illegible]

20 ययथाविषययुतस्यययथायुतसायनभद्रयु
 22 ॥ कायनामुष्णसफिरयुनिर्यादिकाऽस्मादिः ॥ ॥ ॥
 24 नृदभवाद्भूमिनिताधनकरायियनिर्यादिकाऽस्मादिः ॥ ॥ ॥
 26 नृदभवाद्भूमिनिताधनकरायियनिर्यादिकाऽस्मादिः ॥ ॥ ॥

[illegible]

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 19 karikṛitya bhāṭṭa-Vōdhūna¹ sutāya Chehāndōga-charaṇāya Vachchha²-gōtrā-
 20 ya pañchārishaya³-pravarāya pañch-ānupavarāya bhāṭṭa-Durggakha-
 21 ṇḍikāya tāsvira(ma)-śāanāna pratipādikā(16)-smābhīḥ [1*] āna-
 22 na-darśanā-dharmma-gaurvāch-cha na kēn-āpi paṇi⁴ paripantūnā
 23 bhavitaraya(vpaṇi) Tathā cha paṭhyatē dharmma-śāstrē [1*] Va(Ba)hubhūra-va-
 24 sudhā datā(ttā) rājābhīḥ Sagar-ādibhū(bhīḥ) [1*] yasya yasya ya-
 25 ā bhūmī-tāya tāya tadā phalam(laṇi) [1*] Sva-āpāt-phalam-ānanta-
 26 m-para-datt-ānupālano⁵ [1*] Bhūmim yaḥ pratigṛhṇā(hṇā)ti yā-cha bhūmī-
 27 m-prayachohati [1*] ubhau tau puṇya-karmamāṇau ga(ni)yatan svargga-ga(gā)mi-

Third Plate.

- 28 nau [1*] Sva-datāch(ttāḥ) para-dattām-vā yō harēd-vasundharān⁶ sa viś(hāyām) kṛi-
 29 mīr-bhāṭṭa(tvā) pitṛbhīḥ-cha paçhyatē [1*] Iti kamala-dal-ānvu(mān)-viśh-
 30 du(bīndu)-lālāḥ śrīyam-ānuchīntya manushya-jiv(ita*)h-cha sakalam-idam-a-
 31 dāṇḍitaḥ-cha vudhivā(buddhivā) na hi gurushaiḥ para-kīrtayō viśōpyāḥ [1*] Iti [1*]
 32 lakṣ(ita*)h-cha sakala-karma-vīritāna saṁti(dhī)vigrahā(hī)-
 33 śrī-Dharmadatta(tāna) mahāśēvī yuchha(yuva)rāja mahāś[ma*]ita
 34 dharmma(rmmā)dhika(rā*)ṇa mahā(ha)ta(tia)ra pratihāra Vikṛṇya(rṇṇāḥ) Dāmō-
 darāḥ [1*]

C.—Plates of Bhūpēndravarmadēva.

The inscription is on **three copper-plates**, each measuring about 3" in breadth and 2½" in height. The plates are held together by a ring, about 2½" in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured by an oval **seal**, which contains the figure of a seated bull. Above this bull is a crescent, and below it a lotus, of which five petals are visible. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 64 tolas. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only, while the second plate has inscription on both the sides. There are altogether thirty-six lines of writing, each side having nine lines. The plates have slightly raised rims in order to protect the writing, which is well-preserved.

The **characters** are of what Dr. Burnell named the South Indian Nāgarī type, and may be assigned to the 10th century A.D. The **language** is Sanskrit. Excepting the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 20-34, the inscription is in prose. In respect of **orthography** the following points may be noted: *h* and *v* are not distinguished; *s* is used for *ś*, as in -śāśko. (l. 2), and for *dh*, as in mūṣaya. (l. 32); *sh* is used for *s*, in śakubdhharāḥ (l. 29); the *visarga* has been wrongly dropped in many instances, e.g., garō (l. 2), -vīśara (l. 4), -vīchaya (l. 6); and the *anusvāra* has been used instead of the class nasal, as in -Kaliṁpa (l. 7), pañcha (l. 19), -āmmāṇa (ll. 6, 12).

The inscription is of the time of the **Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhūṭāraka, śrī-Bhūpēndravarmadēva**, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who was the ornament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas, who had accumulated a store of merit by worshipping the lotus-

¹ Read bhāṭṭa-Bhāṭṭa. Note the close-topped dh, but the open-topped form of the letter is the commonest.

² Read Vata.

³ Read pañch-āraka, or pañch-ārādya.

⁴ This paṇi is intended to be pari and is superfluous.

⁵ The first half of this verse has been omitted, which is Nā śāśko-phala-śāśko and para-dattāṇi, parivāṇa.

⁶ Read karita vasundharā.

⁷ Metre: Paṇḍarā.

i.

२ ४ ६ ८
ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीभूपेन्द्रवर्मदेवः ॥
ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीभूपेन्द्रवर्मदेवः ॥
ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीभूपेन्द्रवर्मदेवः ॥
ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीभूपेन्द्रवर्मदेवः ॥

ii.

२० २२ २४ २६
ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीभूपेन्द्रवर्मदेवः ॥
ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीभूपेन्द्रवर्मदेवः ॥
ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीभूपेन्द्रवर्मदेवः ॥
ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीभूपेन्द्रवर्मदेवः ॥

iii.

० २ ४ ६ ८
ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीभूपेन्द्रवर्मदेवः ॥
ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीभूपेन्द्रवर्मदेवः ॥
ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीभूपेन्द्रवर्मदेवः ॥
ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीभूपेन्द्रवर्मदेवः ॥

iii.

२८ ३० ३२ ३४ ३६
ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीभूपेन्द्रवर्मदेवः ॥
ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीभूपेन्द्रवर्मदेवः ॥
ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीभूपेन्द्रवर्मदेवः ॥
ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीभूपेन्द्रवर्मदेवः ॥

- 22 t-ātma(ama)naś-cha puṇyōpavirdha² śa(śa)līla-dhārā-pura(h*)sarēnu(ṇa)
 23 chandīr-ārka-kahīti-sama-kālam-akārī(rī)kritya pratipā
 24 dīdī³maśbhīr-yatāh(īah) | (*) āsana-darśha(rā)na(d*)-dharma-gauravād-o-
 25 sāsā(sua)ś-gauravā(ah*)ścha na kēnachit-paripāhī(hī)panth(ī)na bhavitavyam: (*) Ta-
 26 thā cha paṇyātē dharma-śāstrā [(*) Ya(Ha)bhūhir-vashu(m)dhā datā(īdā) cājāna(jāhīh)
 27 Śa(Śa)gur-ādibhī(h*)yasya yasya yalā bhūmī⁴ lasya sa-

Third Plate.

- 28 sva tadā phalam [(*) Mā bhū(bhū)(dha)(d-a)phala-sakū(saakā) va(h*) para-da(īt-ā*)dī
 pārthi-
 29 vā(h*)⁵ Sva-datām(tām) para-datām(tām) vā yō karēti(ta) vashundha(vundha)rū(m
 [*) sa viśh(hā-
 30 yām kīrīmīr-bhū(bhū)tvā pūṇībhī(h*)śaha paṇyātē [(*) Śaah(hā)varsha-sa-
 31 haarū) sagam(sargē) mōdatī bhū(bhū)midah [(*) Iti kamala-dal-ā-
 32 mva(mba)-vīndu(bīndu)-lālā(lām) śrī(īrī)yam-anuchiditā(chīntya) manusya(ahya)-
 jī(jī)vitam
 33 cha [(*) sakalam-idam-udārha(hī)nam (cha*) va(hu)dhā(dhivā) na hi puruṣa(śha(hī)
 pāra-kī(kī)rtayō
 34 vilōpyā(h*)⁶ Līkshī(khī)tam-idam sandhivigrahi-Asō(śō)kadantēna [(*)
 35 Utkīrnam⁷ cha kamaśrā-kulaputraka-Vimalachandrasea(ṇa) | Lāchhīta⁸
 36 cha śrī-Mā(Mā)hādēvyā [(*) Unyā(ūn-ā)kasharam-adhik-āksharam vā tat-sarva(yvam)
 prajñānam-iti [(*)

D.—Plates of Rāṇaka Jayavarmadēva.

The inscription is on **three copper-plates**, each measuring about 9½" in breadth and 3" in height. The plates are held together by a ring, about 3½" in diameter. To this ring is affixed a circular seal, about 1" in diameter. The seal, which is broken on one side, bears the figure of a seated bull. Above this bull is a crescent, and below it a lotus, of which five petals are visible. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 104 *solas*. The first plate is inscribed on one side only and the second and third plates on both the sides. There are altogether 37 lines of writing, which are distributed as follows: the first plate has 8 lines; the second, 7 lines on each side; and the third, 8 lines on the first side and 7 lines on the second side. The plates have rims slightly raised for the protection of writing, which is in a good state of preservation almost throughout.

The **characters** are of the South Indian Nāgarī type and probably are not much later than the 10th century A.D. The **language** is Sanskrit. Words like *darśhana* (l. 23) and *varsha* (l. 28), which are found in the text, are evidently due to Prākṛit influence. Excepting the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 25-33, the record is in prose. In respect of **orthography** the following points call for notice: *ḥ* and *ś* are not distinguished; *ṣ* is often used for *ś*

¹ Read *paṇy-ābhaviddhaye*.

² Read *pratipādhīnam-ānand*.

³ Read *śāśmāśtasya*.

⁴ The second half of this verse has been omitted, which is *śaśmāśtasya-śaśmāśtasya-śaśmāśtasya*.

⁵ The second half of this verse has been omitted, which is *śaśmāśtasya-śaśmāśtasya-śaśmāśtasya*.

⁶ Read *śaśmāśtasya*.

⁷ Read *śaśmāśtasya*.

⁸ Read *śaśmāśtasya*.

and vice versa; *ś* stands for *ś* in *śaśhi-traya* (l. 5) and for *s* in *varāhādhikarī* (l. 27); *vā* has been wrongly read and wrongly dropped in several instances.

The grant was issued by the *Paramamahāsvara* *Rājaka* *śrī-Jayavarmadēva* of the Gaṅga family from his residence at *Śvēta*. Its object is to register the gift of a plot of land in the *Paṭalaśaṅkya* village situated in the *Khalugakhanda-vihāra* on the occasion of an equinox, to *Śhaṅkapatra* *Padma*, (a *Brāhmana*) of the *Valsa-gotra*, the *Paṭalāraha-panṇa*, and the *Kāra-sakha*. Lines 16-19 give in detail the boundaries of the plot of land. The grant was engraved by *Vimalahundra*; written by *Sāmanta*, and registered by *Tri-Kalūga-mahādēvi*.

The inscription is dated in the hundredth year (in words and numerical symbols) apparently of the *Gāṅgāya* era.

Jayavarman, by whom this charter was issued, is distinct from and later than the *Mahādēva* Jayavarma of grant A above¹.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm¹ svasti [U²] ŚaśŚvēt; śchushthānād-bhagavataś-char-śchakra-gurū[h³] m(ha)ka-
- 2 la-saś(śaśā)śka-śekhara-dharmaya[h(aya)] thity-utpati⁴-prāhaya-kāraṇa-bh-
- 3 tār-Mahāendrasakha(śha)la-śekhara-nivāśina⁵ śimud-(ś)karnāśva(rpāśva)-
- 4 ra-śhaśśārakṣaya charaya-kamal-śrūdhun-āvāpta-punya(gya)-ni-
- 5 chaya[h³] śmakti(śakti)-traya-prakāśa-śuraśhjit-śaś(ś)śha-sāmanta-śchakra[h³] śva(śva)-
- 6 bhujā(ja)-ra(ha)la-parākram-śkrānta(h(anta)-śakala-Kaling-śdhirājya(hya) parama-
- 7 mahāśva(śva)śō mātā-pitri-pa(pā)d-ānudyātō Gāṅg-āmala-kula-tilaka-
- 8 Rājaka-śrī Jayavarmadēva[h³] kusa(sa)ll⁶ * Khalugakhā(kha)ṇḍa-vihā-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 9 ś(yō) śśālmanta-mā(ha)llāślmanta-rājāśka-rājā(ja)putra-kumā-
- 10 śāntāy-utpati⁴-dāpāśkyaka-vishayaṇatī-grāmaja(ha)-anyā(ha)-
- 11 ś-śha śhāja-bhā(śha)ja-vāla(vāla)śha-jātī(hya)llā⁷ * yath-ārha(śha) mūṣaya-
- 12 śi vāśhāśhāyati śmāllā(ha)ti [cha⁸] vidhān-astu bhavātā(ha) [ś⁹ śha-
- 13 ś-vishaya-sann(mba)mbha(śha)-grāmō-ya(yam) Paṭala(śa)ṅga-nāma(mā) tarya-mūlha-
- 14 śhāp(ha)-śhāśha-kariyā śhāśhāśhātā śhātu-simā-paryānta-vā-
- 15 śutigrāma-māhā padra-sahitēna śhātā śhāśha-simā

[1] There is enough room for suspicion about the genuineness of this record. The donor Jayavarmadēva, though only a *Rājaka*, is given such titles as are found in the records of the *paramahā* rulers of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty and like many of them he issues the grant from *Śvēta*. It cannot be argued that he is only a late ruler of the family and has copied portions from earlier grants. The year 100, which is given in decimal figures, is apparently meant to refer to the *Gaṅgāya* era. But the script used in the inscription though containing a mixture of early and late forms as found in many Gaṅga records must on the whole be placed at a date much later than the 5th century A.D.—Ed.]

¹ From impressions and the original plates.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read *śhaśha-śhaśha*.

⁴ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁵ Read *śha-śhaśha*.

⁶ From here onward the text is given uncorrected, as it contains too many mistakes.

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11a.
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16 16
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22 22

第壹卷

[illegible]

iii.

32 32
34 34
36 36

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 16 parikkhitam purva-kōpēna gālari śrutvati tasya tādā dakti-
 17 ṣ-śhlimukhēna gātari daktiṅgēna tu vākrā-vivakrēṅa gāta paelili-
 18 mā mukhasi gātari grāmataḥ Tāntura-gr* jāmā-śāndhi tūtā utar-śhlimukhā cha.
 19 utarēna patha-paryānta śta śham-śm-ōpalikkhitā-cha Vāchha-gē-
 20 trāyaḥ paśāh-ārishaya-javavāryaḥ Kanva-śākhāya bhaja(t)tiputta-Pachha-mā-
 21 hatrayaḥ ila va Viśvva-sakrāntya datam || mātā-patē-ātmanā-
 22 i-cha punyāpavidhuhāś salila-dhā(n*)-purāhasarēṅa śhandr-ārka-thin-sama-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 23 kāla akarikṛitya pratipādītō-śmākhur-yutam śāana-daradhana
 24 dharma-gauravād-śmād-gauravā cha na kēnachit-patipathinō bhavi-
 25 tarya tathā cha pathyatē dharmā-śāstra [(*) Vabubhur-vasudhā datā rājina(śa*)ga-
 26 t-ādilikh [(*) yasya yasya padā bhūmi tasya tasya tadā phalam (U*) Nya-datā patā-da-
 27 tāmarā yō karēti vashudharā [(*) śha viśthāyā krīmi bhavā pūṣhī
 28 mha pachyatē [(*) Shasthin varisha-śmārāpi śvarga mūdati bhāmūda [(*) aśhī-
 29 ptā ch-ānumatyā dvā śva naraka vrajyēta || Śa dāntā-phalam kuryō parā-da-
 30 t-ānupālanam [(*) ubhau tō panya-karmāṅsu niyutau sarga-gāmīnan [(*)

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 31 Iti kamala-dal-āmva-vīndu-lōḥ śrim-anuchintya nana(śhya)-
 32 jvnan-cha sakalam-śdam-śdāpitaṁ va(śhvā) na hi parashai pa(r)-
 33 kitayō viśōpyā || Utkrnan-cha Vima(la*)śhandr(śa*) || Śāma(nā)-
 34 na lañchhitam cha śrī-Tri-Kaṭṭhāṅga-mā(ma)bhādhvā..... pa-
 35 varddhhamāna-vijaya-rājyē samvachharē sa(tē) amkēn-āpi varsha 100 [(*)
 36 Ury-śkalatam-śdhik-śbhara yā.....,tat-sarvam pramāgam-i-
 37 ti ||

No. 43.—SIX SILAHARA INSCRIPTIONS IN THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM.

By H. D. SANKALIA, M.A., LL.B., PR.D. (LOND.) AND S. C. UPADHYAYA, M.A., LL.B.

The following six inscriptions of the *Silāhara* dynasty lying in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, are collectively published here from the stones themselves as well as with the help of the ink-impressions and photographs. Though their contents have been briefly referred to at some places,¹ their regular publication now enables us to correct many conjectural readings of dates and names. We take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude to the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, for kindly allowing us to edit these inscriptions and also to Mr. Acharya, Curator of the Archaeological Section, for giving considerable help at every stage of the work.

All the inscriptions have been found, as noted in detail under each inscription, in the vicinity of Bombay and they refer to lands donated therein. Hence the epithet "the *Silāhara* of Northern Kanhan" as applied to the kings of these inscriptions² seems to be correct, though it

¹ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 14-21; Vol. XIII, Pt. II, p. 426; Vol. XIV, Appendix A, pp. 283, 298; also *Altkar, Indian Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 430-31.

² *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 19-21 and 323; also *Altkar, op. cit.*, p. 401.

must be noted that the inscriptions give no pedigree; even the dynastic title 'Śilāhāra' is not found except in inscriptions B and C. The relationship of the kings mentioned in these inscriptions, which are arranged below in chronological order, therefore, remains undetermined. These records extend over a period of about 125 years from the time of Aparāditya (I), Śaka 1060 to that of Sōmēśvara, Śaka 1182.

The find-spots of these inscriptions and the places mentioned therein indicate that the sway of the Northern Śilāhāra extended at least over the modern Panvel, Bassein, Bhiwadi, Thāna and perhaps Kalyān Talukās of the Bombay Presidency.

One peculiarity of these inscriptions may be noted. Below every inscription there is a sculpture of an *asv* covering a woman, and this is a representation of the curse in old Marāṭhī which can be partly read only in C.¹

The curse and the sculpture are also found in an inscription, (now in the P. W. M.) of the Yādava Rāmachandra of Śaka 1223 which is published below. We are unable to trace back at present, the existence and use of the curse² and its representation, but it seems to have become popular after the 10th century.³

The script is Devanāgarī with a few traces of the earlier Nāgarī letters seen, for example, in *ṣ*, *ṣa*, and in the use of *mātrā*.

The language is corrupt Sanskrit and the text is usually in prose except for ll. 1-2 and 15-18 in F, containing a prayer to Gaṇapati and the usual imprecatory verse about the violation of the grant.

As regards orthography, may be noted the use of—(i) the dental *sa* for the palatal *śa*; (ii) the anuvāra for the nasal, e.g., *māhāḍala* for *maṇḍala*; (iii) *pa* for *ga*; *śarpa* for *sūrya* and (iv) *chā* for *āha*.

Prākṛit formations are found usually in the names of ministers and other officers, in those of villages and in the grant portion. In the last may be noted the words like *dyāve* (D, l. 11), *dhāḍāve* (E, l. 10), *dhākurāchi* (F, l. 11). *Dyāve* seems to be the old Marāṭhī form of *dyāva*; *dhāḍāve*, if the reading is correct, is perhaps a local dialectical formation; and the positive formation with *chā* in *dhākurāchi* is even now common in modern Marāṭhī.⁴

A word may be said about the method of punctuation in these inscriptions. In inscriptions A, B and F either one or two dots (which at first may be mistaken for a *visarga*) are placed as stops instead of *daḍḍas*. Inscription E has no stop at all; whereas in inscriptions C and D the usual *daḍḍas* are found.

A.—Chānje Inscription of Aparādityadāva (I) : Śaka 1060.

This inscription was found from the village Chānje near Uran in 1881.⁵ The stone on which it is inscribed is 2' 9½" × 1' 2½" and the inscribed portion which contains 17 lines of writing is 1' 1½" × 1' 2½". The average size of letters is ⅜". At the top of the stone are

¹ Also in an Inscription of Aparāditya (II), *J. B. R. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 333.

² Its relics are still heard in the language of the masses.

³ Bhagwanlal Indraji notes (*J. B. R. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 333) that inscriptions with such sculptures were seen by him in Gujarat and Kāthiāwār and at some places on the Cochin coast. [Such representations are also found outside the Bombay Presidency; e.g., at Gooty fort in the Madras Presidency; there is an inscription with similar depiction. See also copper-plate from Rājapur in Bastar State, K. S. A. (Above, Vol. IX, plate facing p. 179).—Ed.]

⁴ I am obliged to Profs. Bhagavat and Shrinivasrao, of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, for this information.—H. D. S.

⁵ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 19, n. 2.

figured in low relief, on the left, the Sun, and on the right, the Moon. Below the inscribed portion is cut out a square 9" x 9" and this contains a representation of the curse mentioned above.

It is dated in Śaka 1060, Māgha Śuddha 1, both in words and in numerals. This is equivalent to Thursday, 13th January, A.D. 1138, when the Southern cyclic year (which is not mentioned in the inscription) was Piṅgala.¹

This inscription records the grant of a mango (?) field in Nāguma village to one Śrīdhara for the welfare of the king's mother Lilādēvi and also the grant of some land² in Chadija village by the King Aparādityadēva himself. The latter grant, it appears, was made separately on a solar eclipse.

The King styles himself as a *Mahāmāyājāitirādhipati* and the administration was carried on by the *Mahāmāyā* Śrī-Sōdha (?) Nāyaka,³ the *Mahāmādhivagrāhika* Śrī-Amuka, the *Mahāpradhāna* Śrī-Lakṣmanāyayaprabhu in charge of the *śrīkaraga* and *bhāṣāyāra*, in the first instance, and in the second, Sēna Amuka, etc.

King Aparādityadēva⁴ is to be identified with the ruler of the same name mentioned in the Vajavalī plates⁵, (also called Aparājita), as the son of Anantapāla of the Silāra family. According to these plates he was the ruler of the whole of Kāṅkan, though the title he claims there is that of a *Mahāmāyājāitirāra* only. Aparāditya of our inscription is further identified with Aparāditya, King of Kāṅkana who sent an ambassador called Tejakaṅṭha⁶ to Kashmir.⁷

However, Aparāditya of this inscription is different from the one mentioned in D, whose minister Lakṣmanāyaka gave some land to god Sōmanātha of Surāṣṭra. That king, as it has been pointed out below, is Aparāditya II.⁸

This is the first stone inscription of Aparāditya-I⁹ published so far; if we include the Vajavalī plates, it would be his second inscription.

The villages Nāguma and Chadija may be identified, as already suggested,¹⁰ respectively with the modern Nagaon, which is about 2 miles¹¹ S. W. and Chānje, which is about 2 miles W. of Uran in the Panvel Tāluka of the Bombay Presidency.

¹ Cf. S. K. Pillai, *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. III, p. 278.

² According to *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 19, n. 2, "of a garden".

³ There are stope indicated in the original by a dot placed on the right hand top corner of the letter. That this interpretation is correct is shown by referring to the copper plate of Anantadēva of Śaka 1010 (*Ind. Aer.*, Vol. IX, p. 33) where the divisions are clearly indicated by vertical bars. See also *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 333.

⁴ Altkar calls him Aparāka (II, op. cit., p. 411, and attributes the Vajavalī plates to him. These plates, however, mention this ruler as Aparāditya (also Aparājita) and not as Aparāka.

⁵ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 508, l. 30.

⁶ According to Mankha's *Śrīkṛṣṇacharita*, verse 25, *Altkar* 108—111, first cited in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pl. II, p. 19, n. 2.

⁷ Sōmdevadēva had a minister called Tatjaprabhu. See E below.

⁸ Altkar, op. cit., p. 411, who identifies him with Aparāditya I, is wrong. For he bases his argument on an inscription of Aparāditya (in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. V, p. 169) of (V. S.) 1176. The reading of the date, as has been pointed out below, is wrong for in V. S. 1176 the cyclic year was not Viśvāra as mentioned in the inscription. [See below p. 277 n. 2—Ed.]

⁹ Another inscription of Śaka 1031 is cited from *Festgabe der Hermann Jacobi* by Kane, *History of Dharmastotra*, Vol. I, p. 327 and by Altkar, *The Silaharas of Western India* (*Ind. Cul.*, Vol. II, p. 411, and n. 5). [This stone inscription is now preserved at Cutra, near Lisbon, in Pomba Verde (Green Rock) which had been the country seat of Dom João de Castro, the Portuguese Viceroy in India. The date of the record as given by Hultsch, the editor, is Śaka 1051 (1)032 *Pragata sūmantarā Chaitra juddha 12* and not Śaka 1051 as stated by Kane—Ed.]

¹⁰ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 19, n. 2 and Vol. XIII, Pt. I, p. 426 gave 4 miles but referring to the modern Tāluka map (1924) the distance seems to be 2 miles only.

TEXT.

- 1 'स्मृति जयश्चा(या)भ्युदयश्च शकटपकाणातीतमंयक्त
- 2 [र*]म(ग)तेषु दयसु पठि(ष्टौ)त्वाधिकेषु यथाकतोपि शकमंयक्त १०६०
- 3 माघ सुध^१ र पु(पु)र्वमस्तुराजावनीविराजितमहामंडलेख(श)रा-
- 4 धिपतियोमदपरादित्यदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तथैतन्मसादा-
- 5 [न] ममस्तमंडलचिंताभा[र] समुद्रवृत्ति । मज्जामाल्यौमोद[न*]-
- 6 यकु^२महासाधिविषहोक्त[यो च]मुक्त^३ यौकरणे भांडागा[रि*]
- 7 प्रथमच्छे(स्त्रे) पाटो^४ महामाधानशीलकामैययभो^५ द्वितीयच्छे(स्त्रे)
- 8 [पा*]य^६ सैन योधसुक^७ इत्यादि यौकरणे मत्वेतन्मि^८ काले प्रव-
- 9 [त*]माने योमदपरादित्यदेवेन श्रकोयपरिपदे [पाल्येयोर्धे]
- 10 नागुममश्चे(ध्व)वर्ति चावत्तेवं लकौयमातु[:*] यौलीलादेव्या[:*] चे-
- 11 [यो*]र्धे यौधरकमविदारामकरमिया[ना]दायाकस्य च पाराम[क*]-
- 12 मभ्यंतरीकृत्य मवचमानाकुल[:*] सतृणकाद्योदकोपेत[:*] स्व[मी*]-
- 13 म(मा)पद्येत । पूर्वत^९ [यंज:] दक्षिणत^{१०} चंडडा पश्चिम पगारा । उत्तरमे^{११}
- 14 [मा*]मे^{१२} । उदकातिसर्गेण प्रदत्तं । तथा योमदपरादित्यदेवेनै(न) सु-
- 15 र्यपर्वणि । [सुरु]त्तेने ॥ वादु — — ^{१३}विधिकेभ्यः चडिजप्रामातु
- 16 ^{१४}—मकः उदकातिसर्गेण धम(र्म)स्य इत्या(त्त्या) प्रदत्त(त): ^{१५}इ[त्यस्य यो]-
- 17 न्यदा करीति तस्य पु(पु)र्वपुस्य एक विंशति — — ^{१६}क रौरव सु^{१७}

^१ There might be a symbol for om before this as found in other Śilāhara grants.

^२ Read *indha*.

^३ The small circle signifies a stop.

^४ A broken letter can be seen on the stone; it has not come out on the impression.

^५ Whether this word should be *pāṭi* (*pāṭi*) or *pāṭhī* cannot be ascertained. In an inscription of the Paramāra of Aṭṭā, V. 8, 1204, now in the Vāsiṣṭha Śrāma at Aṭṭā, I found the words *maṭṭhāpāṭhī* in the same context as above.—H. D. S.

^६ Read *pāṭyāṭh*.

^७ Read *amā*.

^८ Read *pāṭyāṭh*.

^९ Apparently a place-name.

^{१०} Read *śakāśakāṭh*.

^{११} Read *śakāśakāṭh*.

^{१२} The *amā* should precede the stop.

^{१३} Two letters illegible. [Reading seems to be *Paṭu-jyāṭhāśakāṭhāṭh Chudīṭhā-pāṭyāṭhāṭh*.—Ed.]

^{१४} This letter is broken.

^{१५} The initial *ṣ* can be clearly seen on the stone. The rest of the line is illegible.

^{१६} Letters illegible. [Reading is *śakāśakāṭhāṭh*.—Ed.]

^{१७} The following letter and the next line have partly peeled off.

B.—Agāshi: Stone Inscription of Haripāladēva : Śaka 1072.

This inscription was found near Agāshi in 1881.¹ It is inscribed on a stone which is 2' 8½" by 1' 4½". The inscribed portion measures 14" x 16½" and contains 16 lines. The last line is not complete and it appears that the inscription contained a line or two more which are now peeled off. The average size of letters is ¾". Below the inscribed portion is a sculpture similar to that in A, cut in a rectangle 12" x 3½". At the top are the Sun on the left and the Moon on the right and between them a kalasha.

It is dated Śaka 1072, Pramōda Samvatsara, Mārgaśīrsha Suddha 1, which corresponds to Wednesday, 22nd November, A.D. 1150.²

The inscription records that in the reign of Sūhāra Haripāladēva, Ābhavamalladēva, who was in the enjoyment of the Vattāra village in Sūrpāraka, granted something (†)³ for the (worship of) Śiva of Anōvaḍi in charge of Patakila Rājānaka to Upādhyāya, Brahma-dēva-bhaṭṭa, Divākara-bhaṭṭa and Gōvardhana-bhaṭṭa⁴, on the Uttarāyaṇa saṁkrānti day. The witnesses to the grant were the headmen of the Vattāra village, to wit, Rāi Mahattara and also Nāguji Mahattara, Anantānāyake and Chāṁgadēva Mahattara. The king styles himself as a *Mahāpradhānaśāhi* and the administration was carried on by Śrī-Vesupajjala, the *Mahāpradhāna* Śrī-Lakṣmānaprabhu, the *Mahāpradhāna* Śrī-Padmaśya Rāja, and the *Pradhāna* Vāṁgi Nāraka.

This is the first inscription of King Haripāladēva so far published. On the strength of his other dated unpublished inscriptions,⁵ he may be regarded as the successor of Aparāditya I and the predecessor of Mallikārjuna (A.D. 1155—1170). But it must be noted that he is not mentioned in the subsequent inscriptions of the dynasty. Perhaps his relation with his predecessor is shown by the name of his minister the *Mahāpradhāna* Lakṣmānaprabhu; the same name figures among the ministers of Aparāditya I.

Sūrpāraka is the modern Nala Sopara and Vattāra is to be identified with Vatar, a village about 6 miles N. W. of Nala Sopara, and 1 mile S. W. of Agāshi. All the villages are in the Hassan Taluk of the Bombay Presidency.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री । ससि त्रयसाध्युदयं स(ग)कनृपकासातीतसंवत्सर(र)गतिषु दस(ग)सु
 - 2 दिसप्तसंवत्सरेषु यज्ञांकतीपि संवत्स(त्) १०७२ प्रमोदसंवत्सरा-
 - 3 तर्गतमार्गमि(गि)र सुध १ पूर्वक सद्यह समधिगता(ता)शेषपंच[म*]काश-
- द(द)-

¹ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 19, n. 3; also noticed by Altkar, *Jal. Coll.*, II, p. 431, No. 14.

² Cf. *Pūṇal. Indian Epigraphs*, Vol. III, p. 269.

³ According to Bhagwāntal Indrajī, "the permanent income of Śhrinēvaḍi in charge of a Patakila (Pātā) named Rāja." *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 19, n. 3. [In my opinion the sense of the passage is that the *Mahāpradhāna* Ābhavamalla granted to Brahmādēva *upādhyāya* the fixed income (*viddhāga*) of (the village) Anōvaḍi which was probably in charge of the Patakila Rājānaka. According to this interpretation Rājānaka would be a proper name and not a title. See also p. 274, n. 3, below.—Ed.]

⁴ Bhagwāntal takes Brahmādēvabhaṭṭa as the son and grandson of the two latter respectively; he also reads Gōvardhana for Gōvardha. [See p. 274, n. 3, below.—Ed.]

⁵ Of Śaka 1071 and 1075 referred to in *Bomb. Gaz.*, *op. cit.*, p. 19, n. 3.

* Indicated by a symbol.

* Should be "patakila."

* This letter *soḍ* is superfluous.

* Read *śaḍha*.

- 4 श्रीसीताहारनरेंद्रजीमृतवाहनाम्बयप्रसूतसमस्तराजाव-
 5 लीसमस्तकृतमहामण्डलेस(छ)राधिपतिश्रीमद(द)हरिपालदेव-
 6 कल्याणविजयराज्ये ।¹ तथमादावातसमस्तमंडलचिन्तामा-
 7 (रं) समुद्रवति श्रीवैतुपडवल ।¹ तथा महाप्रधान श्रीलक्ष्म(छ)ण-
 8 प्रभो ।¹ तथा महाप्रधान श्रीपद्मसि(शि)व राउल ।¹ तथा प्रधान वासु-
 9 गिनायक ।¹ सल्लेतमिन् काले प्रवर्त्तमाने ।¹ श्रीसू(शु)र्पारिक-
 10 तवहारयामप्रभु(भु)ज्यमान्(न)महा[प्र]धान्[न]श्रीषाहवमहदेवेन ।¹
 11 श्रीगोवर्द्धभटउपाध्याय च दिवाकरभट उपाध्यासुत व्र(व्र)ह्मदेव-
 12 भट उपाध्ये ।¹ महापर्वणि उत्तराण संक्रांतिसमये धर्मण उदकपू-
 13 र्वक(क)।¹ पटकील राजानक श्रीमवडिसि(शि)वाय² प्रदत्त[-*]।¹ आचंद्रार्क-
 14 तारक जावतु³ तिष्ठति मेदिनी केनापि — —⁷ वा(वा)धा न करणीवा ।¹
 15 श्रीचार्च साक्षि वहारयामप्रमुख⁴ रिमिस्तारा ।⁵ तथा साक्षि¹⁰ नागजिन्ह-
 16 तारा ।¹ तथा साक्षि¹⁰ अनंतनायक ।⁶ साक्षि¹⁰ चांगदेव स्त(ता)र — — —¹¹

C.—Bassein Stone Inscription of Mallikārjuna : Śaka 1083.

This inscription is reported to have been brought from Bassein, and it is briefly noticed in the *Bombay Gazetteer*.¹² The stone measures 3' 5½" by 1' 6½" and the inscribed portion 14" by 14". It contained 18 lines, but, now, the last line is almost illegible. Below the inscribed portion, in a rectangle there is a representation of the axis-curse similar to that noticed before, though it is much worn out. At the top, between the inscribed portion and the figures of the Sun and the Moon, in a rectangle there are two figures and between them are two—one big and the other

¹ Stop indicated by two dots which look like the *virarga* sign.

² The last syllable of this line and the first of the next are not clear. (Reading may be *Śaṅkṣāpṣṭa*—Ed.)

³ May stand for *śāradhama* as suggested by Bhagwanlal Indraji (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 19, n. 3). (To me the reading appears to be *Gāṇḍhārāyāpṣṭa*—*anta*. *Dindakura*, etc. In this case the stone would be only Brahmanīya.—Ed.)

⁴ Read *Uthayana*.

⁵ (Reading seems to be *Śāradā-siddhānta*). See p. 273, n. 3, above.—Ed.]

⁶ Read *śāradā*—*anta*.

⁷ These two letters are not clear.

⁸ The last syllable is not clear: it looks like *śāra*.

⁹ Stop indicated by two dots which look like the *virarga* sign.

¹⁰ Read *śāradā*.

¹¹ This portion of the line is not clear.

¹² *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XIII, Pt. II, p. 426, n. 4; Vol. XIV, p. 389 and Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 20, n. 1; see also above, Vol. VII, Appendix, p. 56, n. 4. Altakar, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 4151 calls this the Chiplūy stone inscription. But this inscription is dated, according to Kielhorn, in Śaka 1078 (V), *Dhātār Sāradānāma*, *Vaidika Śāradā* & *Tanahy*. See above, Vol. VII, Appendix, p. 56, No. 311, and *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 19, and Vol. XIV, p. 388. So the inscription that Altakar seems to have "traced" in the P. W. M. is the Bassein stone inscription and not the one from Chiplūy.

small—Śiva-liṅgas. The figure on the right, probably a woman with peculiar head-dress is seated facing the full front and its left hand is held over the big *liṅga*. The figure on the left is seated similarly, with its right hand supported by the left resting on the small *liṅga*. The big *liṅga* is placed on a very high *paṇipatta*.

It is dated Śaka 1083,¹ Vṛisha² Samivatsara, Pushya (Pausa) Vadi 15, Sōma-dinē which would correspond to January 17, A.D. 1162, when there was a solar eclipse. This seems to be the intended date in our inscription though the week-day would be Wednesday.

It records that in the reign of Śilāhāra king Mallikārjunadēva, lord of Tagarapura, something was repaired and a garden called Lōna³ in Paḍhālasaka in Kaṭashadī⁴ Vishaya was granted to a teacher (*rajha* = Skt. *upādhyāya*). The name of the donor cannot be read with certainty.⁵ The ministers mentioned are the *Mahāsāmbhaviṇṇakula* Prabhākara Nāyaka, and the *Mahāprabhāna* Ari-Aṇata (Ananta)paiprahma.⁶

There is no evidence at present to connect Mallikārjuna with other kings of the dynasty of the Northern Śilāhāras. But he seems to be identical with Mallikārjuna mentioned in the *Kumārāpālacharita*⁷ and hence a contemporary of the Gujarāt Chaulukya king Kumārpalā (c. 1145-1171 A.D.). The other known date of Mallikārjuna is Śaka 1078.⁸

Mallikārjuna is called '*Tagarapura-parmakṣetra*, the Lord of the city of Tagara'.⁹ As the title is also assumed by the kings of the Kolhapur branch of the Śilāhāras, it only implies, as has been suggested,¹⁰ that the original home of the Śilāhāras was Tagara.

Among the place-names, Lōna may be identified with Lonad, a village 6 miles E. of Bhivndī¹¹ in Bhivndi Talukā. Paḍhālasaka, though it cannot be identified now, must be a

¹ It is neither 1082 (as read in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. 4, p. 20, n. 1 and Vol. XIII, Pt. II, p. 426) nor 1079 but is 1083 as once read in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, p. 386, for the last digit is definitely 3 on the stone, though on the impression the lower half of 3 seems to form a circle. The numeral before it is 8. For an identical form of it see the date portions, lines 5 and 9 in the two inscriptions of Sambhārādēva below, where no doubt exists as to the numerical value of that sign. Moreover, on going through the *Epigraphia* it will be found that it is only in Śaka 1083 that Vṛisha Samivatsara occurs and in no other. [It appears to me that the last digit was first written as 9 and then corrected into 3. The penultimate digit is different from the symbol for 8 in E and F below and looks more like 7. But as 1073 would be too early for Mallikārjuna and neither this date nor 1079 would admit of verification, it may be that the intended date is 1083 and the engraver wrote the figure of 7 instead of that of 8 by mistake.—Ed.]

² The reading in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. 4, p. 20, n. 1 and Vol. XIII, Pt. II, p. 426, n. 4, is "Vishva", whereas in Vol. XIV, p. 386, it is "Vriha".

³ Perhaps identical with the modern Lonad. See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, p. 212.

⁴ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, p. 386 reads "Shikarvāk" and "Katashadi" instead of "shadi".

⁵ It is definitely not the king. Perhaps the grantees are Rājaguru Vāksira and the Bhāṇaka (temple priest?) Vyōmadīva as suggested in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, p. 386.

⁶ Ministers with the same names are mentioned in the Parcel Inscription of Aparādityadēva Śaka 1109, *J. B. R. E. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 333.

⁷ See ante VI, verses 65 to 70. The relation was first pointed out in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 20, n. 1. For details regarding the relation see *ibid.* As *Durgāraja-kīrtana*, another work by Hamaṇḍandīva, does not mention it, it appears that the war with Mallikārjuna took place after the events described in that work.

⁸ According to a stone from Chiplūn, see *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 19.

⁹ Exact identity of this city is not yet established. This identified it with Ter, 95 miles S. E. of Puthan (*J. B. R. E. A. S.*, 1901, pp. 537-521. For other suggestions and references see *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 3, n. 4; p. 10, n. 4, etc.

¹⁰ *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 559; subsequently *Altakar, Ind. Cal.*, Vol. II, p. 396, following Jain, who cites relevant extracts from *Karabanda-Vyakarna*. *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 1-11.

¹¹ This is as it is spelt in the modern Talukā map. It should be Bhivndī.

D.—Inscription of Aparādityādēva : [Śaka] 1107.

This inscription was formerly in the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and seems to be identical with the one mentioned in the *Bombay Gazette*.¹ However, it seems to be different from another inscription of this king which is dated in (Vikrama) Śaivrat, 1176, Sunday the 14th of the bright half of Chaitra.² The stone measures 1' 11" by 1' 4" and the inscribed portion 1' 4" by 12½". At the top, the stone is in the shape of a triangle, within which is carved a *kalasa*, resting on a *flaga*.

The inscription is dated [Śaka] 1107³ Viśvāvasu Samvatsara, Chaitra Suddha 15, Sunday. This is equivalent to Sunday, 17th March, A.D. 1185.

The inscription records that in the reign of Aparādityādēva⁴ the Mahāpandita Lakṣmīnaga Nāyaka, son of Bhāskara Nāyaka, after having bathed in a *śrītha* (probably Somanātha in Kāthiāwār) near the sea gave away something to a *śrīṣṭi* in Sthāna (modern Thāna) and a sum of money for the worship, etc., of the god Somanātha in Saurāṣṭra. The grant closes with the words "hail to the illustrious Chāhādēva."⁵

This inscription resembles in some respects an inscription of Aparādityādēva of Śaka 1049⁶ and to A above belonging to Śaka 1050. Our attention is drawn to the names of the king and the minister Lakṣmīnaga Prabhu, but it is otherwise different from the latter inscriptions. The present record is dated about sixty years later and we have dated records of two other rulers, viz., Haripālādēva and Mallikārjuna in between.

The inscription therefore belongs to the reign of Aparāditya II and not Aparāditya I as mentioned by Altekar.⁷

The inscription shows that even in the last quarter of the 12th century,⁸ the temple of Somanātha in Saurāṣṭra, though once destroyed by the Muhammadans, was still a popular shrine and that among its property could be counted some land in Kāthiāwār.

¹ Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 20, n. 2. The date here mentioned is Sunday the sixth of the bright half of Chaitra, while the grant under question is dated on Sunday the 15th of the bright half of Chaitra. As there cannot be two Sunday days within 9 days, and as it can clearly be read in the inscription, the reading of the *śrīṣṭi* seems to be incorrect. (The date is wrongly given in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 40, n. 42. The correct date has been noticed by Kishore in his *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 26, No. 312.—Ed.)

² *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. V, p. 170. Even if they were identical, as they are in their contents, the reading of the year and date seems to be wrong, for in Vikrama 1176 the Northern cyclic year was Śuddhāstī, and the Southern Vikrama. The Viśvāvasu samvatsara occurs in Vikrama 1175; see *Pilgr. Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. III, pp. 240 and 247. [An examination of the text will show that this inscription is identical with the record under consideration. Mr. Desai's is apparently wrong in the reading of the date and referring it to the Vikrama era.—Ed.]

³ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 20, n. 2, reads 1100 and mentions the 15th as the sixth. This is wrong because the Southern cyclic year in 1100 was Plovāga and not Viśvāvasu; also the 15th Chaitra, being a would fall on Saturday, whereas the day mentioned in the inscription is Sunday.

⁴ Neither any title of the ruler, nor the name of the dynasty is mentioned, though in his other inscription of Śaka 1100 he is called Mahāśāhādēva and Kṣatrasamrat. (*J. B. R. E. A. S.*, XII, p. 223. (This inscription is dated Śaka 1108 and not Śaka 1100 as given in the Journal and read by Kishore (*List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, No. 313). The Southern cyclic year in Śaka 1100 was Plovāga, not Viśvāvasu.—Ed.)

⁵ Rather an unusual ending in a Silāhara inscription.

⁶ Cf. specially II, 4-7 and II, 37-39 of the inscription of Śaka 1049.

⁷ *J. B. R. E. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 505.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 411, though the *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 20 had already credited it to Aparāditya II.

⁹ At this time Kāthiāwār still formed part of Gujaraṭ, and the king of the latter was Chāhādēva Bhāma II.

TEXT.

- 1 श्रीम्¹ संवत् ११०७ विस्वा(श्वा)वसुसवच्छ(क्ष)रे चंचयह १५ रवो(वौ) दिने
 2 अद्येह श्रीमदपरादित्यदेवराज्ये । नोराष्ट्रीयचोमा-
 3 मनाष्टदेवाय पूजासत्कारार्थं² मन्त्रामात्यशौलक्ष्य-
 4 नायकेन प्रमोदधो सुतोर्थे स्नात्वा गगनैकचक्रचूडा-
 5 मणये कमलिनीकामुक्ताय भगवते सवित्रे नानाविध-
 6 कुसुमग्राध्वमर्घ्यं³ दत्त्वा(त्वा) सकलसुरासुरगुरुचेलोच्चस्ना-
 7 मिन् भगवंतमुमापतिमभ्यर्च्यः⁴ ॥ भास्करनायकपुत्रेण श्री-
 8 नक्षत्रनायकेन त्वात्मसेवा(च्यो)र्थं⁵ श्रीदेवाधिदेवस्य श्री-
 9 स्थानकौयपा[ह]नवाटिकामध्ये [दानवि]धौ दातव्यमा[म]
 10 दम ४ द[द्यावधीउप(त्प)त्तिसमप्रस्य] — — — — — दाम २४
 11 देवावे । शुभमे पूजापंचपर्वणि — — — — — शि-
 12 वरात्रिदक्षिणायन(म)उत्तरायण स्वप्ति श्रीचाहडदे[वा]य [४⁶]

E.—Inscription of Sōmśavaradāva ; Śaka 1181.

This inscription was found in Ranvad near Ura.⁷ The stone measures 3' by 1' 6". The inscribed portion is 1' by 1' 5" and contains 11 lines of writing, the average size of letters being 1". Below this is an asc-sculpture differing slightly in position of the woman from those noticed before, carved in low relief in a rectangle (16" × 11"). At the top, above the inscription, are the Sun and the Moon and between them a double kalasa.⁸

The inscription is dated Śaka 1181 Siddhārtha Samvatsara Chaitra Vadi 15 (1) Monday, and reference is made in l. 6 to a *carya-parvan* but it is not clear whether it implies a solar eclipse, and whether the grant was made on that occasion.

The reading of the date however remains uncertain, for though according to Pillar⁹ in Śaka 1181 the Southern cyclic year was Siddhārtha, Chaitra *vadi* 15 fell on a Thursday and *vadi* 13 on Tuesday, while Monday, the day mentioned in the inscription, was a *lehasa tithi* and no solar eclipse occurred in that year. Under the circumstances we may read the *tithi* as 13, the date corresponding to 21st April, A.D. 1259, Monday.

It records that Sōmśavaradāva, the paramount Lord of Kōnkana, granted some land (†)¹⁰ in the village of Padivasa in Ura to Dāmōdarabhaṭṭa on the occasion of *carya-parvan* (solar eclipse †) for (the worship, etc.) of Śarabha.

The ministers of Sōmśavarata were the Mahāmātya Jambūpādaprabhu, the Mahāśāsthrīcragrāhika [Tai]japrabhu and Chandraprabhu in charge of the *lekhanas*.

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² This character is placed on the left of the letter.

³ Should be *parma-śāradha*.

⁴ Both the *carya* and the *dayas* are unnecessary.

⁵ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 21, n. 1; also noticed by Alcock, *Jal. Gaz.*, Vol. II, p. 231, No. 27.

⁶ For a similar sculpture from Basiri see p. 278 below.

⁷ *Judica Epigraphia*, Vol. IV, p. 120.

⁸ Details are not clear to us.

The inscriptions do not give any important information about Sômesvara. He is merely called *Kāṅkaśāhavarāṇa* and *Āṇḍarājā*, titles which are mentioned in connection with Aparādityadēva II also. Neither is there any hint as to his relationship with his predecessor Kāśirāja whose two unpublished inscriptions are referred to in the *Bombay Gazetteer*.¹ Probably he was a son of the latter as suggested by Altekar.²

According to our present knowledge of the history of this family, Sômesvara seems to be the last king of the Northern Śilāhara dynasty. He was defeated and perhaps killed and the country conquered by Mahādēva³ of the (Dāvagiri) Yādava dynasty. Cousens thinks that the scene of the battle between Sômesvara and Mahādēva is sculptured on some stones lying about Borivli.⁴ In this connection it may be noted that the *kalāśa*-like sculpture which appears on the middle stone, figured by Cousens, very much resembles in ornamentation the *kalāśa*-like figure on the stone F described below.

Among the place-names *Urapa* is the modern Uran, and *Paḍivasa* may be identified either with Phunda about 2 miles northeast of Uran or with Panja, another village about 3 miles to the north of Uran, in the Panvel Talukā of the Bombay Presidency.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री । स्वस्ति श्रीः [॥*] यद्येव समस्त राजावलीममकृतमहाराजाधि-
- 2 राज कौक[ण*] चक्रवर्त्तियोमद(त्)सोमेश्वरदेवरायकल्याणविजयराजे
- 3 तथेतप्र(त्)भादाव्या(वा)मममस्तमंडलचिंता(ता)भारं समुद्रइति महामाख्यो-
- 4 हंपडप्रभु महामाधिविषहो[ते]जप्रभु श्रीकर्णो चंद(द)प्रभु इत्यादि श्री-
- 5 करणभांडागारं सखेतस्मिन् काले प्रवर्त्तमा[ने] सति शक्रसंवत्(त्) ११८१ सि-
- 6 ध(हार्ध)संवत्(त्)रे वैवर्दि १[३] सामाह(सोमे) ओदामोदरभट्ट तवा भ्रातर वासु-
- 7 इ[व*]भट्ट लेकन २ नारियले पावं निमित्तं श्रीशमुवं दामोदरभट्टं यिवा
- 8 वरणं पडिवसे[षाम]प्रतिवशां हंडपलास्यानि वा भाग १ देउलेचंद
- 9 समस्तहिमादृती ३ — — — — — निमित्तं सूर्यपर्व हस्तोदकपु-
- 10 वंश दामोदर भटावं — — — — — — — — — — करतिदीप
- 11 श्री—मंगलमहाश्रीः ॥

F.—Inscription of Sômesvaradēva : Saka 1182.

This inscription was found from *Chanje* near Uran.⁵ The stone measures 3' 5" by 1' 7" and the inscribed portion is 1' 6" by 1' 5" and contains 18 lines; the average size of letters is 1". Below this, in a rectangle (16" × 11") was an *asc-sculpture* as in B, but now it is completely worn out. Above the inscription, between the Sun and the Moon, on a pedestal is a *pūrṇa-kalāśa*; on its

* Vid. I, Pt. II, p. 20, a. 3.

* Op. cit., p. 417.

* This is according to Hildner's *Charanmogadāśāstra*, first cited in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 246; then Altekar, op. cit., p. 417; Cousens, *Medieval Temples of the Deccan*, p. 21; *Chhatrapati Architecture*, p. 143, pls. CLIII—IV.

* Cousens, op. cit., p. 21, pl. XV.

* Denoted by a symbol.

* *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 21.

bulging part is a band and leaves on either side. The *kalala* is covered with what looks like a smaller *kalala* and may be a coconut.

It is dated in Śaka 1182, Raudra Samvatsara Chaitra vadi 15, Monday on a solar eclipse. The date thus corresponds to Monday, April 12, A.D. 1760, when there was a solar eclipse.¹

It records that Sōmāśvarādēva, lord of Kōṅkaṇa, granted land² (whose limits are mentioned) in Kōmthala vāṭikā in the village of Chāmdijē in Uraṇa³ and 162 *ḍṛamaṇa*⁴ to god Uttarēśvara of Śrī-sthāna on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun.

The king is the same as in E but the names of the ministers are different, except that of the *Mahāmāyga* who is as before, Jhāmpadaprabhu. Other ministers are the *Mahāśāhīnigrahika* Mānāka, Bāhulaṣṛabhu, Pōmadēpaṇḍita, and Gōvānaka.

The places mentioned in the inscription, Uraṇa and Chāmdijē⁵ are the modern Uran and Chanji respectively, while Kōmtha(dha)sthāna may be the same as Kaladhonda, a place a little north of Uran.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री नमो विनायकाय ।¹ लंबो(बो)दर नमस्तुभ्यं सततं मोदकपूर्य ।²
- 2 अविन्नं कुरु मे देव सर्वत्रायेंषु सर्वदा ।³ अथोह समस्त-रा-
- 3 जावलीममलंकृतमा(म)हाराजाधिराज⁴ कौकणवक्रव-
- 4 र्निचौसोमेख(ख)रदेवरायकल्याणविजयराज्ये तथैतद्व्यभादा-
- 5 व्या(वा)तममस्तमंडकचिंताभारं समुहति महामाख्योक्षांपडप्रभु
- 6 मा(म)हासाधिविचर्ही माहनाकुं⁵ देवक्षपभुं⁶ पोमदेपंडितं⁷ श्रीकरणभां-
- 7 डागारे प्रथमच्छे⁸ पाटी गोविंताकुं⁹ इत्येतस्मिन्काले प्रवर्तमाने सति श-
- 8 कट्टपकालातीतसंवच्छ(क्ष)रमखे¹⁰कादशसु¹¹ हासोत्थधौकेषु¹² अवांकतोपि
- 9 मकुसंवतु¹³ ११८२ रौद्रसंवच्छरसु(करे)¹⁴ चैववदि १५ मोमेदिने¹⁵ सूर्योपरामे¹⁶ उ-
- 10 क(र)ण[यामखभूव]¹⁷ चांडिले यामा(म)प्रतिव[र]¹⁸ कौवलने स्थानवाटिकाम्¹⁹ अथ चा-

¹ Pillai, *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. IV, p. 122.

² In the inscription the word for this is *śāḍa*.

³ [The inscription seems to record the gift of some building-site at Uraṇa and some garden-land at Kōmthala in the Chāmdijē village.—Ed.]

⁴ *Bauh. Ges.*, Vol. I, Pl. II, p. 21, n. 1, suggests that this might stand for Parthian *deyama*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21, n. 1, takes the *deyama* as a fixed income of a garden to which does not seem to be correct, for if no land were granted it would not be necessary to mention its boundaries. [Apparently the money was granted in addition to the land.—Ed.]

⁶ This name occurs also in inscription A, — p. 272, Text, l. 15, where.

⁷ Denoted by a symbol.

⁸ The stop is indicated by two dots.

⁹ Read *priga*.

¹⁰ This stop is superfluous.

¹¹ Read *śāḍa*.

¹² Read *śāḍa*.

¹³ This dot which stands for a stop is unnecessary.

¹⁴ Read *drasty-śāḍa*.

¹⁵ Read *Sole-saint*.

¹⁶ [Reading seems to be *Uraṇa ḍṛamaṇa-śāḍa*.—Ed.]

we learn nothing new, as one more inscription of this year and one of a later date are already known.¹

The names of the governor and the viceroy, Jāidēva and Rāmadēva respectively, are not found in earlier inscriptions. But Jāidēva seems to have succeeded Kṛishṇadēva, who is mentioned in an earlier grant as the governor of Kōṅkaḡ.² Rāmadēva, however, may be identified with the person called Śrī-Rāma mentioned in the Thāṇā plates of the reign of the Yādava Rāmachandra of S. 1212,³ according to which Kṛishṇadēva was ruling over Kaṇḍaka under the orders of Śrī-Rāma, provided that Śrī-Rāma, whose *śiṛṣa*, etc., are not given, is regarded as a different person, as suggested by the context, from the Yādava king, who in the two cases in which he is mentioned in the plates, is called Śrī Rāmachandradēva.

The object of the grant is to record the donation of a village, the name of which seems to be *Supali*. To the east of it was a village called *Ghāravali*, and on the other three sides a river.

The inscription is in prose and the language incorrect Sanskrit and old Marāṭhi. As regards orthography there is nothing particularly to note but the frequent use of dental sibilant for the palatal.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री स्वस्ति श्री मङ्गलसंवत् १२२२ सा(ग)वरीसंवत्(स)रे । सा(श)-
- 2 वणवदि ७ सोम । अश्वत्थ सोमप्रोष्ठप्रतापचक्रव-
- 3 तिचौरामचंद्रदेवविजयोदयो तत्पादपद्मोपजीवी(वि)-
- 4 महामंडलेस्व(स्व)रसकलसैनाधिपतिपद्मिस-
- 5 मुदाधिपतियो — श्रीरामदेवेन(न) निरोपितकीकण
- 6 [च]धिकारी(रि)योजादेव — श्रीरामदेवा(व)रा-
- 7 ज्ञे जंवल्ले वीनबुनिकीकणसंवंधठाणा चादठ
- 8 — सा पैस्त्रावहि घरावे चाकपाकवेनिप्रसा-
- 9 दिदंन निरुल्ले संवंध । यलण वाहेयामसुप-
- 10 ली । तस्य चाघाटनान् । पूर्वे वारवलोचामु(म) । प
- 11 विमे नदी । उत्तरे नदी । दक्षिणे नदी । एवं चतुरा-
- 12 वि चाघाटनान् । स(स्व)भीमापर्वत तृणकाष्टोद-
- 13 कोपित मङ्गलमालानिधिनिरुपमहित महा-
- 14 दोषविवर्जित करुणि चंद्रसूर्यतपितं घरेसव-
- 15 दिं वाहरनपुत्रपौत्री भीमावा हागांड । पालि-
- 16 तापुठीन् । श्री लीपी तेहाची माण गाढव झवे । मं-
- 17 गेल माहायी सुभं भवतु ॥

¹ See above, Vol. VII, Appendix, p. 65 (Nos. 381 and 382).

² Thāṇā plates of S. 1212, *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. V, p. 178.

³ *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. V, p. 178.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ [The reading, according to me, is *Rāga* in 1. 5 and *Rāgas* in 1. 6. This title is also found in the unpublished Velgaṇṇ inscription of the year Śaka 1227, belonging to the same ruler.—Ed.]

⁶ The language is so corrupt from here that the text has mostly been left uncorrected.

⁷ This letter cannot be made out for certain; it may be *ri*.

⁸ This letter may also be read as *rai*.

No. 45.—FOUR PANDYA RECORDS FROM UKKIRANKOTTAL.

By A. S. RAMAKRISHNA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined Pāṇḍya records¹ come from Ukkirankōttai, a village in the Tinnevely taluk of the Tinnevely District. Three of them are in the Tamil language and are engraved in Vatteluttu characters assignable to the 10th century A.D., while the fourth in Sanskrit is in Grantha characters of the same period. There are no new points worth mentioning about the graphic peculiarities of these Vatteluttu and Grantha scripts, as they are of the usual variety employed in other contemporaneous records of the locality.

Record A is dated in the 13th year opposite to the 2nd year of reign of the Pāṇḍya king Śaṭaiya-Māraṇ and registers a gift of sheep by a lady named Tuḍarāri, wife of Teṇṇavaṇ Pallavadiārāyaṇ alias Māraṇ²-Śūraṇ for maintaining a perpetual lamp in the temple of god Āḍitya-Bhātira³ at the eastern entrance of Karavandapuram in Kaḷakkūḍi-nāḍu. Record B is a Sanskrit version of the same endowment made by Tuḍarāri, here called the wife of Śrīkantha-Śūra to the temple of god Vikarātana at Karavandapuram, but the king's name is not mentioned in it. Record C was originally engraved on a broad slab of stone, which has been cut longitudinally into two and planted in the temple compound to serve as gate-posts, and in the process, its first line containing the king's name has suffered mutilation. But the regnal year quoted for the king, viz., 2+9, as well as the fact that the same Teṇṇavaṇ Pallavadiārāyaṇ alias Kaṇḍaṇ (Śrīkantha)-Śūraṇ is herein mentioned as being in charge of Kaḷakkūḍi (*Kalakkudi mahāśayanaṁ teppapera*) helps us to attribute this inscription also to the Śaṭaiya-Māraṇ of record A. Further, as it is stated that this Pallavadiārāyaṇ erected an *ambalam* (wayside choultry) called 'Nāgarattāṇ' in the name of the trading guild (*Nagarattār*) of the colony called Rājasthāga pūṇṇaśāḍi, newly founded by him, apparently in the name of his sovereign, the Śaṭaiya-Māraṇ of these records can be identified with Rājasthāga III, who is already well-known from the Siṅgamunūr plates⁴ issued in the 2+14th year of his reign, and to whose period the characters employed in all these epigraphs can very appropriately belong. Record D, though it does not mention any king's name, can, paleographically, be attributed to the same king's reign.

The village now known by the name of Ukkirankōttai has been called Karavandapuram in Kaḷakkūḍi-nāḍu in A, while in D it is simply called Kaḷakkūḍi. Karavandapuram alias Kaḷakkūḍi⁵ (and Kaḷundai) has been mentioned as the birth-place of Māraṇ-Kāri, the excavator of the rock-cut shrine of Naraśiṭha at Āṇimūlai in the Madurai District, and of his brother Māraṇ-Ryinnu, both of whom successively held the office of Uttaramontri under the Pāṇḍya ruler Māraṇ-Śaṭaiyaṇ, and also that of Śātraṇ-Ḍaṇavadi, the king's *Mahāśamanta*⁶, and it was

¹ Nos. 194, 195 196 and 197 of 1925-26 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

² The first part of the name 'Māraṇ' is based on the name of the reigning Pāṇḍya king.

³ The temple in which this record is found is now called the Cakkalanga temple and a *linga* is installed in its central shrine. It was probably a temple dedicated exclusively to Śūra in earlier days. But as the people in the locality say that the present temple was built from stones brought from the adjoining fields, it is also possible that the temple of Āḍitya-Bhātira may have existed as a separate shrine in the vicinity, and that when it fell into ruins, its stones were built into the present shrine. In this connection it has to be remembered that made a fact, a Śiva temple should be constructed in the north-east, and that of Śūra in the east. (Gop. math. Bau. II, of *Hindu Temple*, Vol. I, p. 23.)

⁴ South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, p. 441.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 319 and Vol. XVII, p. 303. The name Kaḷundai mentioned as the native place of Māraṇ-Ryinnu, appears to be only a poetic form of the word Kaḷakkūḍi (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 71 and above, Vol. XVII, p. 296).

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 67, wherein is quoted No. 37 of 1908.

In the Larger *Suvarṇamahāpurāṇa*, an earlier Pāṇḍya king Śrīvallabha¹ is stated to have fought a battle at Kuṇḍūr and his conquests are said to have extended from Kuṇḍūr to Siṅga-jam. If this Kuṇḍūr is identical with the native place of the daughter Tujarūti mentioned in record A, the geographical detail that it was situated in Karuṇākkuṇḍi-nāḍu is of some interest. The same village Kuṇḍūr is stated to be located in Nīlakkuṇḍi-nāḍu (probably a shortened form of Karuṇākkuṇḍi-nāḍu) in an epigraph from Palliṇaḍam² in the Aruppukkōṭṭai taluk of the Ramnad District.

The colony which Tenggavaṇ Pallavadiāraiyāṇ founded in front of the *koṭṭavāṇi* or palace at Karavandapuram was, as stated already, called Rājasiṅga-ppēraṇḍi in honour of the reigning king. It must have been a fairly influential community, for in record B Inḥaṇ Dēvaṇaṣēṭṭi, a member of the **Ayyapoṭṭil-500** guild, who was probably the agent in charge at this place, is stated to have built a circumambulatory verandah (*tiṇṇuṇṇaṭṭi*) called 'Nagarattāṇ' round the temple of Vajravāyil-nāḍuṅai, in the name and on behalf of the *Nagarattār*. **Ayyapoṭṭil** which is the Tamilised form of the word Ayyavole (i.e., Aihole in the Hanguad taluk of the Bijāpur District, Bombay Presidency) is famous as the headquarters of a very influential and prosperous trading corporation which boasted of branches even in distant parts.³ Several trading centres were called 'Ayyavoles of the South', apparently because they were branches founded by the merchants or agents of the Ayyavole guild proper. The elaborate *poṣaṇṭi* of the Ayyavole guild found in an inscription⁴ in Mysore describes the guild as having been composed of 500 *śāṣṭas*, and this conventional numerical strength of the guild is also indicated by the title 'Aṇṇūṇṇavay' borne by the local agent mentioned above.

One other point of interest in these records is that the endowments were not only left under the protection of the merchant-guild of the place, but that the *maṇḍi-ṇṇaṇṇar* or 'the soldiers on guard at the ramparts'⁵ were also enjoined to supervise the proper conduct of the charities. As already noted in the *Annual Report on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1932-33, page 68, endowments made in the time of the Pāṇḍya king Sundara-Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1225) to the temple at Peruṇḍuḷam, a medieval military cantonment in the Tinnevely District, were left in charge of a governing body composed of representatives from the several battalions stationed at the place. In an inscription from Tiruvāliavaram⁶ in the same district, it is stated that the temple of Tiruvāliavaram-Uṇḍiayār, its treasury and the temple servants were placed under the protection of the Chōḷa garrison called 'Mōṇṇukai-Mahāśēṇai' stationed at that place. Similarly in a record⁷ copied at Saṅgrāmanallūr in the Coimbatore District, which was evidently fortified and garrisoned in olden days, the soldiers were required to protect the *gōṇṇa*, the temple and its premises. It is therefore evident that in places which were under the control of the military, a body composed of some military officers and men functioned in respect of religious and other institutions under their charge, in a manner similar to that of village assemblies in purely civil stations.

TEXT.

A

1 Śri[(*)](Kō)-chChādaiya-Mārarku yāṇḍu iṇḍu idan-ēdir paḍiṇṇāṇṇa iṇṇ-ē(āṇḍu)
Kaḷakkuṇḍi-nāṭṭu-kKaravandapurattu kīṇivāḷi iṇṇkōi.

¹ A. I. J., Vol. III, p. 491.

² No. 436 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ Ep. Carn., Vol. VII, No. 118.

⁴ The term *maṇḍi-ṇṇaṇṇar* (*maṇḍi*=rampart + *ṇṇaṇṇar*=soldiers) means 'the soldiers guarding the ramparts' in the fort at the place. Compare *ṇṇaṇṇar* and *Mōṇṇukai-ṇṇaṇṇar* in the sense of 'soldiers' (*Tamil Aṇḍal Series*, Vol. I, p. 159 and f. n. 8).

⁵ No. 126 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁶ No. 167 of 1909 of the same collection.

3. III 'Ādityabajārayku Teggavay Pallavadiāraiyan-āṅga Mā[ra]ṇ-Śōray mapavā[ṭṭi]ṇ
 Karuṇilakkudī-nāṭṭu-kKuppūr Tuḍarūri iṭṭa ti.
 3 rimunadēvijakku oṇṇiṇakku aḍutta iḍu aṇbadu [*] ivv-iḍu [ai]ṇbadum ivv-ūr
 [ai]ḷga-āvarattu veṭṭikkudī Pūdi-Pōrāṇ nīadippa.
 4. II uḷakku ney Śōṇṇatūl aṭṭuvadāga koṇḍa āvā-mūvā-ppērā[ḍu] aṇbadu [*] avichcharu
 kal* irāṇḍum iṭṭuṇ nagarattār rakihai [*] maḍi-ebhēvagar kāval [||*]

B

- 1 'Śrīkaṇṭhah/Śrīkaṇṭha)-Śāra- dayitā Tuḍarūri-nāṇṇi Vajkattānāya Kara(va)nta-
 pur-ālayāya [*] prādā[d-iḷu]
 2 dīpam amalakriyamāga-lōkaṇ yan-tiah[hatāt]-sa bhuvi yāvad-aśāha-lōkaṇ [||*]

C

- 1
 2 ku yāṇḍu iṭṭuḍu iḍan-eḍir o].
 3 ḡbadu ivv-ā[ḍu] Kalakkudī maḥā
 4 *nāḷakāṇ=keyyapetta Teggava.
 5. II Pallavadi[ā]raiyan ivv-ūr.
 6 kkoṇṇavāyilīṇ muṇba kuḍi
 7 āravitta [iṭṭ]jādāṇḡapp-
 8 raṇḡāḍūl ma[ga]tattār pōrāl
 9 Teggavay Pallavadiāraiya.
 10. II āna Kaṇḍan-Śōray eḍuppi.
 11 ita aṇbalam Nagarattānukku
 12 iṭṭa tuḍarv[ī]akk-ōṇṇiṇukku
 13 vijakku-neyppuramāga ivv-ō-
 14 r-ppaḍaittalaiyan Nakkaṇ-Mun.
 15 nūrravay nīyadippaḍi eri-
 16 y ney aṭṭu[va]dāga aḍutta ā-
 17 vā mūvā-ppērāḍu mūṇḡa nīyāyat-
 18 [tā]ṇ nūṇḡ [*] ivv-ā[ṭṭ]ukkum(n)-ne
 19 y aṭṭuvippadagakkum
 20 iṭṭippuṇai ivv-ūr-ppaḍait-
 21 talaiyan Vēṇṇavāyppōṭi [*] i-
 22 ney muṭṭāṇṇal nagarattārum
 23 maḍi-ebhēvagarum kattu ay-
 24 tuvippadāga vaṭṭadu [||]
 25 Aṇḷala[m*] Nagara[ṭ]tāṇ meṇḡu-
 26 v-ā[ḷ]akku nagara[ṭ]tāṇ kaivvāḷi Te-
 27 ggavay-pPallavadiāraiya-
 28. II āna Kaṇḍan-Śōray koḍutta
 29 [ḷ]akkāṇu pattu [*] i-kkaḷāṇ-

* 'Āditya' is engraved in Grantha letters.

* This is not understood.

* The meter is Paṇḍitāḷakā.

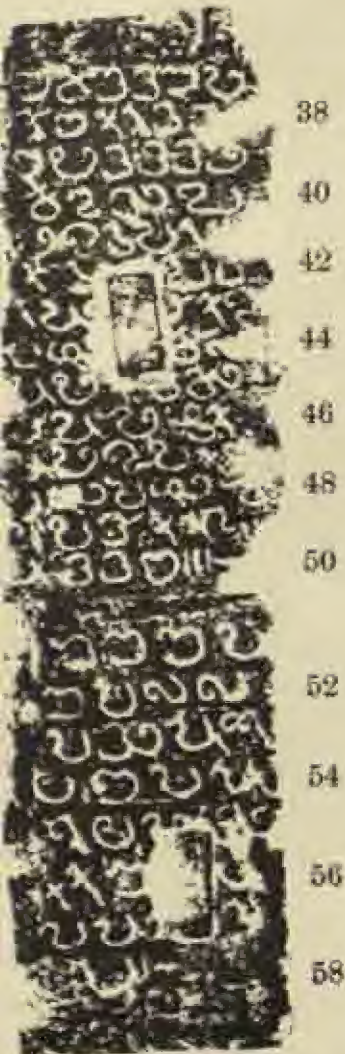
* Mahānāḷaṇṇam is properly Mahānāḷakam.

2	...	...	2
4	...	...	4
6	...	...	6
8	...	...	8
10	...	...	10
12	...	...	12
14	...	...	14
16	...	...	16
18	...	...	18
20	...	...	20
22	...	...	22
24	...	...	24
26	...	...	26
28	...	...	28
30	...	...	30
32	...	...	32
34	...	...	34
36	...	...	36

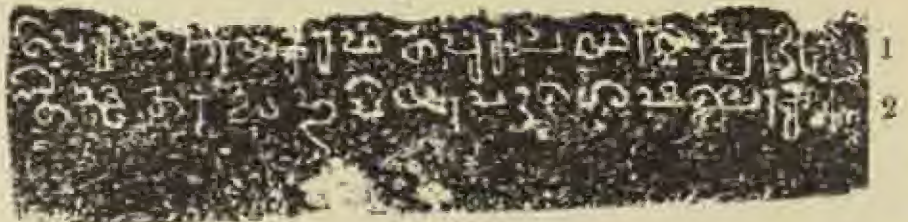
B.
Left half



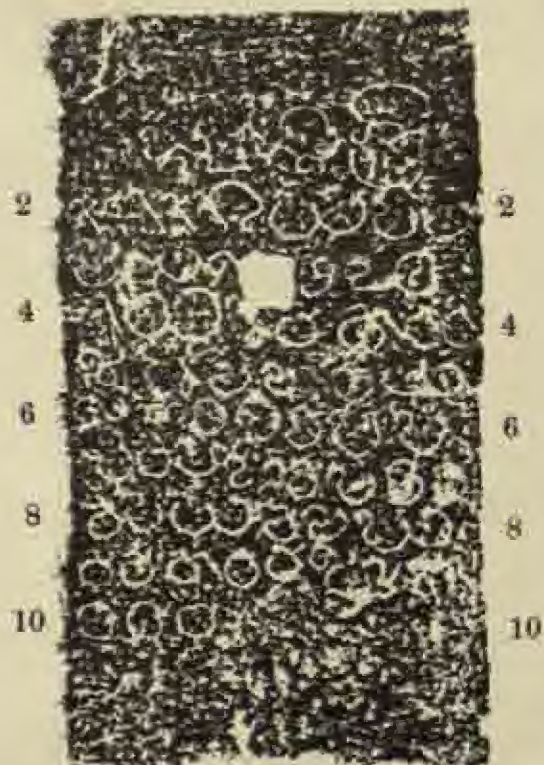
C-2



Right half



D.



- 30 ju-mudal mudalai [u]ṛpadāga iva-
 31 rriṇ poli meḷaguv-āḷukku
 32 niyadī aiññāḷi nellum-s-
 33 ḷiva selavum vaittadu ||
 34 mērpodī [k]kādū irapḍu ōṛri ḷakkā-
 35 ēu paṇṇirapḍum na[ga]rattōm ivv-ā-
 36 r vēṭkōvar Vira . . . nāyanum kō-
 37 u Śāttagum
 38 kō[n*] Nagarattā-
 39 gum Tattāñ-
 40 Śendila-
 41 m oruvar-k-
 42 koru[var] tuḷa-
 43 rvi . . āka i-
 44 [va]ḷi . . chelu-
 45 vum ka-chi-
 46 . . vū meluga-
 47 vum ivaga|
 48 vaḷi vaḷi ē-
 49 yvadāga ku-
 50 ḍuttaga ||
 51 Tennava-
 52 u Palla-
 53 vadiārai-
 54 yaṇ-ēva A-
 55 raiyamāḷi-
 56 kkaṇ [ku]ḷu-
 57 ppitta-
 58 du ḷ-

D

- 1 Svasti Śai [i*]
 2 Kaḷakkuḍi Ya-
 3 ḷaṇḍyil-amaudā-
 4 [i] riruchhagā-
 5 lai Ayyapoli-
 6 [i] Aiññāḷu-
 7 [u]-ḷubān-Dēvaṇach-
 8 cheṭṭi ōyvi-
 9 ch[clu] śūṛṭālai Nagera-
 10 tūḷi [i*]

* At this place a rectangular hole has been cut into the slab damaging some letters.

* The more correct form is amardāḷi.

TRANSLATION.

A

Prosperity !

The thirteenth year opposite the second year of king Śaṭaiya-Māraṅ—in this year, Tudarūri of Kuṇṇūr in Karuṇṭṭakkuḍi-nāḍu, wife of Tēggaṇa Pallavadiāraiyāṅ alias Māraṅ-Śāraṅ, gave fifty sheep for (maintain[ing]) a perpetual lamp endowed by her to god Āḍitya-Bhaṭāra of the temple at the eastern entrance of Karavandapuram in Kaḷakkuḍi-nāḍu. These fifty sheep which neither die nor grow old, Pūḍi-Pūṇa a *cettākkuḍi* of the kīṅga-Jēvaṇam (temple) of this village, took over, agreeing to supply daily one *ṣṭakka* of ghee by the (measure called) Śāḷiyam.

This shall be under the protection of the *Nagarattār* and of the *Madi-chēccogur* (soldiers guarding the ramparts).

B

The wife of Śrīkaṇṭha-Śūra, named Tudarūri, gave to the temple of (god) Vikarittana at Karavantapura, a lamp which has brightened the world; may it last as long as all the worlds (exist).

C

(Lines 1 to 18) The ninth year opposite the second year of —in this year, the (number of) sheep which the *Paḍaṇṭalāraṇ* Nakkap-Muṇḍārruṇaṅ of this village received, agreeing to measure daily one *uri* of ghee for a chain-lamp which had been presented to the *ambalam* (called) *Nagarattāṅ* erected in the name of the *Nagarattār* by Tēggaṇa Pallavadiāraiyāṅ alias Kaṇḍaṅ-Śāraṅ who was the *Mahānāyaka* of Kaḷakkuḍi in Rājasiṅgaṇḍappamāḍāḍi, (a settlement) which had been formed by him in front of the *koṇṇuṇḍi* of this village, is one hundred.

(Ll. 18-21) For these sheep and for the (proper) supply of ghee, the surety is the *Paḍaṇṭalāraṇ* Veṅṇavāyypēsi of this village.

(Ll. 22-24) This was left under the care of the *Nagarattār* and the soldiers of the rampart so that they may arrange for the unfailing supply of this ghee.

(Ll. 25-33) The amount which Tēggaṇa Pallavadiāraiyāṅ alias Kaṇḍaṅ-Śāraṅ deposited with the *Nagarattār* for the maintenance of the sweeper¹ of the *ambalam* called *Nagarattāṅ* is ten *ṭṭakkāṇ*. This *ṭṭakkāṇ* amount is to remain as capital, and from the interest thereon five *nāḷi* of paddy shall be given to the sweeper daily.

(Ll. 34-50) Two *kāṇ* together with this, (i.e.) twelve *ṭṭakkāṇ* (in all), the *Nagarattār* gave to the Vēṭkōṇar Vira nāyaṅ, Kōṇ Śāṭṭaṇ, Kōṇ *Nagarattāṅ*, Tattaṅ-Śeṇḍil, so that the work of² and of sweeping may be performed by them and their descendants.

(Ll. 51-58) By order of Tēggaṇa Pallavadiāraiyāṅ, Araiyamāḷikkaṅ gave this (edict).

D

Hail ! Prosperity !

Nagarattāṅ, the circumambulatory verandah (*tiṛuṇṇaḍṇāḷ*) of (the shrine of) the goddess Vajravāyileamandāḷ at Kaḷakkuḍi was erected by Igban-Dēvaṇachcheṭṭi, a (member of the) Ayyapōḷi-Āṇṇāṇṇuṇaṅ (guild).

¹ The service expected of the *śaḷaṅṇāḍi* was smearing the floor with cow-dung and sweeping.

² The inscription is damaged at this place, and the details of service which had to be rendered in addition to sweeping, cannot be made out.

UTMANZAI LAMP INSCRIPTION IN KHAROSHTHI.



A



B



C



D

S. P. CHAKRAVARTI

A. From impression; letters actual size.

B, C, D. from Photographs.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

No. 46.—UTMANZAI LAMP INSCRIPTION IN KHAROSHTHI.

By R. CH. CHABALL, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (Lond.), Ootacamund.

This inscribed stone lamp comes from **Utmānzai**, Tahsil Charsadda, District Peshawar. Mr. Gobind Ram Joneja, a druggist of that village, in whose possession the object is and who has kindly lent it to me for studying the inscription on it, informs me that he acquired it from a Pathān boy of a place near Dargai in the Malakand Agency. Its exact find-spot is not known, but from what Mr. Joneja wrote to me it appears that in the neighbourhood of Dargai there are ruins of an ancient *stūpa*.¹ Possibly the same site is the provenance of our piece.

The lamp is made of sandstone of dark gray colour. It weighs 32½ *tolas*, stands 1.6" high and measures 4" at its broadest. One line of inscription, which is in Kharoshthi characters, appears on its outer side, running the whole length. The size of letters varies between 1" and 1½". With regard to the forms of individual letters, attention may be drawn to *ma* in *danamukhe* where the *u*-stroke is not clear. Similar raised *ma* is found in Yāknābī Image Inscription.² Other forms are quite regular. The language is the same northern Prākṛit as is found in most of the Kharoshthi inscriptions from the N.-W. Frontier Province.

It may be observed that the words *thuvami danamukhe* in the beginning are redundant³, as the purport of the inscription is fully expressed by the remaining portion which states that the lamp was a gift of **Saṃgharakshita**⁴ to the Grāma-*stūpa*. The name of the donor shows that he was probably a monk (*bhikkhu*).

Stone lamps figure among the utensils that are often the objects of donations⁵. One such inscribed lamp was discovered at Taxila⁶. A fragment of a stone lamp, also inscribed, was unearthed at Jamālgerh.⁷

I read the inscription from the original.

TEXT.

Thuvami danamukhe Grāma-thuvami Saṃgharakshitaḥ danamukhe.

TRANSLATION.

Gift in the *Stūpa*. Gift of Saṃgharakshita, in the Grāma-*stūpa*.

¹ It may be pointed out that the region north of Peshawar abounds in Buddhist relics. Remains of *stūpas* and *saṃgharāṣṭras* are met with at short intervals. See *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhāra* by A. Foucher, translated into English by H. Hargreaves.

² *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, *Kharoshthi Inscriptions*, p. 133, pl. XXIV, 1.

³ The donor may have wished to have the whole of the available space inscribed, hence the repetition of the words in question.

⁴ In the Badami Copper Ladle Inscription (*C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 80), the donor of the ladle is an individual of the same name. But, I think, he is not identical with Saṃgharakshita of the present record.

⁵ *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 271.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29, pl. XVII, 3, 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 110, pl. XXII, 7.

⁸ In transliterating this letter as *th* I have followed Stein Konow (above, Vol. XIX, p. 2, n. 2). The same sign has generally been taken for *ch*.

⁹ It is not certain whether this is the proper name of the *Stūpa* or whether this simply means 'village *stūpa*'.

No. 47.—NALANDA PLATE OF DHARMAPALADEVA.

BY P. N. BHATTACHARYYA, INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

This copper-plate was unearthed in course of excavations in 1927-28 by Mr. J. A. Page of the Archaeological Survey of India at Nālandā, Patna District.¹ It was lying among burnt debris in the north verandah of Monastery No. 1, at the same level where the grant² of Dhāmapāladēva was found. The plate has already been noticed by Dr. Hirananda Sastri in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1927-28, p. 158.

This is a **single plate** of copper, measuring about 7½" broad and 10½" high, having the usual highly wrought seal soldered on the top. The seal bears the legend *Śrīmān-Dharmapālādēvaḥ* in raised letters in one line below the emblem of the *dharma-cakra*. The emblem consists of a wheel flanked on each side by a deer, indicating the Buddha's first sermon at Sarnāth.

The plate is inscribed on both sides. The obverse contains 24 lines³ of writing. On the reverse, which is very much defaced, some 12 lines can be clearly recognized. Of the rest of the writing it is not possible to offer even a tentative reading. The destruction of the monastery by fire was no doubt the cause of the defacement of the copper-plate.

The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets resembling those of the Khalimpur plate.⁴ The following peculiarities may, however, be noted. The left limb of the letter *v* is not so elongated as in the Khalimpur, Mungir⁵ and Nālandā⁶ plates. The forms of the letters *kṛa* (l. 12) and *ku* (ll. 5, 10, 14) are almost identical. Separate signs have been used for final *i* (e.g., *akṣandhānīrā*, l. 2) and *e* (e.g., *nāntīrā*, l. 15). The medial *i* is expressed in some cases by full strokes and in others by half strokes (cf. *rājāḥ*, l. 4; *mahā*, l. 8, etc.). It is worthy of notice, however, that not a single instance of half stroke is found in the Khalimpur, Nālandā and Mungir plates. Similarly the medial *e* is also expressed both by full and half strokes. The latter form appears in *śakya*, l. 10; *kulika*, l. 14; *hīrā* and *śīrṣaḥ*, l. 15; and *likhita*, l. 17. The medial *o* has been expressed by a short curve in continuation of the *mātrā* on the left side. The medial *ṣ* has been expressed in two different ways, sometimes with the half stroke of *ṣ* together with the vertical stroke for medial *ṣ* on the right side (cf. *putra*, l. 16; *varjita*, l. 22) and sometimes with a curved line above the consonant together with the right vertical stroke (cf. *pāda-pāda-āpāṇīnāḥ*, l. 15; *gāthā-āpāṇīkṛita*, l. 17) as in the Khalimpur and Nālandā plates.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, the text being wholly in prose. As regards **orthography** the only point to be noted is that *ḥ* is throughout expressed by the sign for *v*. After the opening words, *śam evaṁ*, the inscription proceeds to record the subject matter of the plate, namely a grant by the *Paramādeva Paramabhaddrārāya Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Dharmapāladēva**, the son and successor of the devout worshipper of Sugata (i.e., Buddha) the *Mahārājādhirāja Gopāladēva*. It was issued from the royal camp of victory at **Kapilā** (1). The **object** of the document is to record the gift of the village of **Uttarāma** near the village of **Nigāha** in the **Gayā vishaya** of the **Nagara bhukti** (ll. 5-7) and belonging to **Jambūnadi vāṭī**.⁷ The purpose of this grant cannot be made out owing to the damaged condition of the

¹ *J. A. S. I.*, *Annual Report*, 1927-28, p. 158.

² *Above*, Vol. XVII, pp. 316-327.

³ [See below p. 292, n. 1—Ed.]

⁴ *J. A. S. I.*, Vol. LXIII, pt. III.

⁵ *Above*, Vol. XVIII, p. 306, l. 39.

⁶ *Idid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 320, l. 9.

⁷ *Vāṭī* is found here to denote a small sub-division of the *vishaya*. This term occurs also in the Nālandā plate of Dhāmapāla in connection with the village granted in the Gayā *vishaya*. From the Nāthāṭi grant (N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 54) of Vallabhadra it is found that *vāṭī* formed a part of a *śaśadā*. See also *above*, p. 158.

last line on the obverse and the top lines on the reverse, which portion must have contained this information.)

An account of the exploits of the king which are so elaborately described in the Khaliampur plate is absent in the present record. The designations of the officials and the order in which they have been mentioned in it tally more with those of the Mungir plate of Dēvapāla than with those of the Khaliampur plate of Dharmapāla. No new designations, however, occur here. Like the Mungir plate this charter mentions *Gaṇḍa-Mālava-Khaṭa-Kulika-Hāpa*, but not *Kaṇḍāla* and *Lāpa*. *Mahāśeṣpati* mentioned in line 5 (reverse) was probably the *dātaka* of this grant. Line 7 on the same side gives the name of the writer as Kuladatta, son of Dharmadatta. The words *kaśabāraṇya* in line 11 and (*vyākṛā* in line 12 show that the grant contained the name of the engraver which is now lost. From what remains on the reverse it can be safely asserted that no imprecatory verses, which are usually found at the end of land grants, have been added in the present record.

Of the place-names mentioned in this record *Nagara-bhukti* has been identified with modern Patna, which as a division includes the district of Gayā even now. *Nagara-bhukti* is also found on the seals¹ discovered at Nālandā, and in the inscription of Jivitagupta II found at Deo-Baramark in the Shāhābād District. From the Nālandā inscription of Dēvapāla we learn that *Nagara-bhukti* included the *vishayas* of Rājagṛha (Rājgir) and Gayā. The Krmila district which is mentioned as included in this *bhukti* in the Mungir plate has not been identified. From epigraphic documents we can assume that the *Nagara-bhukti* included the districts of Patna, Gayā and Shāhābād. The other places mentioned in the grant I am unable to identify.

TEXT.

First Side.

- 1 Om¹ svasti | mahā-śaṣṭy-śaṣṭy-ratha-patti-sampat(tit)y-upātmajaya-śavāḍ(bā)
- 2 | 1 Kapilā | 1-vāśakāt trīma-jaya-śkandhāvārāt (2 param-
- 3 saṅgatā-mahārājādhirāja kṛi-Gōpāladēva-pādānuśhyā-
- 4 tathā² paramśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭārakō mahārājādhirājaḥ kṛi-
- 5 mān Dharmmapāladēvaḥ kṛi Nāgara-bhuktau³ Gayā-vish-
- 6 y-āntahpātī Jamvā (mbū)-nadi-vithi-pratīva(bā)ddha- Nigūha-grām-āsanna U-
- 7 ttarāma-grāmakō⁴ samapagatān sarvān-eva rāja-rājana-
- 8 ka-rājaputra-rājāmātya-mahākārtākrīṭika-mahāśaṅkṣanāya-
- 9 ka-mahāpratīhāra-mahāśāmantā-mahārāja-daṇḍasādhāsādhana-
- 10 pramāṭṭi-sarabhaṅga-kumārāmātya-rājasthānty-āparika-vishaya-
- 11 pati-dāśāparādhika-chaurōddharapika-śūṇḍika-śūṇḍapāsika-kaṣa(khō)-
- 12 [itapa-prā]hāpāla-tadāvyuktaka-viniyuktaka-hasty-ātva-śeṣtra-va(ba)la-vyā-
- 13 [pṛitaka]-kīśora-vaśavāḍ-gō-mahishy-ābhikṛita-dūta-prāprāśhaṅika-gaṇā-
- 14 [gaṇa]k-ābhivaramāyaka-Gaṇḍa-Mālava-Khaṭa-Kulika-Hāpa-bhaṭa-
- 15 [chāṭa]-śevak-ādina-aryān(h)-ch-ākrīṭitān-(eva)-pāda-padm-ōpaśivinaḥ pra-
- 16 [ivāśinaś-cha] vrā(hrā)hman-ōttarān-mahattara-kurumvī(mh)-purōga-māś-āndira-chapā-
- 17 [la]-[paryantān-sa⁵]mājhāpayaty-anta(vah) samvī(dī)hath yath-ōpaśikṛita Uta-

¹ P. R. A. S., E. C., 1916-17, p. 43.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ For analogous passages see Nālikpur plate of Śhālakaraśarma (above, Vol. XII, p. 73) and Deo-Baramark inscription of Jivitagupta II (Fleet, *O. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 213).

⁴ *Dāśa* uncertain.

- 13 [rāma-grāmakāḥ*] [sva-simā-rīpa-yūti]-gōchāra-paryantaḥ s-āparikura(h*)
 19 [sa-chaṇ]rōddharayaḥ sarva-piḍā-parihṛiti-
 20 [r-a*]johāta-bhaṣa-pra[vāśa-kūchi]e-pragrāhyo rāja-bhāva
 sarva-pra-
 21 [tyāya-samātō bhūmichchidra-nyāyō]u-a-cha[cha]ndrāśaka-kabiti-sama-kāl-
 22 [gaḥ pū*]jva-bhuktaka-bhujya[māma]-dēva-vrā[bra]hma-dēya-varjjitō mayā
 23 [mātā-pitrō*]-ātmanas-cha pu[ṣṭya-yasō]-bhivṛddhayaḥ vandya-śchārya-Dharmma-
 24 [bhāṣa]kē ārya-Tārā-bhaṣṭāri[kā*]

Second Side.

- 1 [prativā*]sibhū-cha-śjūā-śravaya-vi-
 2 [dhēyair-bhūtvā*] samuchita-dēya-bhā[ga-bhūga]-kara-hirany-ādi-
 3
 4
 5 [ma]hāśūnāpati-iri datt[ā]
 6 [likki*]tam-mā[ti] śāśana[ti] mahākṣapa[ti]ka[ka]
 7 [Ku]la[da]ti[ti]na Dharmmadatta-putrō-śti
 8 chatuḥśasaktika datt[ā]h*)
 9 pratipādita
 10 tathā tasya mūlam [chatuḥśas]aktikaḥ
 11 ka[ti*]sakāraaya
 12 [u]tkīrṇa[ti] s[ā]ttadhāra

* [This line ends with a. Traces of another half line are visible below it.—Ed.]

† [There seem to have been six lines of inscription before this line which are completely destroyed.—Ed.]

* [Reading seems to be *Gorādeva-śi*—Ed.]

No. 48.—A NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE MANNE PLATES OF STAMBHA RANAVALOKA.

By PROF. A. S. ALTEXAN, M.A., D.Litt., BENARES.

The question of the genuineness and the date of issue of the Manne plates of Stambha Rana-valōka¹ has been recently raised in the pages of this journal (see above pp. 215-217) by Prof. V. V. Mirashi, while editing the 'Two Copper-plate Inscriptions from Berar'. Prof. Mirashi concludes that the plates are genuine, that they were really issued in the Śaka year 724, and that all the important conquests of Gōvinda III seem therefore to have been made before the date of this charter, i.e. during the first seven or eight years of his reign.

I propose to show in this note that though the Manne plates are genuine, they were not really issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Pausa in the Śaka year 724, when they purport to have been issued. They were issued a few years later, probably in Śaka 730 or 731, when the permission of Gōvinda III was received for making the contemplated grant in favour of the Jain *baradi* at Manne.

Prof. Mirashi has rightly drawn our attention to the fact that the stereotyped account of Gōvinda's exploits, which has been used in as many as ten grants made during his reign, has been used for the first time in the Manne plates. It cannot be however conceded that it was prepared at the order of Stambha, who has issued the Manne plates, or that he was the first to use it. We must in this connection note that Stambha had rebelled against Gōvinda in the beginning of his reign, forming a formidable confederacy of 12 kings for this purpose. Gōvinda was successful in crushing this rebellion. The two brothers were however reconciled afterwards, and Gōvinda showed the magnanimity of reappointing his brother to the governorship of Gaṅga-vāhī. Human nature, however, being what it is, it is not likely that a court poet of Stambha would prepare a draft of Gōvinda's exploits, which would specifically refer to the defeat of his patron's rebellion. The Manne plates however mention his defeat in v. 13. It is therefore clear that the draft of the Manne plates was prepared by a court poet of Gōvinda III, and was primarily intended for his charters. As a matter of fact it cannot suit a charter issued by any ruler, other than Gōvinda himself. For, after describing Gōvinda's exploits, the charter says:—

नेनेदमनिचविशुच्चञ्चलमवलोक्य जैवितमसारम् ।

चिन्तिदानपरमपुण्यं प्रवर्तितं देवभोगाय ॥

Obviously this verse is out of place in a charter intended to be issued by Gōvinda's brother Stambha.

The Manne plates state later on that Stambha had asked for the permission of Gōvinda for granting the village concerned to the Jain *baradi* at Manne². It would appear that when the imperial government granted the necessary permission, it forwarded a draft approved by the emperor with orders that it should be incorporated in the charter. Stambha carried out the order rather too literally; he did not omit even the verse beginning with *ne-ne-dam*, which was quite out of place in his own charter.

The draft that was sent to Stambha seems to have been prepared under the special instructions of Gōvinda by one of his favourite court poets. The emperor had liked it so much that he is seen to be using it throughout his reign after this period in as many as eight other charters.

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, pp. 41-3.

² *शिव शौचार्चनद्वयं* रत्नाकरिकायम्नामा राजाविशङ्करमेवराज्यवर्षादुक्तमुत्तम . . . विजयनगर . . . दान(शिव)

. . . इति.—*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Kalamangala 61.

It is unlikely that a draft, which had so strongly appealed to the emperor, should have been first allowed to be used in a grant issued by his eldest brother, who was erstwhile a rebel. We may therefore presume that it was first used by Gōvinda himself. This he does for the first time in the Nēśari plates¹ issued in the Śaka year 727. As far as our present knowledge goes, the draft seems to have been prepared just about this time.

How then is it used in the Maṅge plates issued in the Śaka year 724? It would appear that Stambha had no doubt promised to grant a village to the Jam establishment at Maṅge in that year, but he could not immediately issue a charter. He had to wait till the permission of the imperial government was received. This seems to have required a fairly long time, because Gōvinda himself was engaged in a number of campaigns and the necessary *prahasti* was not yet ready. By the time this permission came, the exact date and month of the first promise was forgotten. The plates purport to be issued in the Śaka year 724 on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Pūshya *nakṣatra*, i.e. in the month of Pausa. But there was no lunar eclipse in the month of Pausa in that year, as would appear from a reference to *The Indian Ephemeris* of Diwan Bahadur Swaminann Pillai. The same work shows that a lunar eclipse in the month of Pausa occurred in the Śaka years 730 and 731. It would appear that Stambha got the necessary permission at the end of one of these two years. At the time when the supplementary portion of the charter of Stambha, containing the date, was being drafted, this lunar eclipse in the month of Pausa was fresh in the mind of the donor, the donee and the drafter. They further had a dim idea that the original promise was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the winter. They therefore transferred the lunar eclipse in the month of Pausa from the Śaka year 730 or 731 to the Śaka year 724, when the original promise was made. This has given rise to the irregularity of the date of the Maṅge plates. We need not therefore suppose that the stereotyped account of Gōvinda's exploits was really ready in the Śaka year 724, when the Maṅge plates purport to have been issued. The earliest undoubted year in which it is known to be definitely used is the Śaka year 727, when the Nēśari plates were issued. Gōvinda's exploits mentioned in this stereotyped draft have therefore to be placed not before the Śaka year 724 but before the Śaka year 727. The various exploits mentioned in this draft were therefore achieved not within the first seven or eight years of his reign, but may have required as many as 11 or 12 years. Seven or eight years is too short a period for them, when we remember the conditions of the roads and the means of transport of the period.

A reconsideration of the whole problem has now led me to the conclusion that the sensational victories of Gōvinda III in his north Indian campaigns, during which he humbled down Chakrāyudha and Dharmapāla and his armies penetrated right up to the vicinity of the Himalayas,—as maintained in the Sanjan plates of his son Amoghavarsha I,—are not mentioned or described in this stereotyped draft. The verse mentioning the defeat of the Gurjara king merely refers to a raid of Nāgabhata being repulsed. The poet, who drafted this charter, was well acquainted with the complications of the northern Indian politics, as is clear from his specific reference to the exploits of Gōvinda's father Dhruva in snatching away the white umbrella from Vatārāja, which he had carried as a trophy from the king of the Gaudas. A poet, who mentions the submission of a third rate Vindhyan chief like Mārātarva, would certainly have grown eloquent over the discomfiture of such celebrated rulers as Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha. Nor would Gōvinda have approved a draft, which did not refer to the feat of his forces in approaching the Himalayas after penetrating into the Doab. This famous northern expedition of Gōvinda has therefore to be placed at a date later than the issue of this stereotyped charter. We cannot however discuss the complicated question of its approximate date in the present note.

¹ Khuts, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Dekkan*, Vol. I, p. 13.

No. 49.—A FURTHER NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE MANNE PLATES OF STAMBHA.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

I am obliged to the Government Epigraphist for giving me an opportunity to state my views on the points raised in Dr. Altekar's note on the date of the Manne plates of Stambha Raṅgvalōka. This date¹ is admittedly imperfect, as the name of the month in which the lunar eclipse occurred is not mentioned in it. The mere mention of a *śalīkṛtā* in connection with a lunar eclipse is not sufficient to specify the exact month in which it occurred, as the *paścīmā* of a month is not invariably associated with the *śalīkṛtā* after which the month is named. In my article² on the Lohācā grant I have suggested that some words like *Mārgaśīrṣa-paścīmā* are inadvertently omitted in the date of the Manne plates, as the only lunar eclipse³ which could have been intended is that in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa. Even then the date does not become quite regular; for the asterism on the full-moon day of Mārgaśīrṣa in Śaka 724 was Rōhiṇī, not Pūṣya. But we can easily explain this irregularity by supposing that though the grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the 13th November A.D. 803, the plates were actually issued four days later, on the 17th November, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Pūṣya. Those who are familiar with the dates of our ancient records know that copper-plates were sometimes issued a few days after the particular grants recorded in them were made and that such irregularities in their dates are by no means rare. In my article I have cited the date of the second set of Manne plates, which belongs to the same period, as another instance of the same irregularity. These latter plates purport to have been issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Monday, the full-moon day of Pāuṣa, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Pūṣya, in the Śaka year 732. A reference to Diwan Bahadur S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* will show that the lunar eclipse did, indeed, occur on the full-moon day of Pāuṣa in A.D. 810 (corresponding to the expired Śaka year 732), but the week-day was Saturday and the asterism at the time of the eclipse was Punarvasu, not Pūṣya. It seems plain therefore that though the grant was made on Saturday, the 11th December A.D. 810, the plates were actually issued two days later on Monday, the 16th December, when the moon was in conjunction with Pūṣya. The irregularity in the date of the Manne plates (first set) is exactly of the same type as that in the date of this grant.

Dr. Altekar prefers to account for the irregularity in the date of the Manne plates (first set) in a different manner. He concedes that the grant was made in Śaka 724, but he supposes that the plates were actually issued six or seven years later in Śaka 730 or 731, when there was a lunar eclipse in the month of Pāuṣa. The reason for this unusual delay in the issue of the plates, according to Dr. Altekar, is that Stambha did not receive the permission of the imperial government earlier, as Gōvinda was himself engaged in a number of campaigns and the necessary *pralasti* was not yet ready. Dr. Altekar further supposes that the drafter, the donor and the donee had no accurate information about the occasion of the original grant, but only remembered that it had been made at a lunar eclipse in winter in Śaka 724. They therefore mentioned, as the occasion of the grant, the lunar eclipse which had occurred recently in the month of Pāuṣa in Śaka 730 or 731. Hence the date is found to be irregular.

¹ The wording of the date is *chatur-viṃśaty-uttarāṣṭa sapta-tuṣṭa Śaka-srutiṣṭa samantāḥ.....*
śāla-grahat Pūṣya-śalīkṛt....Ep. Carn., Vol. IX, Nelamangala 61.

² Above, p. 217.

³ There was another lunar eclipse in this year, but it occurred much earlier, on Jyēṣṭha-paścīmā, the 11th May A.D. 802.

This explanation of the irregularity of the date is, I submit, too farfetched. It is incredible that it took Śaṅkha six or seven years to obtain the imperial sanction to his grant. Even granting that Gōvinda could not give the required sanction in Śaka 724 because he was then constantly engaged in fighting, one fails to understand why the sanction was not forthcoming in Śaka 727 at least, by which time Gōvinda had finished all his important campaigns both in the north and in the south and the draft of the *prastāvi* was also ready for use, as we find it actually used in the Nāgarī plates¹ of that year. The *prastāvi* was of course composed by a court-poet of Gōvinda III, not by that of Śaṅkha. Gōvinda must have used it in his own grants made before Śaka 727, though they have not been discovered so far.

Let us next examine the reason which has led Dr. Altekar to offer the foregoing farfetched explanation. He thinks that the various exploits mentioned in the stereotyped *prastāvi* could not have been achieved during seven or eight years (A.D. 794-802). But are there not instances, in our ancient history, of equally remarkable victories being achieved by great military commanders in the same or even smaller periods of time? I will mention here only one or two cases of this type. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III invaded North India and pressed as far as Kanauj, the imperial capital, which he conquered and devastated. As Dr. Altekar himself has shown,² Indra came to the throne in A.D. 915 and died in A.D. 917. So this brilliant achievement of his could not have taken more than two years. Is it then impossible that Gōvinda finished his campaigns in Northern and Central India within a period of four or five years (Śaka 717-21) as suggested in my article? Another instance is that of the Kalachuri Karna. We know from his Benares plates³ that he succeeded his father in the Kalachuri year 792 (A.D. 1010). The Rewah stone inscription, which I have recently edited in this Journal,⁴ describes his victories over a king, probably of the Chandra dynasty, in the East, the Pallavas, Chōlas and Chōlukyas in the South and the Gurjara in the West. As this inscription is dated in the Kalachuri year 800 (A.D. 1048-49), it is plain that these victories of Karna must have been attained within a period of only seven years. The adversaries of Karna were surely not less powerful than those of Gōvinda III and the means of transport had not probably improved much during the period of about two centuries and a half that separated these two kings.

Dr. Altekar thinks that Gōvinda's sensational victories in North India, during which he humbled Chakrāyudha and Dharmapāla, were attained after the stereotyped draft was prepared, as they are not mentioned in it. This is at best an *argumentum ex silentio* and should be used with caution; for we know of several cases⁵ in which conclusions based on such absence of mention have been disproved by fresh discoveries. Besides, we do not know for certain the exact length of the stereotyped draft when it was first prepared. Though it has been used in as many as eleven charters,⁶ it is well-known that it is not of uniform length in all these cases. The longest form of it known so far is that noticed in the Nāgarī plates in which the eulogistic portion consists of 24 verses.⁷ In other charters the draft is shorter by from 3 to 10 verses.⁸ We

¹ Cf. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Indian (Marathi)*, Vol. I, pp. 15 ff.

² See his *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 100 and 163.

³ Above, p. 217.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 305 ff.

⁵ Below, Vol. XXIV, pp. 103 ff.

⁶ See e.g. above, Vol. XIX, p. 63.

⁷ Ten of these have been mentioned above, p. 216. Since then I have noticed one more charter of the same type, see *J. B. S. R. A. S.* (New Series), Vol. III, pp. 187-89.

⁸ These do not include the opening *śaṅkha-śloka* and the concluding *śloka-śloka*, etc.

⁹ The Bādhajay plates, for instance, have 10, the Lakṣmī grant 16 and the Bahadur plates only 14 verses.

cannot therefore conclude that the original form of it did not contain any verses descriptive of Gōvinda's sensational victories over Dharmapāla, Chakrāyudha and others,—much less that these victories had not been attained when it was prepared.

Besides, the Sanjān plates¹ show that these sensational victories of Gōvinda III in Northern and Central India were achieved before his encampment at the capital of *Mahārāja Śarva*. Verse 23 of this grant describes the march of Gōvinda's army to the Himālayas, during the course of which Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha submitted to him. The next verse (24) tells us that returning from there (*śatāḥ pratimēritya*) he came down to the bank of the Narmadā and conquered the Mālava, Kōmala, Kallīga, Vēngī, Dāhala and Ōdraka countries which he placed in charge of his feudatories. He then returned (*pratyāyātaḥ*) again to the Narmadā and encamped at the capital of *Mahārāja Śarva* at the foot of the Vindhya, where his son Amoghavarsha was born (vv. 25-6). The wording of the verses 23-26 makes it plain that these events occurred in the chronological order stated therein. The existing versions of the stereotyped draft do not, of course, refer to Gōvinda's victorious campaigns in Northern and Central India (except that in which he defeated a Gurjara king) and the submission of Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha, but they almost invariably mention his encampment during the rainy season at Śrībhavana, the capital of Mārāsarva. Scholars² are now agreed that this Mārāsarva is none other than the *Mahārāja Śarva* mentioned in the Sanjān plates. It is plain, therefore, that Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha must have submitted to Gōvinda long before the stereotyped draft of the latter's grants was prepared; for the draft describes also Gōvinda's expeditions against the southern kings of Chōla, Pāṇḍya, Kēnala, Vēngī, etc., which followed his campaigns in Northern and Central India.

If the Manne plates of Stambha were, therefore, issued, as I have tried to show, in Śaka 724, all the important victories of Gōvinda III—including the submission of Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha—must have been attained before Śaka 724 or A.D. 802 i.e., during the first seven or eight years of his reign.

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

² Dr. Altkar also has accepted the identification, see his *Īlāṭīśrūṭas* etc., p. 68, n. 55 (v).

INDEX.

By B. CR. CHADRA, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D.

[The figures refer to pages; n. after a figure to footnotes and add. to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used:—ca.=capital; ch.=chief; ci.=city; co.=country; com.=composer; di.=district or division; do.=ditto; dy.=dynasty; E.=Eastern; engr.=engraver; ep.=epithet; f.=female; k.=king; l.=locality; l. m.=land measure; m.=male; mo.=mountain; myth.=mythic or mythological; n.=name; N.=Northern; off.=office; q.=queen; ri.=river; S.=Southern; s. a.=sacra as; sur.=surname; t. d.=territorial division; te.=temple; til.=title; vi.=village; W.=Western.]

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